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AND

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EDITED BY

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cantab.),
GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPhist FOR INDIA.

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AND

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EDITED BY

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cantab.),
GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPhist FOR INDIA.

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Part V.

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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

AND
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EDITED BY

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- Page 56, line 7.—For पुष्पा read पुष्पी.
- „ 64, line 7.—For sattiya read sattyā(ya).
- „ 65, lines 16-17.—For kōśambah read kōśāmrah(?)
- „ 72, line 3.—For Śrī-Chadra(ndra) read Śrī-Chandra.
- „ 78, line 2.—For Airavātta read Airāvātta.
- „ do. text line 1.—For Ōjjiyani read Ōjjayani.
- „ 100, line 1.—For [Bha]—rathēśvara read [Bha]rathēśvara.
- „ 103, f. n. 7.—For संस्कृत read संस्कृत.
- „ 106, f. n. 19.—For स्वाधाय read स्वाध्याय.
- „ 114, f. n. 4.—For Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times read Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times
- „ 115, last line.—For 'ai' after date read 'is'.
- „ 118, f. n. 4.—For vice versā read vice versa.
- „ 131, f. n. 5.—For Līmakara read Himakara.
- „ 134, text lines 2-3.—For Kuttura read Kuttupu.
- „ 136, f. n. 9.—For Nandivamran read Nandivarman.
- „ 141, line 3.—For Ākasapadda read Ākāsapadda.
- „ 141, line 11.—Insert a comma after Brīhaspatisava.
- „ 141, f. n. 2, line 15.—Insert a comma after Kadambas.
- „ 142, f. n. 2.—Supply the number 2 for this footnote.
- „ 154, f. n. 2.—Read 'in other', etc.
- „ 163, line 14 from bottom—Insert a comma after for.
- „ 169, f. n. 9.—For f. n. 8 read f. n. 1.
- „ 171, f. n. 6.—Supply the number 6 for this footnote.
- „ 181, f. n. 4.—For Nava-āhasāṅkacharita read Navasāhasāṅkacharita.
- „ 199, line 4 from bottom.—Read ' . . . presupposes a large kingdom ', etc.
- „ 199, line 2 from bottom.—For administration read administration.
- „ 200, text line 10.—For कीर्तिः read कीर्तिः.
- „ 202, f. n. 1.—For krityō read krityō.
- „ 204, line 30.—For Jaika II read Jaika I.
- „ 207, f. n. 2.—Read ' the real spelling, etc. '
- „ 221, f. n. 3.—Read=ālōky=āt.
- „ 226, text line 34.—For स्मत्तव्य read स्मत्तव्य.
- „ 230, line 12 from bottom.—For daughter read daughter.
- „ 236, f. n. 3.—Read ' Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar . . . Purusgupta '.
- „ 237, f. n. 3.—For have read above and for '64 a ter No. 66 read p. 64.
- „ 244, last paras —For Panchayat read Pañchāyat.
- „ 245, line 3.—For Panchayat read Pañchāyat.
- „ 245, add at the end of para. 2.—[God Kēśava or Gōpinātha consecrated by a chief or a person or in his name is called after him. The god Mitra-Kēśavadēva may have been originally installed by one Mitra or in his name. See the following instances :—
- (1) Kīrti-Gōpināt a installed in the name of one Kīrti (S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 700).
- (2) Ananta-Gōpinātha temple (No. 299 of 1915 in A. R. on Epigraphy for 1916)
- and (3) Tribhuvanamalla-Kēśavadēva (S. I. I., Vol. VI, Nos. 630, 635f.)—C.R.E.]

-
- Page 270, f. n. 3.—*For Rāsthtrakūṭa read Rāshtrakūṭa.*
„ 275, f. n. 4.—*Insert 'of' after 'inscription'.*
„ 283.—*The page number ought to be 283 and not 28.*
„ 292, text line 60.—*For सामान्येयं read सामान्योयं.*

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XXVI.

No. 1.—INDIA OFFICE PLATE OF LAKSHMANASENA.

By DR. H. N. RANDLE, LONDON.

This is the plate to which Nalini Kanta Bhattasali drew attention in 1927 under the title "The Lost Bhowal Copper-Plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva of Bengal,"¹ and its reappearance fully confirms the conclusions reached by Bhattasali on the evidence of a report (fortunately printed in the *Calcutta Gazette*, May 14, 1829) of a meeting of the Asiatic Society held on May 6, 1829.² From this it appears that Walters, Magistrate of Dacca, had obtained the plate from Golak Narayan Roy, zamindar of Bhāḍyāl and presented it to the Society. Although the 'translation' furnished by the Pandit of the Dacca City Court was, as H. H. Wilson, the Society's Secretary, pointed out, almost entirely a product of his own invention, it included a few proper names which are to be found in the present plate.—Jye Seen (Vijayasēna), Gores Pereaḥ (*Gaurī priyā*, line 1), Mulla Seen (Vallālasēna ?), the Sybolenee river (Śaivalinī, line 23) and Beer Seen (Virasēna, line 6). And the Pandit rightly said that the inscription commences with an "invocation of Narayana." Wilson recognised it as an ordinary land-grant of a Sēna king, reading the date (really 27, as Bhattasali conjectured) as 37, and remarking that the imperfect condition of the plate rendered it very problematical whether it would hereafter be more satisfactorily deciphered.³ The plate was forgotten for half a century, until Navinachandra Bhadra in his *Bhāḍyālār itihāsa* (1875) gave a brief account of the finding of it;⁴ and then again forgotten for another half century, until Bhattasali's article appeared in 1927. In 1930 I turned out from a safe in the India Office Library a number of copper-plates, and ascertained that, with three or four possible exceptions, all had been published. The present plate was one of these exceptions. Subsequent

¹ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. III (1927), pp. 89-96. I published a preliminary notice of the reappearance of the plate in the same journal, Vol. XV (1939), pp. 300-302, and the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal then claimed it. It has now been restored to the possession of the Society.

² Bhattasali points out that the Asiatic Society's proceedings were not printed before 1821, and again not between 1827 and 1829. In 1829 they were printed in the monthly "*Gleanings of Science*", which, however, may not have included the May proceedings.

³ Wilson did not allow for the subsequent discovery of other similar plates which supplement the imperfections of this one.

⁴ The relevant passage is at p. 26. I am indebted to my colleague Mr. R. H. Williams, Assistant Keeper at the India Office Library, for the following translation. "At Bhāḍyāl, amongst the Chaudhāls was a certain Chāshā Nāgarī who was accustomed to do accounts and had even procured some books. Some time previously he had found a copper-plate with some characters on it, opposite the afore-mentioned hermitage of Maghī. At the instance of a zamindār who formerly lived in the place, the late Mahātmā Golak Nārāyaṇ Rāya Chaudhūrī, many attempts were made to read this inscription, but no one was able to identify it. It was sent to a certain learned Englishman of Dacca; but there too no one was able to decipher it, so it was forwarded to Calcutta. Again in that city no one could read it, so at last it has been sent to England."

examination, in the light of Bhattasali's article, has convinced me that it is the **Bhowal** (Bhāḍyāl) **copper-plate**. In view of the fact that H. H. Wilson was afterwards Librarian to the East India Company, it is not difficult to suppose that it came to the East India House with him.

Walters' account of the find-spot of the plate is as follows :—"About thirty miles north of the city of Dacca, a few miles above the site of the ancient fortress of Akdala, and a short distance from the banks of the river Luck'iah, is situated Mowza Rajabary, appertaining to pergunnah Bhowal, and included in the modern division of thannah Jamalpore. At this place, on the crest of a low hill, stands an ancient building called by the natives Moggee's Mut (*Maghir matha*). It is built in the usual pyramidal form of Hindoo *mut*s, but of considerable solidity, and contains a small vaulted apartment . . . Close to the *mut* is a tank of some magnitude . . . At a distance of about two miles to the north-west of the *mut* stood the palace of Raja Chandai . . . A large tank called Dunwa Digee, and the scattered remains of old brick buildings, evince that the spot was once the habitation of man. . . About forty years ago the accompanying copper tablet was dug up by a Koonch ryot, at a short distance from the *mut*. It was conveyed to the Bhowal zemindar, Luckhenarain Rae, from whose son, Golucknarain Rae it has now been obtained". These topographical clues should be sufficient, but they are not in fact easily intelligible to a person using modern maps and gazetteers, since Bhowal and "Mowza Rajabary" are unknown to the Gazetteers and are not to be found on modern maps, while the Jamalpur of modern maps is not 30 miles but 90 miles to the north-west (not north) of Dacca. The distance from Dacca, and proximity to the river Lakhya or Lakshya remain the only useful pointers to modern maps. The Lakhya figures on the maps¹ as the name of that stretch of river which runs roughly north and south through the Kāliganj and Rūpganj sections of the Dacca District. Older maps are helpful, and the map of the western districts of the Dacca Division contained in Volume V of Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal* (1875) marks in the Dacca district of the division, "Jaidebpur or Bhowal", and "Bhowal or Nagari". There is no doubt that the former locality is the relevant one as the names of zamindars mentioned in Mr. Walters' account show.² The plate must have been found in the extreme north of the Dacca District—since Walters located Mowza Rajabary 30 miles north of Dacca³—and must then have been brought to Jaydebpur (otherwise called Bhowal). The *thāna* Kapasia appears to be indicated as the locality of the find. An account of Bhowal and "Capassia" will be found in James Taylor's *Sketch of the Topography and Statistics of Dacca* (Calcutta, 1840, pp. 110-118).

The India Office plate is a **single plate** measuring $13\frac{1}{2} \times 12$ inches, weighing 7 lbs., and having 59 lines incised upon it, 30 on the obverse and 29 on the reverse. The **seal**, projected from the top edge in the shape of an inverted shield or heart, carries the usual *Sāna* device, the image of Śaḍāśiva, 3 inches in diameter, fixed by a stout central bolt almost $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter which projects about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch on the reverse. There is a certain amount of corrosion, which affects especially the proper right side of the reverse, so that the first ten or twelve *akṣaras* of many lines in the latter half of the inscription are more or less illegible. But (as Bhattasali had rightly conjectured)

¹ See Survey map-sheets of Bengal (1 mile to the inch—1910), 78. I. 12 and 79. I. 9.

² See *Eastern Bengal District Gazetteers*, Dacca (1912), pp. 183 f., under Jaydebpur.

³ As to Walters' "thannah Jamalpore", which included the "pergunnah Bhowal", Bengal map-sheet 79. I. 9 shows a Jamalpur and a Jamalpur Chak near and on the Lakhya river in the Kāliganj part of Dacca District. Neither appears on Hunter's map; but Jamalpur is marked as the headquarters of a *thana* on the map in *Principal heads of the history and statistics of the Dacca Division* (Calcutta, 1868). The same map shows "Joydebpur or Bhowal" some 12 miles west of Jamalpur, and Kapasia some 30 miles north of Dacca. Akdalla is marked about 5 miles north-east of Jamalpur.

this plate so closely resembles the Mādhānagar plate of Lakshmanasēna¹ that the *lacuna* over a large part of it can be supplied from the Mādhānagar plate. In fact Banerji's and Majumdar's reading and translation of that part of the Mādhānagar plate which is identical with lines 1-24, 27-34, 43-45 and 49-57 of the present plate render a fresh reading and translation of these passages superfluous, except in so far as the India Office plate happens to supply *lacuna* in the Mādhānagar plate. But it seemed more convenient to transcribe and translate the whole. The engraver seems to have made no mistakes in reproducing his copy, although he was not always careful in forming his characters. The usual ambiguities (*r, v, ch* ; *ś, ṣ, ṣ* ; *h, ṅ* ; *dh, p, y* ; some conjuncts ; and vowel marks) therefore present occasional difficulty, and (in combination with the effects of corrosion) make the reading of some characters, especially in unfamiliar place-names, open to doubt.

The deed was issued by the *Mahārājādhirāja Ari-rāja-Madana-Saṅkara Lakshmanasēna-dēva* (lines 28 and 57-8). The name of the place of issue has been doubtfully read in the Mādhānagar grant as *Dhāryyagrāma*. In the present plate it is again doubtful (line 24). The grant is dated on the 6th day of the month Kārttika in the year 27, and was executed by *Saṅkaradhara*, the *Gauḍa-Mahāsādhivigrahika* as *dāta* (lines 57-59). It is a conveyance of land to *Pāṇhaka Padmanābhādēva-śarman*, son of *Mahādēva[dēva]-śarman*, grandson of *Jayadēva-śarman* and great-grandson of *Buddhadēva[?]-śarman*, of the *Maudgalya gōtra* and the *Aurva, Ohyavana, Bhārgava, Jāmadagnya* and *Āpnavāna pravara*s, a follower of the *Kauthuma śākhā* of the *Sāma-vēda* (lines 45-7). The motive of the gift is to win merit for the *Mahādēvi . . . pādēvi* and the *Mahādēvi Kalyāṇadēvi* (line 48)². The land conveyed consists of two adjacent estates, of the annual value of 400 *kapardaka-purāṇas*, in the *Paundravardhana-bhukti*, one at least (possibly both) being in the *Vaṭumbī chaturaka* of the *Vāśchasa (?) āpatti* of that *bhukti*. Both portions of land have as their southern boundary *Jaladāṇḍi*, while the village *Khāvōlāpāṇḍi* forms the eastern boundary of one and the western boundary of the other. That on the west is bounded on the north and west by the *Suja-nadi(?)*. That on the east (which perhaps fell in a different *chaturaka*) is bounded on the north by *Valōḡgavēnada³ (?)*, and on the east by *Simhadāvillī (?)*, by the southern part of *Kaimajagrāvāḍi (?)* and apparently by a water-exit. The lands conveyed comprised four part-estates (*khaṇḍa-khētra*) named *Kavillī, Chuñchellī, Gāṇḍollī* and *Dēhipā*. Measurements are given, but they are not intelligible. There is possibly a reference to a 22-*hasta* unit of measurement. I cannot identify on the maps any of the places named ; but the find-spot may indicate that they are to be looked for in the north of the Dacca District.

The invocation and genealogy in thirteen stanzas, identical with those of the Mādhānagar inscription, occupy the first 23 lines of the plate. The remainder is in prose, with the exception of the *dharm-ānusaṁsinah ślōkāḥ* (vv. 14-19)⁴ which are given precisely as in the Mādhānagar plate up to the point to which that plate is legible. The list of officials addressed corresponds in every respect with that found in other Sēna grants. But the amplification of Lakshmanasēna's titles which occupies six lines in the Mādhānagar plate is here reduced to two lines (lines 26 and 27, probably corresponding to two of the three illegible lines in the Mādhānagar plate). Lakshmanasēna is described in both plates as *Gauḍēśvara-paramēśvara-paramanārasimha-paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja*, but the present plate omits the description of him (given in

¹ Edited by R. D. Banerji, with facsimile, in *J. P. A. S. B.*, new series, Vol. 5 (1909), pp. 467-476 ; and by N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 106-115 (Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, 1929).

² [See below p. 9 n. 3.—Ed.]

³ [See below p. 8 n. 16.—Ed.]

⁴ [and a verse introducing the *śloka* (v. 20).—Ed.]

lines 30-32 of the Mādhānagar plate) as *paramadikṣita*, *parama-brahmakṣatriya*, *vikalikṛita-Kaliṅga*¹ and *vikrama-vaśikṛita-Kāmarūpa*. It does not seem, however, that the omission here has any significance. The references to *Kaliṅga* and *Kāmarūpa*² made in the verse *prastāvi* (lines 19 and 20) were presumably regarded as a sufficient record.

The date of the inscription, if Lakṣmāṇasēna's reign was c. 1170-1200 A.D.³, must be fixed at c. 1197 A.D., and therefore very near the time of his overthrow by Muḥammad Bakhtiyār. And this dating⁴ cannot be far wrong if we accept—as I think we must—the solid evidence of four passages in Vallālasēna's *Adbhuta-sāgara*⁵ (not to mention the colophon found in late MSS. of the royal author's *Dāna-sāgara*),⁶ which give Śaka dates for the commencement of the *Adbhuta-sāgara* (1090=1168-69 A.D.), for the completion of the *Dāna-sāgara* (1091=1169-70 A.D.), and for the early part (not necessarily the first year) of Vallālasēna's⁷ reign (1082=1160-61 A.D.). There is

¹ As read by Majumdar. Banerji reads *-kalaka*.

² Here called Prāgyōtishā.

³ The doubts which have arisen about Lakṣmāṇasēna's date are due to difficulties in the interpretation of two eras (used later but never by the Sēnas themselves):

(a) the *Lakṣmaṇa samvat*, which Kielhorn determined as commencing in 1118-19 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, 1890, p. 1).
(b) the *atila-rājya* *Lakṣmāṇasēna* era used in Aśokachalla's inscriptions.

As to (a) there was never any real reason for Kielhorn's very natural assumption that 1118-19 A.D. was the date of Lakṣmāṇasēna's accession. The question whether it is to be taken as the date of his birth or as the date of Vijayasēna's accession, or as the date of some other landmark in Sēna history, is still *sub judice*. But, whatever the solution may be, it need not prevent the supposition that Lakṣmāṇasēna's reign commenced c. 1170 A.D.

As to (b), the interpretation of the *atila-rājya* era as commencing from the overthrow of Lakṣmāṇasēna is in itself the obvious interpretation, and it seems to fit in with facts and probabilities. Contrary views are mentioned in the following note.

⁴ Maintained by R. C. Majumdar, 'Chronology of the Sēna Kings', in *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XVII (1921), pp. 7-16, and D. C. Bhattacharyya, 'Date of Lakṣmāṇasēna and his predecessors', in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LI (1922), pp. 145-148 and 153-158. The contrary opinion is maintained by R. D. Banerji in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. IX (1913), p. 277. He holds that the *Lakṣmaṇa samvat* era (1118-19 A.D.) dates from the accession of Lakṣmāṇasēna and that the Aśokachalla inscriptions (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 27) dated in years 51 and 74 of the *Lakṣmaṇa atila-rājya* era refer to the same epoch, their dates being therefore equivalent to 1169-70 A.D. and 1192-3 A.D. For a later discussion of the problem see P. C. Barat in *J. R. A. S.*, 1930, pp. 1-9. Barat gives four passages from the *Adbhuta-sāgara* which take 1090 Śaka as the initial date for various calculations; and each passage mentions that this is the year in which the *Adbhuta-sāgara* was commenced. It seems quite impossible to reject this evidence. Barat's readjusted chronology is:—

Vijayasēna b. 1069 acc. 1095 died or retired	1158
Vallālasēna b. 1094 acc. 1158 died or retired	1168
Lakṣmāṇasēna b. 1119 acc. 1168 died or retired	1182

The scheme is acceptable with the exception of the last date. The present plate shows that Lakṣmāṇasēna ruled 27 years at least. Minhāj ibn Sirāj in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* states that "Rai Lakṣminya" had been on the throne for eighty years when he was attacked by Muḥammad Bakhtiyār at Nadiya. Minhāj's statement must mean that Lakṣmāṇasēna was then 80 years old. This would date the attack in 1198-99 A.D.

⁵ D. C. Bhattacharyya, *loc. cit.*, gives the reference to the passages in Muralīdhar Jhā's edition of the *Adbhuta-sāgara* (Benares, 1905), pp. 4, 125, 235 and 236.

⁶ See *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XI (1915), p. 347.

⁷ The length of the reign of Vijayasēna (Vallālasēna's predecessor) depends on the reading and interpretation of the date in his Barraekpur plate (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 282). Banerji read it as 32, Bhattacharyya as 61. Bhandarkar (*List*, No. 1683; p. 236, note 1) accepts the reading 61, but suggests that the year could be referred to the Chālukya-Vikrama era, giving 1137-8 A.D. as a date for Vijayasēna. Bhandarkar's suggestion will not fit in with the date given in the *Adbhuta-sāgara* (=1160-61 A.D.) for the early part of Vallālasēna's reign.

then no difficulty in accepting the tradition that it was in fact this Lakshmanasēna, and no other, whose overthrow by Muhammad Bakhtiyār is related in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*,—an event variously dated from 1194 to 1207 A.D.¹

TEXT.²

Obverse.

- 1 Siddham³ [1*] Ōm namō Nārāyaṇāya || Yasy=ānkē śarad-ambud-ōrasī taḍil-lēkh-ēva
Gaurī priyā dēh-ārdhēna [Harim samā]śritam=a[bhū]d-yasy-āti-
- 2 chitraṁ vapuḥ | dīpt-ārka-dyuti-lōchana-traya-ruchā ghōraṁ dadhānō mukhaṁ dēvas-
tvām sa nirasta-dānava-gajaḥ pushpātu Pañchānanah || [1*]⁴ Svar-ga-
- 3 āgā-jala-puṇḍarikam=amṛita-prāvāra⁵-dhārā-grihaṁ śrīṅgāra-druma-pushpam=Īsvara-śikh-
ālaṅkāra-muktā-maṇiḥ | kshīr-āmbhōnidhi-jī-
- 4 vitam kumudini-vṛind-aika-vaihāsikō⁶ jīyān=Manmatha-rājya⁷-paushṭika-mahā-sānti-
dvijaś=chandramāḥ || [2*]⁸ Tribhuvana-jaya-sambhri-
- 5 t-ārtha⁹-klijptaiḥ kratubhir=avārīta¹⁰-sattribhō¹¹-marāpām | ajanishata tad-anvayē dharitṛi-
valaya-viśrīṅkhala-kirttayō narēndrāḥ || [3*]¹²
- 6 Paurāṇibhiḥ kathābhiḥ prathita-guṇa-gaṇē Virasēnasya varṣhē Ka[rāpāṭa-kshatri-]
yāpām=ajani kula-śirō-dāma
- 7 Sāmantasēnah | kṛtvā nirvīram=urvvi-talam=a[dhika]tarām¹³ tripyatā nāka-nadyā-
[m nirṇi]ktō yēna [yudhyad-ripu-rudhira]-kaṇ-ā-
- 8 kir[ṇa]-dhārāḥ kṛpāṇaḥ || [4*]¹⁴ Virāpām=adhidaivataṁ ripu-[chamū]-mār-ā[nka-
ma]lla-vratas=tasmā[d]=vismayaniya-[śaurya]-ma[h]i[mā]
- 9 Hēmantasēnō¹⁵-bhavat | kshīrōd-ādha[r]a-vā[s]asō Vasumatī-dēvyā yadiyam yaśō
ratnasy=ēva [Su]mēru-mauli-mi-
- 10 lita[m] kshauma-śriyaṁ pushyati || [5*]¹⁶ Ajani Vijayasēnas=tējaś[ā]m rāśir=asmāt
samara-vi[śrīma]rāṇ[ām] bhūbhritām=ē-
- 11 ka-śēshaḥ [1*] iha jagati vishēhē yēna varṣasya pūrvvaḥ puruṣa iti sudhāmśau
kēvala[m] rāja-śav(b)daḥ || [6*]¹⁷ Bhū-chakraṁ

¹ See Raverty's translation (*Bibliotheca Indica*, Work No. 78, published in 1881), pages 554-558. Raverty (footnote, p. 559) argues for the date 1194. From the side of Sēna chronology a date near 1198 would seem to be indicated.

² Square brackets are used to indicate what is illegible but has been supplied. Round brackets indicate a necessary emendation. A single dot enclosed within square brackets indicates an illegible element in an *ekshara*.

³ Represented by a symbol.

⁴ Metre: *Śārdūlavikṛīḍita*.

⁵ The Mādhānagar plate has -prādāra-. I find no authority for either word. [Probably we have to take *prā-eri* here in the sense of 'to fill'. See Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* under *prā-eri*.—Ed.]

⁶ Mādhānagar -vaihāsikō.

⁷ Mādhānagar -rājya-.

⁸ Metre: *Śārdūlavikṛīḍita*.

⁹ This is the reading also in Mādhānagar.

¹⁰ Mādhānagar -avārīta-. [Reading in M. also seems to be -avārīta-.—Ed.]

¹¹ Metre: *Pushpātāgrā*.

¹² [Reading both here and in Mādhānagar is clearly *soṇi na tarām tripyatā*, i.e., not being fully satisfied even after, etc.—Ed.]

¹³ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

¹⁴ Metre: *Śārdūlavikṛīḍita*.

¹⁵ Metre: *Mālinī*.

- 12 kiyad=ēṭad=āvṛitam=abhūd=yad-Vāmanasy-āṁghriṇā Nāgānāth kiyad=āspadam yad¹²=
urasā la[ṅgh]anti² gūḍhāṅghrayaḥ | ēk-ābhā³
- 13 d=yad=anūrur=añchati kiyan-mātram tad=apy=amva(mba)ra[m] yasy=ēt=iva yaśō hriyā
tribhuvana-vyāptyā=pi⁴ nō tripyati || [7*]⁵ Tasmād=asē[sha.]
- 14 bhuvan-ōtsava-pārvvaṇ-ēndur⁶=vVallālasēna-jagatipatir-ujjagāma | yaḥ kēvalaḥ na
khalu sarvva-[narē]śvarāṇām-ēkaḥ ssa-
- 15 magra-viduśhām⁷=api chakravartti(ṭi)⁸ || [8*]⁹ Parīpar¹⁰-āntaḥpura-mauli-ratnaḥ¹¹
Chālukya-bhūpāla-kul-ē(ndu-lē)khā | tasya¹² [priy-ābhū-]
- 16 d=va(ba)humāna-bhūmir-Ilakṣmī-Prithivīyōr=api Rāmadēvi || [9*]¹³ Ētābhyaṁ¹⁴
Vasudēva-Dēvakasu[tā]-dēh-āntarā[bhā]m-iva [śrī]mal-La-
- 17 kshmapasēna-mūrttir-ajani kalmāpāla-Nārāyaṇaḥ | chakrē¹⁵ yan-maya-janma-nissaha-
milan-nīdrāndha-vaḥ-cha[ñchalāt | kri-]¹⁶
- 18 shtēn=ādhi-payōdhi kañchakam-iva [tyaktvā?] pramu[gdham] vapuḥ ||¹⁷ [10*]¹⁸ Dripyad¹⁹
Gauḍēśvara-śrī-haṭha-haraḥ-kalā yasya kaumā-
- 19 ra-kālīḥ Kālīngēn-āṅganābhīḥ²⁰ pratipada ~ dhadās-chakrīrē²¹ yasya yūnaḥ | yēn=
āsau Kāśīrājāḥ samara-
- 20 bhuvi jītō yasya nistrichā²²-dhārā-bhīruḥ Prāgyōtishēndras-charaḥ²³ja-rajasā nirm-
mamō karmmaṇāni || [11*]²⁴ Ā-kau-

¹ Mādhānagar reading doubtful, and unintelligible. Banerji reads *āspadarpaṇa*, Majumdar *ābhūdaryam*. The India Office plate is clear and intelligible.

² The illegible *akṣara* is so read by Majumdar in the Mādhānagar plate. Banerji reads *lapanāni*.

³ So read by Banerji in the Mādhānagar plate. Majumdar reads *ēkās*, remarking that the sign for *ē* is not clear, but seems to be intended.

⁴ Majumdar reads "na vyāpy-ā". Banerji "na-vyāpy-ā". *Vyāptyā* is clear on this plate.

⁵ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁶ Mādhānagar *kāranēndur*. *Pārvvaṇēndur* is clear on this plate.

⁷ Mādhānagar *viduśhām*. India Office plate clearly *viduśhām*.

⁸ Mādhānagar "mūrtti".

⁹ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹⁰ The India Office plate appears to read *parīparā*, not *dhārādharā* as in the Mādhānagar plate. [Obviously the intended reading is *dhārādhar-āntaḥpura*.—Ed.]

¹¹ Mādhānagar *ratna*. The India Office plate shows clearly the *anusvāra* which the metre demands.

¹² *Tasya* is clear. Majumdar's reading *tasyā* must be mistaken.

¹³ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹⁴ Illegible in the Mādhānagar plate.

¹⁵ These two syllables, illegible in the Mādhānagar plate, are fairly clear here. But a mark attached to *ya* suggests *dyā*. If it is not accidental, *ratnāḥ* must be read.

¹⁶ Mādhānagar reads *mīlād-riṁbānauvachchañchalāt-kri*. The India Office plate clearly has *mīlan=ni*. What follows is only partly legible, and remains unintelligible. [Reading seems to be *dhara(ba)ndha-chchhalāt*.—Ed.]

¹⁷ The India Office plate is more legible than the Mādhānagar plate, but I have failed to obtain an intelligible reading.

¹⁸ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹⁹ These two *akṣaras*, apparently illegible in the Mādhānagar plate, are quite clear here. Majumdar reads *ḍatā*.

²⁰ So also the Mādhānagar plate. The remainder of this *pāda* is illegible in the Mādhānagar plate, except the last three *akṣaras*, read as *-et gasya pārvvaḥ*. The India Office plate, but for one *akṣara*, is legible. [See next note.—Ed.] The last word cannot be *pārvvaḥ*.

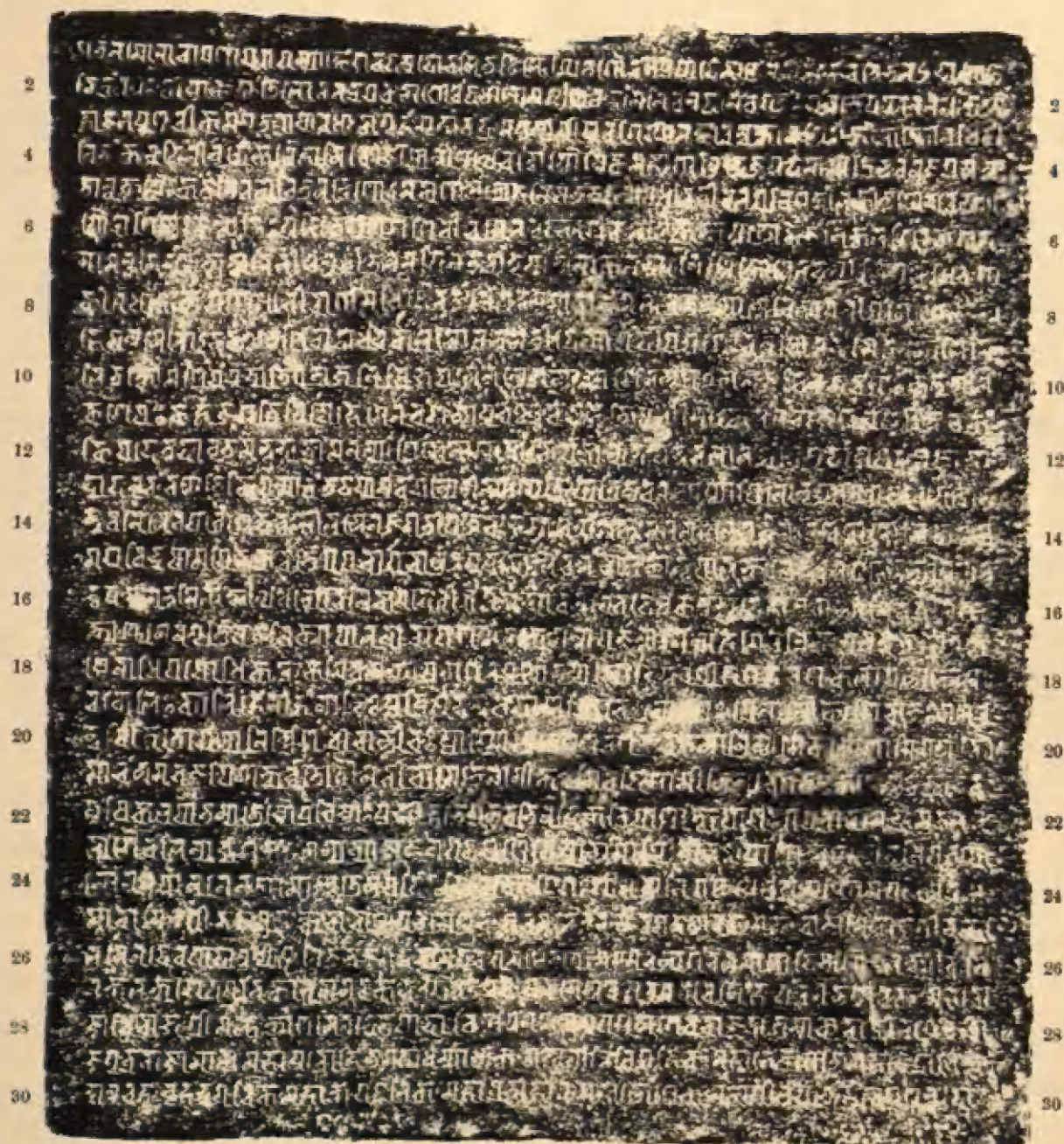
²¹ [Reading seems to be *pratipadam=va(pa)dās-chakrīrē*. The idea is that the king of Kalinga accompanied by his wives often presented gifts to him (eras) when the latter was young.—Ed.]

²² Illegible in the Mādhānagar plate.

²³ Illegible in the Mādhānagar plate.

²⁴ Metre *Sragdharā* (not *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, as inadvertently stated by Majumdar).

Obverse.



Reverse.

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- 21 mārāṇ samara-jayinā kurvāt-ōrvvīm=avirām=ētēn=āmi katham=iva diśām=ī[ś]itārō vimuktāḥ¹ [a]ṣṭa[.]aṅgē² va-
- 22 puṣhī kalayā tasya tē=ṣṭau pravishṭāḥ pra[dhva]stēti³ prabhavaṭi na hi kṣhattriya-ṇām kṛipāṇaḥ⁴ || [12*]⁵ Yatṛ=ārāma-druma-dala-[ru-]
- 23 chā Śaivalīny=ardha-śrīṅgāḥ [pra]syandy-ambhō-janapada⁶.guṇair=yēshu [r]ōmāñchitā bhūḥ | prāṇān muñchanty=avanipatayō
- 24 nō cha naryān=anēna grāmās=tē tē sapadi dadirē kōṭīśaḥ śāsanāni⁷ || [13*]⁸
Tē kṣlu.....grāma⁹.parisara-sa-
- 25 māwā[sit]a-¹⁰śrīma[j]-jaya-skandh[ā]vārā[t] paramēśvara-parama-Vai[shṇ]ava-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārā[jādhirā]ja-śrī-Vallā.
- 26 Iasēna-dēva-pādānudhyā[ta-] vi....ra-jagad-dhanya-Ma[m]dara-pramathita-sōma¹¹-samarasāgara-samās-āditya-Śrī[.] Lakshmi-iva¹² Sē-
- 27 na-kula-kūśēsha(śa)ya-vikāsa-vāsarakara¹³.Gauḍēśvara-paramēśvara-parama-Nārasimha-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārā-
- 28 jādhirāja-śrīmal-Lakshmanasēna-dēva-pādā vijayināḥ | samupagat-āsēsha-rāja-rājanyaka-rājā-rā[ṇaka-rā]-
- 29 japutra-rājāmātya-mahāpurōhita-mahādharṇamādhyaksha-mahāsāndhivigrahika-mahāsēnā-pati-mahāmudrādhi[kṛi]-
- 30 t-āntaraṅga - v(b)rihaduparika - mahākshapaṭalika - mahāpratihāra - mahābhō[gika - mahā-]pīlupati-mahāgaṇastha-dauḥ-

¹ These two *pādas*, illegible in the Mādhānagar plate, are fortunately clear.

² First *akṣara* illegible. The omitted character in the third *akṣara* looks legible but I have failed to identify it. The metre requires a conjunct consonant. [Possibly *akṣa-prāṅgē* and used as qualifying *apūṣhī*.—Ed.]

³ [Reading may be *prahvībhūti*.—Ed.]

⁴ In these two *pādas* again the India Office plate supplies the lacuna in the Mādhānagar plate.

⁵ Metre: *Maṇḍākrāntā*.

⁶ [I would read *Saivalīny=ār[d]ha[gaṅgā] masya-vyōj[j*]=janapada*.—Ed.]

⁷ The India Office plate supplies with certainty the last four syllables of the first *pāda*, and (less certainly) the whole of the second *pāda*. It supplies the second half of the third *pāda* and the whole of the fourth *pāda*, illegible in the Mādhānagar plate. *Naryān* however remains unintelligible. [Reading is *naryān=anēna*, *naryān* meaning the two objects of human desire, viz., heaven and earth.—Ed.]

⁸ Metre: *Maṇḍākrāntā*.

⁹ Majumdar reads *nirgōḥ kṣlu Dhāryyagrāma*, etc. It seems clear that the India Office plate follows the Mādhānagar plate in this line. But *ai* is followed by a punctuation mark, apparently read as *rga* by Majumdar. The *akṣara* following the punctuation mark can only be read, with Majumdar, as *ti*. It is the demonstrative pronoun anticipating *Lakshmanasēnadēva-pādāḥ* in line 28. The place-name may be the same as in the Mādhānagar plate. As it stands I should read *Phuṣṭhagrāma*. But corrosion produces such strange effects that what now looks like *Phu* might once have been *Dhā*. Superscript *r* easily disappears, so that the second *akṣara* might be *ryya*.

¹⁰ From this point up to the word *Gauḍēśvara* in line 27 the Mādhānagar version, so far as legible, differs widely from the present inscription. These two and a half lines (25-27) of the India Office plate replace no less than seven lines (25-32) in the Mādhānagar plate (three of which are altogether illegible). The lines omitted in the India Office plate include references to *Lakshmanasēna* as having "crippled" *Kalīṅga* and subdued *Kāmarāpa*.

¹¹ [To me the reading appears to be *dhyaṭō sija-bhaja.....Mandara-pramathit-śrīma*.—Ed.]

¹² [Correct reading is *amāsādita-Gauḍa-Lakshmi*.—Ed.]

¹³ For the preceding phrase compare the Edilpur grant of *Kēśavaśēna*, line 41, *Sēna-kula-bamala-vikāsa-māśakara*. From the word *Gauḍēśvara* up to the middle of line 34 the present inscription is identical with the corresponding part (line 33-39) of the Mādhānagar plate.

Reverse.

- 31 sādhi[ka]-chaurō[ddha]raṇika-nau-va(ba)ha-hasty-asva-gō-mahish-āj-āvika-ādi-vyāpṛitaka-gaulmika-daṇḍapāśi-
- 32 ka-daṇḍanāyaka-vishayapaty-ādin¹ anyānś=cha sakala-rāja-pād-ōpajīvinō²-dhyaksha-prachār-ōktān=ih-ākīrtti-
- 33 tān chaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa-jātiyān janapadān kshētrakarān vrā(brā)hmaṇān vrā(brā)hmaṇ-ōṣṭarān yath-ārham mānayanti vō(bō)dha-
- 34 [yanti] samādisanti cha matam=astu bhavatām yathā śri-Paundravarddhana-bhukty-antaḥpāti-Vāśchaś-āvṛitty³-antarggata-Vaṭumvi⁴-chatu-
- 35 rakē pūrvvś Khāvōlāpāṇḍiḥ⁵ sīmā | dakṣiṇē Jaladāṇḍi⁶[h] sīmā | paśchimē Sujanadi⁷ sīmā | uttarē=pi tathā
- 36 [sīmā | ittba]n=chatuḥ-sīm-āvachchhinnāḥ Kavillī-Chuñchali-Gāṇḍōlī-Dēhipā⁸ -khaṇḍa-kshētra-samēta-Vāpa⁹.
- 37chaturakē pūrv¹⁰ [Tr]jadapāsalamvanni¹¹.bhū-sūtra-dvayath Sindhādāvillī tathā Kaimajagrāvāḍi¹² paśchima-kā-
- 38 ṇḍas-tathā.....jīprastariya¹³-chatuḥ-sūtra¹⁴.bhūs-taj-jala-nirggama-jāśrah¹⁵ sīmā dakṣiṇē Jaladāṇḍiḥ sīmā
- 39 paśchimē Khāvōlāpāṇḍiḥ¹⁶ sīmā | uttarē Valōgavēnadaḥ¹⁷ sīmā | itthañ=chatuḥ-sīm-āvachchhinnō mā-
- 40makēśa-dēva-dēśaḥ | ittham=ētāv-upari-likhita-bhū-sīm-āvachchhinnau [|]¹⁸ dvāvimśati-hastē-

¹ The initial vowel follows. There is a tendency to separate the different categories in this list by not applying sandhi, and by using a punctuation mark (a dot or short upright line).

² Vāśchaśa is an improbable name. The second akṣara remains doubtful. And, but for the fact that āvṛitti is always read in Sēna plates as the name of an administrative division of land I should have read the last three akṣara as "ā-āvṛity-".

³ Vaṭumvi(mbi) seems clear.

⁴ This is clear. The same name appears to occur in line 39, in describing the western boundary of the second lot of land granted.

⁵ This is clear. The name recurs in line 38, in describing the southern boundary of the second lot of land granted.

⁶ Reading doubtful. The character read *d* could be *k* or *g*.

⁷ I take these to be the names of four separate *khaṇḍa-kshētras*, and I find confirmation for this assumption in the phrase *khaṇḍa-kshētra-chaṭuchfaya* in line 42. The names are quite legible. [There appears to be a *danda* after each name.—Ed.]

⁸ Perhaps *Ripa*.

⁹ There is no trace of the doubling of *v*.

¹⁰ This appears to give the name of a field. I am indebted to the Editor for the reading *bhū-sūtra-dvayath Sindhādāvillī*.

¹¹ [To me the reading appears to be *Chēmadagrāvāḍi*.—Ed.]

¹² This seems to conceal a place-name.

¹³ The partly obliterated mark below the character *s* is probably *ś*. But the meaning of *sūtra* remains obscure in such a compound.

¹⁴ *jāśrah* conveys no meaning to me, but I cannot read it in any other way. [To me the reading appears to be *jāśrah* for Skt. *yāśrah*.—Ed.]

¹⁵ What remains legible suggests this reading. The same village has been mentioned above, line 37.

¹⁶ [Reading seems to be *Vāśchaśa-nadaḥ* which may be identical with the river *Bāsār*, N. N. E. of Jaydevpur.—Ed.]

¹⁷ The mark which I have taken as a punctuation sign is an unusual angular mark.

- 41 [na parimitaḥ].....va-bhū-samēta-kākinō dvāvimśati-yasṭy-
adhika-pādik-ōpēta-drōṇik-ānvita-
42daśa.....kau samvatsarēṇa kapardaka-purāṇa-śata-
chatuṣṭay-ōtpattikau khaṇḍa-kṣhētra-chatuṣṭaya-sa-
43 [mē]ta.....kiya-d-āka-
bhū-bhāgau sa-jhāta-viṭapau sa-jala-sthalau sa-gar[tt-ōha-
44 rau sa-guvāka-nārikēlau sahya-daś-āpa]rādhau parihṛita-sarvva-piḍāv-a-chatṭa-bhaṭṭa-
pravēśāv-a-kiñchi[t-pra-]
45 [grāhyau triṇa-yūti-gō]chara[.paryantau Buddha]dēvaśarmmaṇaḥ prapautrāya Jaya-
dēvaśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Mahādēva-
46 [dēva]śarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Maudgalya-sa-gōtrāya Aurvva-Chyavana-Bhārggava-Jāma-
dagny-Āpnavāna-pravarāya² Sāma-vēda-Kauthuma-
47 śā[khā]-charaṇ-ā[nudhyāyi]nē Pāṭhaka-śrī-Padmanābhādēvaśarmmaṇē pu[ṇyē-ha]ni
vidhivad-udaka-pūrvvakam bhagava-
48 [ntam śrīman-Nā]rāyaṇa-bha[tṭāra]kam-uddiśya mahādēvi.....pādēvi-³mahādēvi-
Kalyāṇapadēvy[ō]h⁴ [puṇya-prā]pti-ni-
49 [mittaḥ].....samastēna
śata-chatuṣṭay-ōtpattikām bhūmim-utsriṇy-ā-chandr-ārka-kṣhiti-sama-kālam yāva-
50 [d-bhūmi-chohbidra-jayāyēna tāmra-śāsanīkrī]tya pra[dattāv-asmābhiḥ | tad-bhavadbhiḥ
sarvvair-ēv-ānumantavyam | bhāvi-
51 [bhīr-api nripa]tibhīr-apaharaṇē naraka-pāta-bhayāt pālanē dharmma-gauravāt śāsanam-
idaṁ pālanīyam [] bhava-
52 nti ch-ātra dharm-ā[nusāmsinaḥ] ślōkāḥ | Bhūmim yaḥ pratigrhṇāti yaś=cha bhūmim
prayaechhāti | u[bhau tau] puṇya-ka[rmmā]ṇau ni-
53 yataṁ svarga-gāminau || [14*] Va(Ba)hubhīr-vvasudhā dattā rājabbhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ |
vasya vasya ya[dā bhūmis-] ta[sya tasya] tadā

¹ If *na* is present it is a subsequent addition above the line; *parimita* is vaguely outlined on the damaged surface, I think. But the reading is conjectural.

² I owe the reading of the fifth *pravarā*-name to the Editor. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali had suggested that either *Vāṭya* or *Sānarnya* is required as the *gōtra*, in view of the first four *pravaras*. At that time the name of the fifth *pravarā* had not been read.

² In this name the first *akṣara* is so ambiguous that I do not venture to read it. It must give the name of one of the two queens. The first *akṣara* resembles *Śrī*; but this gives no intelligible name. It is possible that an initial vowel has combined by *sandhi* with the last vowel in *mahādēvi*. [The correct reading is *Śrī(Śrī)yādēvi*, a name not unfamiliar in inscriptions. A Telugu inscription in the Bhīmśvara temple at Drākshārūma, dated Śaka 1050, mentions Śrīyādēvi, the *mahādēvi* of Anantavarman(-Chōḍaganga), (*S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1195). Another Telugu record in the temple of Kōṭavaśvāmin, on a hill near Komidena, dated Śaka 1075 gives Śrīyā-mahādēvi as the name of the mother of the Telugu Chōḍa chief, *Mahāmaṇḍalāvara* Tribhuvanamalladēva-Chōḍa-Mahārāja (*S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 634).—Ed.]

* I have no doubt that two queens are meant. The termination, as the plate now stands, looks like the singular (*Kalyāṇadēvyā*); but there is room for the additional stroke which would turn this into *-dēvyāḥ*. Un-
fortunately, the names found in other plates for Lakshmapāsēna's consorts are diversely read. In the Sāhitya
Parishad plate of Viśvarūpāsēna (line 25) Banerji reads Tattāṇadēvi, Majumdar *Yaśodadēvi*. In the Edilpur
plate of Kṣāvasēna (line 23) Majumdar read the name of Lakshmapāsēna's other consort as *Chāndrādēvi*, but
in the Madanapāḍā plate of Viśvarūpāsēna (line 21) he reads it as *Tāḍādēvi*, while Vam reads *Tāndrādēvi*. [I
would read the name of the queen in l. 25 of the Sāhitya Parishad plate as *Śrīmaty-Alhāṇadēvi*. The name of
the queen in l. 21 of the Madanapāḍā plate is certainly *Tāḍādēvi* as read by Majumdar. If the name read as
Chāndrādēvi in the Edilpur plate of Kṣāvasēna l. 23, is identical with *Tāḍādēvi*, which appears possible, the
Sēna records so far known have furnished the names of at least four queens of Lakshmapāsēna, viz., Śrīyādēvi,
Kalyāṇadēvi, *Alhāṇadēvi* and *Tāḍādēvi*. See the following note.—Ed.]

- 54 phalaṁ(lam) || [15*] [Āsphō]ṭayanti pitarō valgayanti pitāmahāḥ | bhūmidō-smat-
kulō jātaḥ sa nas-trā[tā bha]vishyati || [16*] Śba-
55 [shṭim] varsha-sa[hasrāṇi sva]rggē tishṭhati bhūmidah | ākshēptā ch-ānumantā eha
[tā]ny-ēva narak[ē vasēt] || [17*] Svadattām paradattām vā [yō]
56 [ha]rēta vasundharām(rām) | [sa] viśṭhāyām krimir-bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē ||
[18*] Iti kamala-dal-āmva(bu)-vi(bi)ndu-kṣlāḥ śriyam-anuohintya
57 [manushya-]j[ī]vitaḥ-cha | [saka]lam-idam-udāhṛitaḥ-cha vu(bu)ddhivā na hī puruṣaḥ
para-kirtayō vilōpyāḥ || [19*] Ari-rāja-Mada-
58 na-Śaṅkara-narapatir-akarōṇ-mantri-śata-mukhyaḥ(khyam) [*] Śaṅkaradharam-iha
dūtāḥ Gauḍa-mahāsāndhivigrahikāḥ(kam) || [20*]
59 Śri ni | mahā[-sā]ḥ ni | śrīma[d-rā]ja ni[ī] | śri-Madana-Śaṅkara ni. | śrīmat sāṅga-
samaya-ni.² | saṁ. 27 kā. dinē 6.

TRANSLATION.

Success. Ōm. Adoration to Nārāyaṇa.

(V. 1) May the god Pañchānana give you prosperity, in whose embrace his beloved Gaurī is like the lightning flash on the bosom of an autumn cloud, whose resplendent form rests with half his body in Hari; who makes his countenance terrible with three eyes shining like the burning sun; who as a lion (*pañchānana*) has vanquished the elephants who are the *dānavas*.²

(V. 2) Victory to the Moon, the lotus in the stream of the heavenly Ganges, the fountain of ambrosia-showers, the flower on the tree of love, the pearl adorning the bead of the Lord :—(the Moon) whose being is from the milky sea and who alone can make the lotus-clusters smile, the priest in the great rite which augments the kingdom of Love.

(V. 3) In his (*i.e.*, the Moon's) line were born princes who offered *sutras* to the Immortals incessantly, the sacrifices being performed with the wealth gathered during their conquest of the three worlds; princes whose fame was not confined within the girdle of the globe.

(V. 4) In Virasēna's family, the tale of whose virtues is told in Paurāṇic histories, Sāman-tasēna was born, a garland on the brow of the race of Karpāṭa *kehatrigas* :—who, being fully satisfied after³ leaving the face of the earth without a warrior, cleansed in the heavenly stream his sword, its edge dripping with the blood of opposing foemen.

(V. 5) From him was Hēmantasēna, the presiding deity of warriors, whose sworn purpose was the destruction⁴ of the armies of his enemies, whose majesty and might were objects of wonder; whose fame, like a jewel in the crown of the Sumēru mountain, bears the beauty of the silken (upper) garment of the goddess of Earth, the lower being the milky ocean.

¹ [Metre : *Arjū*; the second *pāda* is short by one syllable instant.—Ed.]

² The reading and interpretation of *sāṅga-samaya-ni* are doubtful. See the footnote to this line in the translation.

³ I am indebted to the Editor for the reading of the *akṣaras* 's-trāḥ sa, and for the now intelligible translation of this clause.

⁴ [See above, p. 5 n. 12.—Ed.]

⁵ *Mārkaṇḍeya* is, as Majumdar points out, parallel to *Mārkaṇḍeya* in the Deōpāra inscription (line 10, there also applied to Hēmantasēna), and occurs in a verse ascribed in the *Saduktikarṇāmritā* to Umāpatidhara, the poet who composed the Deōpāra inscription (*J. P. A. S. B.*, 1906, p. 161, verse 5, referred to by Majumdar, p. 193). Since verses 4 and 6 of the Mādhūnagar (and India Office) plate are parallel to verses 5 and 16 of the Deōpāra inscription it has been suggested that Umāpatidhara is the author also of this *praband*. See *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. V (1909), p. 469 (referred to by Majumdar, p. 197).

(V. 6) From him was born **Vijayasēna**, a mass of splendour, the only remainder of princes moving about in battles, by whom the name "King" was suffered in this world only in the case of the Moon, as being the progenitor ancestor of his house.

(V. 7) His fame is not satisfied with even the pervasion of the three worlds, (*thinking*) as it were with shame: "How extensive could the circuit of the earth be which was covered by the foot of the Dwarf! How large the abode of the Nāgas (*i.e.*, the nether world) which the serpents traverse on their bellies! How spacious the sky which the thighless one (*i.e.*, Aruṇa) crosses in a single day!"

(V. 8) From him issued **Vallālasēna**, lord of the earth, full moon of the whole world's rejoicing, who was sole suzerain not indeed of all princes alone but also of all learned men.

(V. 9) **Rāmadēvi**, the crest-jewel of far and near *harems*,¹ the crescent moon of the family of the **Chālukya** princes, who was an object of deep veneration even for Lakshmi and Prithivī, was his consort.²

(V. 10) From these two, who were as Vasudēva and Dēvaki themselves re-incarnated, was born Nārāyaṇa himself in the form of the illustrious King **Lakshmanasēna**,.....³

(V. 11) Whose sport in youth was the art of taking away by violence the fortune of the proud King of **Gauḍa**; whose....when a young man were made by the prince of **Kālīṅga** by means of women;⁴ by whom that king of **Kāśī** was defeated on the field of battle; fearing the edge of whose sword the lord of **Prāgjyōtiṣa** performed magic rites with the dust from his feet.⁵

(V. 12) How has he, who has from his very boyhood been victorious in battles rendering the earth empty of warriors, spared the guardians of the regions! (*Because*) these eight have entered his body consisting of eight principal parts, each according to his share (*kalā*)⁶ and the sword of *kshatriyas* does not act when (*an enemy has*) already fallen (or has sought refuge).⁷

(V. 13) Where, with the beauty of the foliage of the garden trees, [are] the half-curves of the **Śaivalinī**, in which the earth is thrilled with the beauties of the denizens of the moving water. Princes lose their lives, but not thereby (*the merit of their gifts*).⁸ These villages [and] royal charters in tens of millions at one time have been given.⁹

¹ [See above, p. 6 n. 10.—Ed.]

² [The idea apparently is that the king had several consorts among whom were counted also Lakshmi (*i.e.*, sovereignty) and Prithivī (*i.e.*, earth, territory). The last two were held in high esteem, but Rāmadēvi was respected even by them. With this description of Vallālasēna we may compare that of Dillipa in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*, I, 32: "*Kalatravāntam-ātmānam-avarōdhē mahaty-āpī | tayā mēnī manasvinyā Lakshmyā cha vasudhādhipāḥ ||*", to which Mallinātha's comments are: "*tayā Sudakṣiṇyā, Lakshmyā cha.....Vasudhādhipa ity-anēna Vasudhayā ch-ēti gamyate.*"—Ed.]

³ The reading of the rest of verse 10 is too uncertain to admit of translation.

⁴ The reference to Kālīṅga remains unintelligible, in the absence of a complete reading. I conjecture the meaning to be that tribute on *protipad* days in the shape of a gift of women was paid by the ruler of Kālīṅga to Lakshmanasēna, when the latter was a young man. [There is no evidence of Lakshmanasēna's sporting with or receiving gifts of Kālīṅga ladies. See above, p. 6 n. 21.—Ed.]

⁵ The reference is obscure. [Kāmarūpa is traditionally famous for sorcery.—Ed.]

⁶ [Cf. *uśtūnām dik-pālānām udtrābhīr-nirmatā nripaḥ*. Also *Manuśmṛiti*, VII, 4-7.—Ed.]

⁷ The translation follows the Editor's reading. See above p. 7, nn. 2, 3.—Ed.

⁸ The translation follows the Editor's reading. See above p. 7, n. 7.—Ed.]

⁹ *Naryān* is clear, but not intelligible. [Read *naryān*. See above p. 7, n. 7.—Ed.]

¹⁰ The construction is at least awkward, and leads me to suspect that I have misread something. [According to my reading the translation would be: where the river is like the heavenly Ganges (*i.e.*, Mandakīnī) on account of the beauty of the gardens and foliage (*found along its banks*); where the earth, on account of the merits of the country (*śamapada*), is so thrilled that her hair stands on end in the guise of the (*standing*) crops;] (*where*) the rulers would fain give up their lives but not the two supreme objects of desire—heaven and earth—and therefore divers villages were given (*by them*) in great numbers by means of grants.—Ed.]

(Ll. 24-28) His Majesty, from his illustrious camp of victory pitched in the environs of.....¹ —grāma, meditating on the feet of the mighty prince, the devout worshipper of Viṣṇu, His most excellent Majesty the King of Kings **Vallālasēna-dēva** :—His most excellent Majesty the King of Kings the victorious **Lakṣhmapasēna-dēva**, the Moon churned up by Mount Mandara out of the wealth of the...world, the Āditya of battles, the Śrī of the ocean (of knowledge),² the Lakṣmī of word-composition, the sun that opens the lotus of the Sēna family, the lord of Gaṇḍa, the mighty prince, the devout worshipper of Narasiṃha :—

(Ll. 28-32) to the assembled³ chiefs, chieftains, and queens, the *Rāṣakas*, the nobles, the royal councillors, the Chief Priest, the Minister for Justice, the Minister for Peace and War, the Commander-in-Chief, the Keeper of the Seal, the *Antaraṅga*, the *Bṛihaduparika*, the Superintendent of Accounts, the Chamberlain, the *Mahābhōgika*, the *Mahāpīlupati*, the *Mahāganyasṭha*, the *Daussādhikas*, the Superintendents of Police, those in charge of ships, troops, elephants, horses, cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep and the like, overseers of forests, *Daṇḍapāśikas*, *Daṇḍanāyakas*, officers in charge of districts (*viśayapati*), etc., and all other servants of His Majesty named in the list of officials⁴ and not here mentioned—

(L. 33) to persons belonging to the Chātṭa and Bhaṭṭa class, to the people in general, cultivators, Brāhmanas, and the chief Brāhmanas⁵—

(Ll. 34-37) (*His Majesty as aforesaid*) sends greeting as is fit and notification and command:—Be it noted by you that (*two parcels of land, as follows*) :—(1) in the *chaturaka* **Vaṭumbī** which forms part of the *devitti* **Vāśchaśa** (?) situated in the *bhukti* **Paṇḍravarddhana**, land bounded on the east by **Khāvōlāpāṇḍi**, on the south by **Jaladāṇḍi**, on the west and likewise the north by **Sujanadi**(?)—[the land] thus defined by four boundaries, together with the part-lands **Kaviḷḷi**, **Chuāchali**, **Gāṇḍōḷi** and **Dēhipā** ;

¹ See above, p. 7, n. 9.

² *Sāgara* may have a double reference to (1) the sea, from which Śrī emerged at the churning of the ocean, (2) the four *sāgaras* or encyclopædias composed by Vallālasēna (*Adbhuta*, *Dāsa*, *Pratishikḥā* and *Āchāra-sāgara*),—although Lakṣhmapasēna was part-author of the first only. [According to my reading this portion should be translated as : who has obtained the sovereignty of Gaṇḍa by churning the boundless ocean of battles with the Mandara (*mountain*) in the shape of his own arm.... See p. 7, notes 11, 12.—Ed.]

³ It is not to be supposed that any of the officials and others to whom the rescript is addressed were in fact assembled. The list appears to cover four categories—

- (a) the court or personal entourage of the King.
- (b) the great Ministers of State, usually marked by the prefix *Mahā*.
- (c) officials not of the highest rank, probably intended to be specified in the plural (from *daussādhika* to *viśayapati*).
- (d) petty officials and the general public.

⁴ *Adhyakṣa-prachāra* is the title of the chapter on officials in the *Kaṭṭiyya Artha-sāhita*. There was no doubt a Sēna Civil List defining the various officers and their duties.

⁵ Majumdar (*op. cit.* pp. 182-188) has an appendix on terms denoting official titles in Sēna inscriptions. He relies in the main on J. P. Vogel's *Antiquities of Chamba State : Part I, Inscriptions of the pre-Muhammadan period* (*Arch. Survey, New Imperial Series*, Vol. XXXVI, 1911); referring also to the *Mahāvyutpatti* (Caoma de Kōrōs' ed. and transl., *A. S. B. Memoirs*, Vol. IV, No. 1, 1910, pp. 29-35) and other sources. The following among his references may be mentioned in particular... *Antaraṅga*, court-physician (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 43); *Uparikā* (*Bṛihaduparika*), viceroy (Vogel p. 123; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 113 ff., the Damodarpur plates); *Gaṇḍika* (Vogel p. 127; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 253; *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 52; *Mahāvyutpatti*, p. 33); *Chātṭa*, head of a *parganā* (Vogel pp. 130-132; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, 296, 299; *ibid.*, XI, 19, 296, 299); *Chaurōddharasika* (Vogel p. 129); *Daṇḍapāśika* 'one who holds the rod and rope' (Vogel, p. 129); *Bhaṭṭa* (Vogel p. 132; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 18; and reference to *Mahāvyutpatti*, p. 31); *Mahākṣhapajālīka* (Vogel p. 133); *Mahāpīlupati* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, 43; *Mahāvyutpatti*, p. 30); *Mahāpratīhāra* (Vogel p. 135; *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 190); *Mahābhōgika* or *Mahābhōgapati* (Vogel p. 130; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 253, note 6).

(Ll. 37-40) (2) in the *chaturaka*....., land bounded on the east by two *sūtras* of land and **Sirhhaḍāvillī** situate in....., also by the southern portion of **Kaimajagrā-vāḍī**,¹ also by the water-exit situate in.....; on the south by **Jaladāṇḍī**; on the west by **Khāvōlāpāṇḍī**; on the north by **Valēṅgavēnada**,² the land thus defined by four boundaries [and being] the demesne of..... **makēśa-dēva**,

(Ll. 40-43) (these two parcels of land) thus measured and defined each by its own boundaries above mentioned,.....comprising a *drōṇika* and one quarter plus 22 *yashās*by the 22 cubit (measure)..... producing 400 *kapardaka-purāṇas* annually, with the four part-fields..... being two parts of one estate, with undergrowth and saplings, water and dry ground, broken ground and barren ground, betel and coconut trees; saving the ten sins [?], exempt from all annoyances, without right of entry by Chāṭṭas and Bhāṭṭas, free from all dues, with grass, *yūti*, pasturage and boundaries:—

To the *Pāṭhaka* **Padmanābhādēva-śarman**, follower of a school of the **Kauthuma** branch of the *Sāma-vēda*, of the *Maudgalya gōtra* and the *Aurva Chyavana Bhārgava Jāmādhya* and *Āpnavāna pravaras*, son of **Mahādēvadēva-śarman**, grandson of **Jayadēva-śarman** and great-grandson of **Buddhadēva(?)**-śarman:—

(Ll. 48-50) on a holy day, in due form, with the water-rite, in the name of the holy one, the glorious lord **Nārāyaṇa**, to win merit for the *Mahādēvi*... **pādēvī** and the *Mahādēvi* **Kalyāṇa-dēvī**:—

We renounce for so long as the Moon and Sun and Earth endure.....this land producing in all 400 (*kapardaka-purāṇas*), and by the *bhūmichchhidra* rule, having turned this into a title-deed on copper We hereby give it.

(Ll. 50-51) This is to be observed by you all without exception. By princes to come also this charter is to be maintained, from the fear of being cast into Hell if they should take away (the land granted) and from the high esteem of virtuous conduct if they maintain it. And in this connection there are verses enjoining (such) virtuous conduct: [Here follow six of the customary verses.]

(Ll. 57-58) The King, **Ari-rāja-Madana-Śaṅkara**⁴, has made the *Gauḍa-mahāsāndhivigrahika* **Śaṅkaradhara**, chief of a hundred councillors, his agent.

(L. 59) His Majesty's⁵ secretary.⁶ The *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*'s⁷ secretary. The secretary for the royal documents⁸ of His Majesty the King the illustrious **Madana-Śaṅkara**⁹, In the year 27 on day 6 of **Kārttika**.

¹ [*Chīmadagrāvāḍī*? See above p. 8 n. 11.—Ed.]

² [See above, p. 9 n. 3 and n. 4.—Ed.]

³ [See above, p. 8 n. 16.—Ed.]

⁴ **Ari-rāja-Madana-Śaṅkara** was the special title assumed by Lakshmanasena. See, for example, the Edilpur copper-plate of Kṛṣṇasena, line 43.

⁵ **Śrī** I take to be a symbol for royalty (the King) here.

⁶ The abbreviation *nī* appears to correspond to the final syllable in *śaṅkani* found in the last line of other Sēna plates, and to have some such meaning as is conveyed in the translation 'secretary'. [This abbreviation probably stands for *nībadīham*.—Ed.]

⁷ Abbreviated here, *Mahāsāndh*.

⁸ *Sāṅga-samaya nī* is obscure. I take it to mean "secretary for completed contracts", registration officer. (I was inclined to read *sāṅga-se[na]* *saptavī*, taking *saptavī* as a contraction for *saptavīśāḥ*, and understanding *sāṅga-samayasapt* to mean "in the completed year". But this is hardly justified.) [To me the reading appears to be *Sāhasamaya nī*.—Ed.]

⁹ The reading *śrīmad-rāja nī* is doubtful; and *nī* following *Madana-Śaṅkara* is again doubtful. The royal secretary cannot be thrice mentioned (*Śrī nī : śrīmad-rāja nī ; Śrī-Madana-Śaṅkara nī*). The translation given does not correspond with these doubtful readings, but may possibly convey the intended meaning.

No. 2.—RAJAHMUNDY MUSEUM PLATES OF THE TELUGU CHODA ANNADEVA.

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These plates were originally discovered at **Annaram** near **Tuni** in the East Godavari District; and they are at present deposited in the Municipal Museum at **Rajahmundry**¹. The following description of the condition of the plates is given in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras*, for 1911-12 :

"There are at present only four plates, the first of which is written on the inner side while the rest are written on both sides. The plates are not held together by a ring, and it is perhaps for this reason that we find some of them missing from the set. They roughly measure 11½" by 5½", and bear a circular hole on the left margin which was evidently meant to receive the ring. From the numbering of the plates found on their inner faces, not far from the ring hole, it is gathered that the missing plates must be the 2nd, 5th, 6th and one or more after the 7th."²

The plates are engraved in the **Telugu** characters of the early 15th century, resembling the alphabet of the other inscriptions particularly of the **Reddi** kings of the period, and call for no special remarks. As the letters are deeply cut the inscription offers no difficulty in decipherment.

Orthography : The cerebral *ja* is frequently used in the place of the dental *la*, e.g. *nikhila* (I, l. 1), *akhiḷa* (l. 3), *kamaḷa* (l. 3); *khēḷanti* (IV, l. 38), *taḷḷahu* (l. 37), etc. *Ṣa* is occasionally substituted for *sa* as in *Ṣiṅga* (III, l. 10), *Ṣiṅgaya* (VII, l. 8), etc. The *anusvāra* is invariably employed for the nasal; occasionally the letter following the *anusvāra* is needlessly doubled as in *prasamānnā* in I, l. 5; the consonant following the *rēpha* is doubled in certain places, e.g., *upasargga* (IV, l. 38), *jāgarṭṭi*, (III, l. 26), *mūrtti* (III, l. 23), etc. The text abounds in scribal errors which have been duly taken notice of and the necessary corrections have been indicated either in the body of the text or in the foot-notes accompanying it.

The **language** of the inscription is **Sanskrit**, and the text so far available, which is entirely in verse, consists of 68 complete verses and parts of two others. Of these, 47, including the two fragments, are in the *Vasantatilakā*, 17 in the *Āryā*, 4 in the *Upajāti*, 1 in the *Drutavilambita*, and 1 in the *Sārdūlarikrīḍita* metres.

The four plates bear the numbers 1, 3, 4 and 7. On the assumption that they all belong to one set of plates conveying a single gift, it has been gathered that the missing plates of the collection are the 2nd, 5th and 6th and also, one or more after the 7th, since the subject-matter in this last-mentioned plate is not complete³. But there are some difficulties militating against such an assumption. The verses on plates marked 1 and 7 are numbered while those on the plates marked 3 and 4 are not likewise numbered. Further, we have no clue in the plate marked 1 or in the other marked 7 to connect them, so far as their subject-matter is concerned, with the rest, i.e., those numbered 3 and 4, which are however continuous and interconnected. From this we get the first

¹ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, p. 172. [The plates are now reported to be missing.—Ed.]

² Part II, pp. 79-80. Mr. V. Apparao, who contributed an article on these plates (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 172 ff.), observes that 'the rims of these plates are slightly raised'. Moreover, he gives the measurements of the plates differently. They measure, according to him, 11½" by 5". The inclusion by him of the 7th plate among the missing is probably due to his failure to notice that the last of the set bears the number 7.

³ See below p. 48 n. 5.—Ed.]

impression that these four plates do not belong to one single set but are odd plates of different grants which have been accidentally found together. They may belong to more than one set, probably three, if we take the view that the plate marked I belongs to one set, those marked 3 and 4 to another and the one with No. 7 to a third¹.

However, this may not be the case and it is likely that they are all of one single set. Two factors are common to the plates. They are written in the same characters and style and contain the same variety of metres employed for the verses contained in them. The failure of the engraver to number the verses on the plates III and IV has probably to be attributed to his negligence, a tendency which has manifested itself even on the first plate. In the first plate, the first seven verses are correctly numbered; but the eighth verse bears the number 21, and the ninth has no number at all. This clearly indicates that the engraver has already abandoned the practice of numbering the verses. That may account for the absence of numerical figures to indicate the number of verses on plates III and IV. The seventh plate does not, however, admit of this explanation. As stated above, the verses on this plate are numbered; it opens with the 29th and closes with the 52nd verse. Why does the engraver revert again to the practice of numbering the verses, having abandoned it once before? A more important point which has to be taken notice of in this connection is the incompatibility of the figures attached to the verses with the number of the plate. It may be stated here that all the plates in this collection, contain 14 lines of writing except the last which has 15 lines on each of its two faces. Now, the first plate which is inscribed on only one side contains 9 verses. Taking roughly this to be the number of verses on each face of the remaining five plates, viz., II, III, IV, V and VI, they should have contained 90 verses on the whole. This, together with the 9 verses on the first plate, would come to 99 verses; and the seventh should have begun with the 100th verse and not the 29th. We have to assume that either the engraver for some unknown reason reverted to the plan of numbering the verses commencing again a fresh series somewhere about the middle of the inscription; or the plate under consideration belongs to a different set altogether. Neither of these alternatives is entirely free from difficulties. On the one hand, it is hard to believe that an engraver who had deliberately abandoned the scheme of enumeration had developed a fresh interest in it; and on the other the incompatibility of the number of the plate (viz., 7) with the numbers of the verses therein (viz., 29 to 52), still remains unexplained, even though we take the plate as belonging to another set for the sake of argument.

In conclusion we may leave the matter open for decision later on when the missing plates happen to be discovered, and, for the present, treat all the plates as belonging to one set since this does not lead to any complications.

Contents: The nine verses in the first plate are devoted to the invocation of several gods of the Hindu pantheon. The first three verses contain the praises of Sarasvatī; verse 4 is devoted to the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, verse 5 to Gaṇēśa, verse 6 to the Sun and the Moon, verse 7 to Durgā Mahishāsuramardini, verse 8 to Kṣētrapāla, and verse 9 to Śiva. The 36 unnumbered verses in plates III and IV describe the **genealogy** of the donor and the achievements of himself and his ancestors.

There was a king (his name is lost) who married **Annemāmbā**; and to them was born a king called **Ēruva Bhīma**. He married **Prōlāmbikā**; and their son was **Dāma** who married

¹ In support of this view, it may be stated that the first plate which measures 11·75" by 4·8" differs in its dimensions from the rest, each of which measures 11·9" by 5·3". These measurements are obtained from the impressions in my possession as the original which is unfortunately lost is no longer available.

Lakshmi. They begot **Sōma**, the husband of **Sūrāmbikā**, and from them was born **Garṅgādhara**, the husband of **Irugāmbikā**, who bore the title of *Arigamḍaraganḍa* (a hero to hostile heroes). Garṅgādhara and Irugāmbikā had a son, **Kāmarāja**, who, on account of his great devotion (*bhakti*) to Śiva came to be popularly known as **Bhaktirāja**. Even in his youth Bhaktirāja won a victory over the heroes, **Boggara** and other Yavana (Muhammadan) chiefs, in the neighbourhood of the town of **Gulapūrhḍi**; in the eastern direction, after winning a victory over the **Gajapati** in battle at **Pañchadhāra**, he installed the **Koppula** chief on his throne. He also subdued king **Siṅga** near the town of **Bharanipāḍu** in a battle; vanquished with considerable prowess **Daburu-Khānu** and others with their *rākshasa* forces near **Pedakomḍapuri**; and, defeated, as if in mere sport, king **Annavōta** in the vicinity of the city of **Sūravara**. Bhaktiśvara married **Annemāmbā**, and founded a city called **Kalyāṇa** which became famous as **Kāmapuri**, the crest-jewel of the **Āndhra** country. The sound of the bells indicating the hours when worship was offered to god Śiva from the sunrise onwards entered the minds of the people walking along the streets of the city through the path of their cars and destroyed their sins. The learned men of the city became involved in discussion about the values of things by looking at musk and other valuable commodities exhibited for sale in the streets of the city.

Bhaktiśvara begot a son, the great **Annadēva** who surpassed **Jayaṁta** in beauty, and **Mṛigāṅka** (Moon) in brilliance, and who was as liberal as the tree of wish (*pārijāta*) in the distribution of gifts. Annadēva reduced, by the prowess of his arm, the hostile kings to the position of harlots.¹ Having gone to the help of the king of the **Turushkas** (the Muhammadans), he overcame with the sole help of his sword, the **Karnāṭa** army at **Sagara**; and like Śiva capturing the **Tripuri** he took **Jaggavāga** and (two ?) other cities from his enemies. Annadēva of the **Chōḍa-kula** fostered gods and Brāhmanas with care, and having become endowed with all kinds of wealth (*aśearya*) by their favour, he was greatly devoted to the worship of god **Viśvanātha**.

Annadēva married **Irugāmbikā**, a sister of king **Pirṇunḍi**, and a daughter of **Chakravarti** of the solar family and had by her a son called **Virabhadra**. Annadēva defeated on the borders of **Attīli** all the southern kings who were hostile to him, and offered protection to 10,000 of the enemy's forces who took refuge within the walls of that city. For the purpose of protecting his friend, he performed a heroic sacrifice with **Pinayunḍi-rāja** as *adhvaryu* on the sacrificial altar of **Kāṁkaraṇapatti** on the bank of the **Gautamī** (i.e., **Gōḍāvari**), making the **Kannaḍa** and other enemies the sacrificial victims. Being desirous only of fame, he offered protection to the family of **Kāṭaya-Vēma**, who bowed to his feet. While Annadēva was ruling the earth, people lived without trouble, sporting happily in the sugarcane fields and areca palm groves. The wealthy city of **Mummaḍi-Prōlavāra**, the crest-jewel of his country, was a resort of the merchants from all quarters.

King Annadēva worshipped Śiva six times a day waving innumerable lights at the lotus-feet of the god; he presented a thousand cows to the deity, and strictly observed the rule of feeding the Brāhmanas daily. He built a beautiful gilded mansion of seven storeys ornamented with the gilded images of damsels bearing golden fan, fly-whisk, flag and an umbrella with pearl tassels. He fed everyday sumptuously Śaiva-Brāhmaṇas, ascetics and *yōgins*; made a gift called *Gōsahasra* to Brāhmanas in the presence of the god **Virabhadra** of **Paṭṭana**; and performed the *dāna* called *Saptasāgara* to quench their thirst, as it were. Having surpassed **Paraśurāma** by

¹ The significance of '*vīry-dāṁgandayita-virōdhī-dharmatāṇḍrō*' is not quite clear. [The idea seems to be that these kings were made to attend on various persons, probably at the Royal court, as the harlots have to entertain men without any choice on their part.—Ed.]

giving lands to Brāhman along with the gift called the *Sucarna-Mēru*, Annadēva resembled Raghunāyaka. He caused the shrine of Virabhadra, the lord of Gōmukhagiri, and the pinnacle of the temple of Bhīmēśvara of Drākshārāma, the crest-jewel of the Āndhra country who had been worshipped by the former Chōḍa monarchs of his family, to be overlaid with gold. He also granted several villages to god Viśvēśvara of Kāśī, the patron-deity of his family, and founded for the habitation of Brāhman, a village called (after him) Uttama-Gaṇḍa-Chōḍ-Annadēvavaram in Visaṇi-nāṇḍu at the confluence of the rivers Gaṇḍā and Pimnasānī. Annadēva also gave to Brāhman (*Mahājanas*) an *agrahāra* called Annadēvavaram on the bank of the Gaṇḍā near the western boundary of Pellūri-Śailavaram, and performed the marriages of several Brāhman couples.

The last or the seventh plate contains the names of donees who received *ṛittis* in a village, the name of which is lost. Of these, the following twenty-two received the *ṛittis* directly from the king, the donor :

No.	Name of the donee.	Father's name.	Gōtra.	No. of shares received.
1	Simḡaya	Kūchanārya	Bhāradvāja	1
2	Rāmachandra	Kōvūri Rāma	Kaumḍinya	1
3	Bhāskara	Nrihari	Kaumḍinya	1
4	Nārāyaṇa	Kāchibhaṭṭa	Kāśyapa	1
5	Aubhājēndra	Gōḍaparti Vallabha	Kāśyapa	1
6	Varadaya	Viddhaya	Ātrōya	1
7	Gaṇḍādhareṇḍra	Śrīrām-Ādima (Peda) Sim- gaya.	Kaumḍinya	1
8	Simḡana	Gauraya	Bhāradvāja	1
9	Purushōttama	Āditya	Harita	1
10	Tallaya	Chimṇipi Kūchaya	Harita	1
11	Viśvēśvara	Amnama	Kaumḍinya	1
12	Amnama	Gōpālabhaṭṭa	Harita	1
13	Annaya	Munḡapi Gaṇḍādhara	Kaumḍinya	1
14	Lakshmana	Vallabha	Bhāradvāja	1
15	Sādappula (Sādu Appala ?)	Vallabha	Kaumḍinya	1
16	Dumḡigaḍa Nāga	Nāgaya	Kāśyapa	1
17	Mallikārjuna	Rājekomḍa Mallaya	Kāśyapa	1
18	Maḡugūri Lakkana	Bhāradvāja	1
19	Śrīkrishṇa	Kōḷalapalli Ādima (Peda) Simḡaya.	Kāśyapa	1
20	Śrīrāma	Kamḍukūri Aubhaja	Harita	1
21	Ananta	Śrīkrishṇamayya	Śrīvata	1
22	Aubhaja	Dēvaya	Bhāradvāja	1

One of the twenty-two donees, (No. 1) Simhaya, son of Kūchanārya of the Bhāradvāja-gotra, is said to have been a friend of the king (*avasapati-mitra*), probably the donor of the *agrahāra*. Besides the twenty-two donees enumerated above, there were two others who did not receive their shares directly from the original donor but from the other donees. The *Mahājanas*, i.e., the Brāhmins who received shares in the *agrahāra*, granted one *grāhi* to Janārdana, son of Sarvadēva of the Kaundinya-gotra, and another to the god Kēdāra-Mahādeva who was set up with devotion by Mādhava, son of Kaljara Kommarāja.

The inscription is important as it furnishes valuable information about the history of the Ēruva branch of the Telugu Chōḍa family. A few more records of the family including the Madras Museum Plates of Bhaktirāja,¹ have been published; but the historical information that could be gleaned from them is so meagre that little more than the names of the princes of a few generations is known. But the present grant gives a fairly full account of the part played by the members of the family in the affairs of their respective ages. Seven generations of the family, as noticed already, are described in this grant and the names mentioned in it agree, with some variations, with those furnished in the Madras Museum Plates of Bhaktirāja. The genealogical lists given in these two records are subjoined hereunder for the purpose of comparison:—

The Madras Museum Plates.

Karikāla
 Nalla-Bhīma
 Dāma m. Lakshmi
 Sōma m. Sūrāmbikā
 Gaṅgādharma m. Irugāmbā, d. of Kāmabhūpa
 of the Lunar race and a sister of Vēṅga-
 bhūpati.
 Bhaktirāja

Present Plates.

..... = Annemāmbā
 Ēruva-Bhīma m. Prōlāmbikā
 Dāma m. Lakshmi
 Sōma m. Sūrāmbikā
 Gaṅgādharma m. Irugāmbikā
 Kāmārāja or Bhaktirāja m. Annemāmbā
 Annadēva m. Irugāmbikā
 Virabhadra

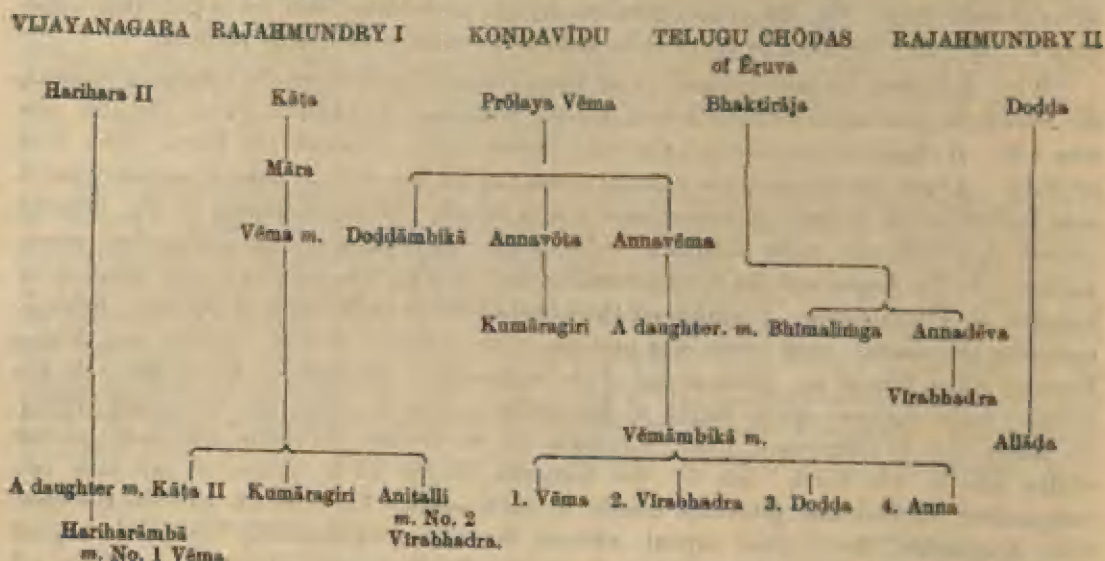
Five generations of the Ēruva Chiefs are mentioned in the Madras Museum Plates, while the present charter, however, enumerates seven generations. The name of the father of Ēruva-Bhīma and the husband of Annemāmbā is not known, as it is lost with the father of the second plate. Besides, it also includes Annadēva and Virabhadra, a son and grandson respectively of Bhaktirāja, not mentioned in the Madras Museum Plates, thus making up a pedigree of seven generations. Though the names of the remaining members of the family are common to both the charters, there are certain variations which must be noticed. Nalla-Bhīma of the Madras Museum Plates is spoken of in the present charter as Ēruva-Bhīma. The difference is not material. Bhīma is the actual name of the prince and the terms 'Nalla' and 'Ēruva' appear to have been prefixed to it to indicate the complexion of his body and the principality over which he held sway respectively. Again the name Bhaktirāja is said to be a sobriquet, acquired by the prince on account of his excessive devotion (*bhakti*) to the god Siva, his real name being Kāmārāja. Lastly the present charter

¹ J. O. B., Vol. V, pp. 128 ff.

mentions the wives of all the chiefs of the family excepting Annadēva's son Virabhadra who was probably unmarried at the time, whereas the Madras Museum Plates refer to the names of the wives of only three. The differences between the two genealogical lists are not of much consequence; they may therefore be taken to be genuine accounts of the family pedigree.

While describing the military activity of Annadēva and his ancestors, the inscription incidentally reveals the political condition and the inter-state relations in South India during the 15th century A.D. It alludes to wars between the South Indian states in which the Ēruva chiefs were involved. A brief description of the political geography of these warring states is necessary for a clear understanding of the events mentioned in this record. At the beginning of the fifteenth century there were five major kingdoms besides a few independent or semi-independent principalities: (1) The largest and the most powerful of the kingdoms was no doubt the kingdom of Karnāṭa or Vijayanagara. It embraced the whole of South India south of the river Kṛishṇā, excluding the coastal strip comprising portions of the present Nellore, Guntur and Kistna Districts which formed an integral part of the independent kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu. (2) The territory under the sway of the Redḍis of Koṇḍaviḍu extended along the east coast during the palmy days of their power, from Kāndukūr in the Nellore District to the shores of the Chilka lake in the north; but by the beginning of the 15th century it fell into two independent subdivisions generally hostile to each other. The southern half was governed from Koṇḍaviḍu, the original capital, whereas the city of Rajahmundry became the capital of the northern kingdom. (3) On the north of the Redḍi kingdom lay the dominions of the Gajapatis of Orissa, who, on account of their ancient connection with Southern Kāṣṇga (Ganjam, Vizagapatam and the East Godavari Districts), were vitally interested in the affairs of the Redḍi kingdom. (4) To the west of the Redḍi, the south-west of the Gajapati, and the north of the Vijayanagara territories lay the Velama kingdom of Telingāṇa with the ancient city of Warangal as its capital, and the forts of Rāchakoṇḍa and Dēvarākoṇḍa as its main strongholds. Despite the encroachments of the Bahmanī Sultans who had succeeded in annexing a considerable slice of the kingdom including the fort of Gōlkoṇḍa, the Velamas still held sway over an extensive dominion comprising Nalgōṇḍa, Mahbūbnagar, Warangal, Medak, Adilābād, and Karīmānagar Districts of the present Hyderabad state. (5) On the west of Telingāṇa and the north of Karnāṭa extended the territory of the Bahmanī Sultans comprising the whole of the south-western Dēccan from Gōlkoṇḍa in Telingāṇa to the shores of the Arabian sea in the west. Within these major kingdoms, especially in the dominions subjected to the authority of the Redḍis, there flourished several small principalities whose loyalty and submissiveness were conditioned by the capacity of the paramount power to exact obedience. Three such principalities deserve notice in this connection: (1) Ēruva, a small principality on the borders of the Nellore, Kurnool and Guntur Districts of the Madras Presidency, was the seat of one of the numerous branches of the Telugu Chōḍa family, of which Annadēva, the donor of the present grant, and his father Bhaktiśvara were distinguished members. (2) Kōrnkoṇḍa, a hill-fort in the Gōḍāvari valley at a distance of about nine miles to the north of Rajahmundry was the capital of the Mañchikoṇḍa chiefs who ruled over a small territory comprising the districts of Pāṇāra, Kōṇa, Kuravāṭa, and Chēngara. (3) The coastal strip from the banks of the Gautamī to Simhachalam in the Vizagapatam District was originally under the Koppula chiefs who had Piṭhāpuram in the East Godavari District, as their capital, but with the advent of the Mañchikoṇḍa chiefs, their authority in the Gōḍāvari valley came to an end; and they were obliged to retire eastwards into the hilly region in the western part of the present Vizagapatam District, where they appear to have been ruling at the time of Bhaktirāja's victory at Pañchadhāra.

As the ruling families of several of the states mentioned above were connected by marriage alliances which influenced the course of events described in the present record, a chart showing their inter-relationship is given below :—



Of the Eḡuva chiefs mentioned in this charter, only three *viz.*, Eḡuva-Bhīma, Bhaktirāja and Annadēva, deserve any notice here.

1. **Eḡuva Bhīma** has been identified with a certain Mailama-Bhīma, a chief of unknown origin, whose military exploits are recounted in a few Telugu *Chōḍu* verses,¹ but this identification is not beyond question. It is pointed out that the mother of Mailama-Bhīma, as indicated by the name itself, was Mailama, whereas it is definitely stated in the present inscription that the name of Eḡuva Bhīma's mother was Annemāmbā. These two persons, therefore, could not have been identical². Apart from the literary reference, there is an epigraph assignable to the middle of the 13th century at Tāḷla-Proddutūr in the Cuddapah District which gives some definite information about the activities of Eḡuva-Bhīma.³ This epigraph which consists of a single verse in the *Uṭpala-mālā* metre, states that Viṣaṇa-nāḍu, Chakraghoṭṭa, Manniya, Vaḍḍe Tekkali, Manthana, Vēngi, Kāḷiṅga and other countries were ruined by an invasion of Eḡuva-Bhīma. The circumstances in which he had undertaken this expedition are not known. It may be remembered that Bhīma was but the chief of a small principality, and with his limited resources he could not have by himself embarked on a prolonged military campaign, and successfully penetrated to Chakrakōṭṭa in the Bastar State. He must have had a powerful ally, whom he might have actually assisted in subjugating the places mentioned in the Tāḷla-Proddutūr epigraph. To discover who this ally was, the age in which Bhīma himself lived must be ascertained at first. Bhaktirāja, the fifth in descent from Bhīma, made a gift of the village of Kaṇḍavakolanu or Kaḍavakolanu on Monday the 7th November A.D. 1356 to a bachelor called Viṣvanātha at Śrīśaila.⁴

¹ V. Prabhakara Sastri—*Chōḍupadya-maṇimāṇjari*, ii, p. 58.

² T. N. Ramachandran—*J. O. R.*, Vol. V, p. 132. V. Apparao believes that Mailama-Bhīma was also known as Eḡuva-Bhīma. How this could have been possible, he does not, however, explain (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 175-6).

³ No. 308 of 1935-6 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection; published in *Bhāratī* Vol. XV, p. 158.

⁴ *J. O. R.*, Vol. V, p. 334.

Taking this year to be the first year of his reign and allowing a duration of 25 years for each generation, we get $1356 - (4 \times 25) = \text{A.D. } 1256$ as the approximate date of the commencement of Bhīma's reign. The whole of the Telugu country including the principality of Ēruva acknowledged the supremacy of the Kākatiyas at this period. As a matter of fact the officers of the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati were engaged in reducing Vēṅgi and Kāliṅga¹; and it is not unlikely that they might have subdued portions of the Central Provinces including Chakraghoṭṭa. Therefore it is not improbable that Bhīma, who from all accounts appears to have been a distinguished warrior, followed the Kākatiya armies and contributed much to their success.

2. **Bhaktirāja** also was a great warrior. The present inscription gives a full account of his achievements. He is said to have waged war successfully with several chiefs.

i. While he was still a youth, Bhaktirāja defeated Boggara and other Muhammadan warriors in a battle in the neighbourhood of Gulapūṇḍi.

ii. He defeated in the east the Gajapati near Pañchadhāra, and installed the Koppula chief on his throne.

iii. Near the city of Bharanipāḍu, he defeated the famous warrior Siṅga.

iv. In the vicinity of Pedakoṇḍapurī he overthrew the demoniac armies of Daburu-Khānu and others.

v. He overcame Annavōta in a battle near the town of Sūravara.

These achievements of Bhaktirāja must be assigned to a period subsequent to A.D. 1356, the year in which he granted the village Kaḍavakolanu to the Śaiva ascetic Viśvāśvara of Śrīparvata; for, in the charter recording this grant, though his valour is praised in general terms, no specific mention is made of any enemy whom he had overthrown in battle. It is unlikely that the author of the *prāśasti* would have failed to mention his victories, had he any to his credit at that time. Moreover, the earliest known record of his son and successor Annadēva is dated in Śaka 1310, Vibhava, i.e., A.D. 1388-89.² Bhaktirāja's reign may be taken to have terminated some time before that year. He probably ascended the throne in A.D. 1356 itself; and it is not probable that he could have won any notable victory so early in his reign.

i. *Victory over Boggara*:—According to the present Rajahmundry Museum Plates, his **victory over the Muhammadans under Boggara** and others was won while he was yet a youth. This clearly indicates that he was a young man at the time of his accession to his ancestral throne, and harmonizes well with the comparatively long period suggested for his reign by the inscriptions mentioned above. Boggara is a Sanskrit corruption of Bughra, a name common enough among the Mussalmans of the 14th century A. D. It is not possible, however, to identify the bearer of this name in the present context. Nor is it possible to fix the locality where the encounter took place. Gulapūṇḍi is no doubt the same as Gollapūḍi; but as several villages in the Telugu country go by that name, no definite conclusions can be reached about its identity.³ It may, however, be remembered in this connection that this was Bhaktirāja's first victory, won by him while he was still a youth. As he was a scion of the Ēruva family and as his only known inscription records the gift of a village to a religious teacher residing at Śrīparvata, it may be reasonably assumed that Gulapūṇḍi where he defeated Bughra Khān was situated somewhere in the southern Telugu country.

¹ *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 3, ii. p. 16, Upparapalli Inscription of the reign of Gaṇapatiśa—Cf. M. Somaśekhara Śarma, Kākatiyas and Kāliṅga, *Kāliṅga-Saichika*, p. 381.

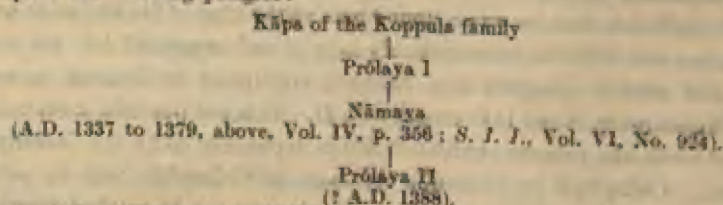
² No. 254 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

³ A village called Gollapūḍi is found in the Bapatla taluk of the Guntur District; another in the Bezvada taluk and a third in the Nuzvid division of the Kistna District.

ii. *Victory over the Gajapati king*:—Bhaktirāja's second victory was won over the Gajapati at Pañchadhāra in the Vizagapatam District. As this victory is said to have led to the installation of the Koppula chief on his throne, it is reasonable to infer that the Koppula chief, whose territory extended up to Sindhāchalam in the Vizagapatam District, was expelled from his country by the Gajapati and that Bhaktirāja assisted the dispossessed chief to win back his dominions. It may be pointed out here that the Koppula chiefs were ousted, as mentioned already, from the Gōdāvari Valley by Mañchikōṇḍa Mummaḍi-Nāyaka and his brothers (*Madras Epigraphical Report* 1911-12, Part II, para. 68, and above, Vol. XIV, p. 96) and the attack of the Gajapati on their dominions appears to have been somehow connected with the invasion of the Mañchikōṇḍa chiefs. The Gajapati seems to have attacked the Koppulas either in concert with Mummaḍi-Nāyaka or on his own account, taking advantage of the confusion caused in their dominions by the Mañchikōṇḍa invasion. The Gajapati whom Bhaktirāja defeated at Pañchadhāra must have been Vīra-Bhānudēva (? A.D. 1350 to 1378), son and successor of Narasimha III; and the Koppula chief on whose behalf he waged war upon the Gajapati was probably Kāpaya II or one of his cousins.¹ Bhaktirāja, it may be recollected, was the ruler of a minor principality in the southern Telugu country; and his strength and resources must have been limited. The circumstances under which he managed not only to wage war successfully on the Gajapati, the powerful king of Kaṭiṅga, but also to restore, in the teeth of his opposition, the Koppula chief to his ancestral dominions are not even hinted at.

To understand the political situation under which these events came to pass, it is necessary to recapitulate briefly the history of the east coast of the Telugu country during the years that immediately succeeded the fall of the Kākatiya monarchy. The Muslim rule, if it had ever been effectively established, lasted only a short while. The actual administration of the country remained in the hands of the Hindus. The country was partitioned among a host of petty kings, seventy-five in number, according to the Kaluvacheru grant of Anitalli dated A.D. 1423²; and they, having united together under the leadership

¹ The Dōnepūṇḍi grant of Nāmaya-Nāyaka of A.D. 1338 (above, Vol. IV, p. 356) and the Sindhāchalam inscription of his son Prōḷa II, dated A.D. 1388 (*S. I. J.*, Vol. VI, No. 822) which give the genealogical account of the Koppula family yield the following pedigree:



The date of the latter inscription is unfortunately partially effaced. The last two figures preserved in the chronogram; 'Kēṇḍa' i.e., '10' (*Ibid.*, l. 9) enable us to restore the date completely. It is said that Prōḷa II, the donor of the inscription under consideration, was the son of Nāmaya, grandson of Prōḷa I and great-grandson of Kāpaya. Nāmaya mentioned in this record is identical with the donor of the Dōnepūṇḍi grant dated Ś. 1259. He also figures as the donor of another epigraph at Sindhāchalam (*S. I. J.*, Vol. VI, No. 924) dated Ś. 1291. His son Prōḷa could not have been living in Ś. 1210. Since the latest of Nāmaya's inscriptions is dated in Ś. 1291, the first two figures of the date of Prōḷa II in the inscription must be 13. It is therefore obvious that the date of the inscription in question is Ś. 1310 (= A.D. 1388).

Besides the chiefs mentioned in the above pedigree, Koppula-Pōḷi Nāyaḍu, evidently an earlier member of the family who flourished about A.D. 1269 (*S. I. J.*, Vol. IV, No. 765), and a certain Koppula Kāpaya-Nāyaka (*S. I. J.*, Vol. VI, No. 821) who lived about A.D. 1360 are referred to in the inscriptions. Their position in the family pedigree cannot be ascertained at present.

² *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. I, p. 107.

of a certain Prōlaya-Nāyaka, expelled the Muhammadans and re-established the Hindu independence. Prōlaya was succeeded by Kāpaya, and after the demise of the latter the petty chiefs asserted their independence; but soon the stronger subdued their weaker neighbours and laid the foundations of powerful kingdoms. One of these was the Redḍi chief Prōlaya-Vēma, the ruler of Addanki, in the southern fringe of the present Guntur District. He welded together the small states in the coastal region to the south of the Kṛishṇā into a strong kingdom, and extended his territory further by bringing the whole of the east coast as far as the frontier of Orissa under his sway. His victories on the east coast are detailed in a copper-plate charter dated in A.D. 1336, where, among other things, it is said that he crushed the honour of Kālīngarāya, burnt the abode of Oḍḍiyarāya and confounded the Rāya of Janturnāḍu, sported in the waters of Kuṇḍi-prabhā (the Guṇḍlakamma), Sabyajā (the Kṛishṇā) and Gautamī (the Gōḍāvarī), and that he granted many *agrahāras* to the Brāhmanas, and established *satras* (feeding houses) in the country lying on both the banks of as well as in between the rivers Brahmakuṇḍī (the Guṇḍlakamma), Kṛishṇavēṇī, Gōḍāvarī and Mahānāḍī. It is obvious that Vēma's military activity extended over the whole east coast from the river Guṇḍlakamma in the south to Cuttack on the banks of the Mahānāḍī in the north. He does not, however, appear to have retained all his northern conquests; and his authority in the north of the Gōḍāvarī did not perhaps long outlast the period of conquest, for the Gajapati seems to have soon reasserted his power and recovered the country as far as the Gōḍāvarī, as is covertly alluded to in the charter under consideration. Moreover, an epigraph at Pañchadhārāla in the Vizāgapatam District dated A.D. 1403, suggests that Chōḍa II, the grandfather of the Kōṇa-Haihaya chief Chōḍa III, who must have lived about the middle of the 14th century A.D., was an ally, if not actually a subordinate of the Gajapati³. Chōḍa II probably ousted the Koppula family from its hereditary possessions with the help of the Gajapati; and the dispossessed member turned for help to Annavōta, who, by this time, had succeeded his father Vēma on the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu. As a matter of fact, Annavōta's presence in the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry at a striking distance from the southern frontier of Kālīṅga about this time is testified to by an inscription at Drākshārāma of A.D. 1357.⁴ Moreover, in one of Annavēma's early records dated A.D. 1371 it is stated that Annavōta overthrew his enemies from the Kṛishṇā to the Gōḍāvarī, thence as far as the Vindhyas.⁵ There is thus sufficient evidence to justify the assumption that Annavōta had marched with his army against the Gajapati about A.D. 1357 to drive him back and restore the Koppula chief to his throne; and Bhaktirāja, who must have been a subordinate of Annavōta at that time, had accompanied him and distinguished himself in the campaign. If what is said above is not unreasonable, it may be stated that the battle of Pañchadhārā mentioned in this charter appears to have been a decisive engagement, which finally brought the campaign to a close.

iii. *Victory at Bharanipāḍu*:—Bhaktirāja is said to have **vanquished** a king called **Sīṅga** in the vicinity of the city of Bharanipāḍu⁶. This king still remains unidentified. There were at

³ No. 5 of 1919-20, above, Vol. XXI, pp. 267 ff.

⁴ S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 657.

⁵ S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 1387.

⁶ *Andhrapatrika* (Annual Number 1922, p. 168).

*Jitvā śrīy-Anapōta-bhūtalapatir-vīrān-arāṭṭa balād-
ā Kṛishṇā-tāṭini-tatād-bhavanam-apy-ā Gautamī-vṛṭṭasā l
ā Vindhyād-iti yāt-bharidra-rachanam yasy-āpadāṅg-stūṭas
pratyakṣam pratipakṣa-dāya-jayina-tat-pārapatāḍyitam ||*

⁷ In the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* (Southern Circle) for 1911-12, Part II, p. 80, it is said that Bhaktirāja killed a king called Sīṅga close to the town of Bharanipāḍu. This is not quite accurate as the text of the inscription has *vyanaśikṛ* meaning only 'vanquished'.

this time two kings of this name. One of them was the Velama ruler of Rāchakoṇḍa in the present Nalgonda District of the Nizam's State, who was assassinated at the siege of Jallipalli in Śaka 1283, Śārvari, (A.D. 1361-62) by Tambaḷa Bommajiyya¹; the other was a brother of Mummaḍi-Nāyaka, the ruler of Kōrukoṇḍa in the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry. According to the Śrīraṅgam plates dated A.D. 1358-59, Mummaḍi-Nāyaka who conquered 'the countries of Pānāra, Kōna, Kuravāṭa, Cheṅgara and others lying on either bank of the river Gōdāvarī, allowed his younger brother Siṅga' to govern the principality of Kōṭyapuri.² Now, the king Siṅga whom Bhaktirāja vanquished must have been one of these two chiefs. It may be noted that most of Bhaktirāja's activities were confined to the valley of the Gōdāvarī, and he does not appear to have had any connection with Teliṅgāna where Siṅga of Rāchakoṇḍa was ruling. Moreover, the *Velugōṭicūritamśāvaḥ*³ which enumerates the enemies of the Velama king does not mention Bhaktirāja among his foes. Therefore, it is unlikely that he should have come into conflict with Bhaktirāja. There is, on the other hand, much presumptive evidence for believing that Siṅga mentioned in the present charter is identical with Siṅga, one of Mummaḍi-Nāyaka's younger brothers. It may be noted that Mummaḍi who conquered the territory on both the banks of the Gōdāvarī entrusted the government of Kōṭyapuri and Tāḍipāka to his younger brothers Siṅga and Ganna respectively. Kōṭyapuri⁴ is identical with Koṭṭhām in the Tuni division and Tāḍipāka with Tāṭipāka in the Razole taluk of the East Godavari District. This territory originally belonged to the Koppula chiefs. According to the Dōnepūṇḍi grant of A.D. 1338, Koppula Nāmaya-Nāyaka was ruling at that time 'the *Āndhrakhaṇḍa-maṇḍala*' extending from the banks of the Gautamī river (i.e., the Gōdāvarī) to Kaḷiṅga with the city of Piṭhāpuri as his capital.⁵ Now, in the Śrīraṅgam plates of Mummaḍi-Nāyaka dated A.D. 1358, it is stated, as noted already, that he conquered the country on both the banks of the Gōdāvarī. It follows from this that Mummaḍi-Nāyaka wrested this territory from Nāmaya-Nāyaka between A.D. 1338 and 1358. As Mummaḍi married a niece of the famous Āndhra-Surastrāṇa Kāpaya-Nāyaka, a fact which is particularly mentioned in the records of Mummaḍi and his brothers,⁶ it is not unlikely that he should have received the help of his powerful relative in effecting the conquest. If Bhaktirāja, as stated in the present grant, had restored the Koppula chief to his kingdom, he could not have accomplished the task without coming into conflict with Mummaḍi-Nāyaka and his brothers. Therefore the Siṅga who sustained a defeat at Bharapipāḍu at the hands of Bhaktirāja has to be identified with Siṅga, the younger brother of Mummaḍi-Nāyaka of the Kōrukoṇḍa family.

iv. *The victory at Pedakoṇḍa* :—The town Pedakoṇḍa, where Bhaktirāja won a victory over the Muhammadans under **Daburu-Khānu**, is identical with Pedakoṇḍa in the Bhadrachalam taluk of the East Godavari District. The original form of Daburu-Khānu which is but a Telugu corruption of the name of the chief, cannot be definitely restored, as it may stand for Dabir Khān or Zafar Khān. In any case, his identity cannot be established with certainty, though it may be surmised that he must have been connected with one of the Muslim sovereigns who invaded Tilang at this time.

¹ The *Velugōṭicūritamśāvaḥ*, p. 23.

² Above, Vol. XIV, p. 96.

³ The *Velugōṭicūritamśāvaḥ*, pp. 17-18.

⁴ K. Rama Sastri and T. A. Gopinatha Rao have suggested different identifications for Kōṭyapuri. The former identifies it with Kōṭipalli on the Vṛddha-Gautamī (above, Vol. XIII, p. 261); and the latter with a place called Kōṭi in the Rajahmundry taluk of the East Godavari District (*ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 89).

⁵ Above, Vol. IV, p. 371.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 272; Vol. XIV, p. 95.

The Delhi Sultan, Firūz Tughluq made an attack upon Jājnagar in 761 A.H. (October-November, A.D. 1360); he marched upon the city of Banārasi (Cuttack), the capital of the Gajapati. On the approach of Firūz, the Gajapati, Vira-Bhānudeva II, crossed the Mahānadī and retreated towards Tilang. The Sultan pursued him for a day, but giving up the pursuit busied himself in the neighbourhood.¹ Though the Sultan himself abandoned the pursuit, he might have entrusted the task to Zafar Khān, the pretender to the throne of Lakhnauti, who appears to have accompanied him during the expedition. It is not unlikely that this Muslim chief should have advanced as far as the Gōdāvarī where he might have been opposed at Pedakoṇḍa by Bhaktirāja and repulsed. This is one possibility. The other is that Bhaktirāja might have come into conflict with the forces of the Bahmanī Sultan, and won a victory over them near Pedakoṇḍa. The Bahmanī armies invaded Tilang during the period of Bhaktirāja's rule on two occasions, once during the reign of 'Alā-ud-dīn Hasan and then again in the time of his son and successor Muḥammad Shāh I. As the second invasion did not proceed beyond Filampāṭan or Vēlampāṭan, a place which is said to have been at a distance of eight days' journey from Kalyan,² the army could not have reached Pedakoṇḍa on the eastern bank of the Gōdāvarī in the Ghats. But the invasion which was led by 'Alā-ud-dīn himself in person in A.D. 1357, appears to have swept over the whole of Tilang. Sayyid 'Ali gives a brief account of the invasion in his *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*.

"After spending some time in pleasure in his capital, he (the Sultan) was again desirous of conquering the country of Tilang. . . . For nearly a year he travelled through the country of Teliṅgāna, and having taken possession of the district of Bhōnāgīr, he overthrew the idol-temples and instead of them built mosques and public schools."³

Sayyid 'Ali's account is corroborated by the evidence of the contemporary inscriptions. An epigraph of Pillalamagiri near Warangal which may belong to A.D. 1357 records that the temple of Erukēśvaradēva which was destroyed by Sultan 'Alā-ud-dīn was rebuilt by a certain Erapōtu Lemka, a servant of Kāpaya-Nāyaka, the lord of the Āndhra country.⁴ The invasion did not stop with Bhōnāgīr but spread south-eastwards towards the sea, and reached Dharanikōṭa on the banks of the Kṛishṇā. An epigraph in the temple of Amarēśvara at Amarāvati in the Guntur District dated 22nd July A.D. 1361, describes how Kētaya Vēma, an officer of king Anavōta of Koṇḍaviḍu, repulsed the Muslim cavalry and re-installed the image of Amarēśvara, which had evidently been destroyed by the invaders.⁵ Kētaya was assisted in the battle by Malla, one of king Anavōta's paternal uncles. In an unpublished copper-plate charter of Śivaliṅga Redḍi, a descendant of Malla, dated A.D. 1413, it is said that Malla defeated 'Alā-ud-dīn and other Turushka warriors.⁶ Therefore, the Bahmanī invasion was checked by the Redḍis at Dharanikōṭa and turned back. Though 'Alā-ud-dīn's activities in other parts of Tilang are not known, he appears to have reduced the country from Bhōnāgīr to the banks of the river Gōdāvarī to subjection. 'His dominions', according to Sayyid 'Ali, 'extended from the east side of Daulatābād to Bhōnāgīr and the river Gōdāvarī both north and south sides—to

¹ The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shāhi* (G. O. S. LXIII), pp. 135-36.

² Briggs: *Ferishta*, Vol. II, p. 303.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 152.

⁴ *Teliṅgāna Inscriptions*, p. 163.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 226.

⁶ *Local Records*, Vol. III, p. 409.

*Vēmādhikāṣay=āwarajō=pi Malla-
Bhūvallaḥḥō=saṁ jagan-ōḥa-gaṇḍah |
Alā-ud-dīn-ādī-Turushka-mallān
samullasaḍ=bhalla-gaṇḍa vijitga ||*

the river Ganga'.¹ An officer who probably bore the name of Dabir or Zafar Khān and who was in the service of Sultan 'Alā-ud-dīn might have attempted to cross the Ghats through the valley of the Gōdāvarī and found his path barred at Pedakonda by Bhaktirāja, who having inflicted a defeat on his forces, had compelled him to retreat.

v. *Victory at Sūravaram* :—The last military achievement attributed to Bhaktirāja in these plates is a **victory** which he is said to have won over a certain king called **Annavōta** at Sūravaram. The identity of this king cannot be definitely established, as there were two contemporaries of Bhaktirāja who bore this name. One of them was the Redḍi ruler, Anavōta, the son of Prōlaya Vēma, who has been already mentioned in an earlier context. The other was Anavōta, the son of Rāvu Siṅga, the king of Rāchakonda in Tilang. Which of these two was the king who sustained defeat at the hands of Bhaktirāja on the battlefield of Sūravaram cannot be determined at present with certainty.² We may, however, attempt to solve the problem by ascertaining the location of Sūravaram, the site of the battle, which may perhaps throw some light on the subject. The place, however, cannot be identified definitely. Several villages of the name of Sūravaram or Sūrapuram are mentioned in the *Postal Directory* and the *List of Villages in the Madras Presidency*.

Village.	Taluk or Division.	District.
1. Sūravaram	Chicacole	Ganjam.
2. Sūravaram	Palakonda	Visagapatam.
3. Sūravaram	Bhadrachalam	E. Godavari.
4. Sūravaram	Bhadrachalam	E. Godavari.
5. Sūravaram-Annavaram	Tuni	E. Godavari.
6. Sūravaram	Nuzvid	Kistna.
7. Sūrapuram	Nidadavole	W. Godavari.

Assuming that all these villages were in existence during the period under consideration, it is difficult to discover which of these was actually the site of the battle. Of these, Sūravaram in the Chicacole taluk of the Ganjam District may be excluded from the present discussion, as it lay outside the Redḍi dominions. All the other villages must have been included in the Redḍi kingdom, as they are situated in the deltas of the Kṛishṇā and the Gōdāvarī. It is interesting to note

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 152. The description of the boundaries given here is rather vague; and the translation agrees with the original text closely. In the published Persian text, the passage describing the boundaries runs as follows:

بالجملة سلطان را درون مدت اکثر بلاد و قلام ملک دکن در قبضه اقتدار و ضبط بادگان درگاه
کیتی پناه در آمد - چنانچه از جانب شرق دولت آباد تا بهونگیر و آب گوداوری جانب شمال و جانب
جنوب تا آب کنگ . . . بود -

(*Tarikh-i-Burhān-i-Ma'āsir*, p. 28). It is rather difficult to understand how the Gōdāvarī could have formed the boundary of Sultan 'Alā-ud-dīn's territory both on the north and the south. The idea which the author wanted to convey was probably that 'Alā-ud-dīn's dominions extended from Bhōnāgir to the Gōdāvarī and also from Gōdāvarī to (Pen) Gāngā.

² Mr. T. N. Ramachandran asserts that the identity of Anavōta, who was defeated at Sūravaram, 'becomes clear from the Vānapalli plates of Anna-Vēma dated Śaka 1300' (*J. O. R.*, 1931, p. 133.). It is true that the inscription in question mentions the Redḍi king Anavōta, but does not offer any clue which may lead to the identification of Bhaktirāja's enemy. The Vānapalli plates, as a matter of fact, have no bearing on the present problem.

that no village of the name of Sūravaram is found in Tilang, as far as it can be ascertained from the available records. Nor is there any evidence to show that Anavōta of Rāchakoṇḍa had ever led an expedition to the coastal region. Taking all these facts into consideration, the probability appears to be that the person who suffered defeat at Sūravaram was not Anavōta of Rāchakoṇḍa, but the Redḍi ruler of Koṇḍaviḍu of that name. Another fact which lends support to this view must be noticed in this connection. During the latter part of the reign of Anavōta there was a widespread rebellion against his authority in the northern part of his kingdom, and he lost control over the territory beyond the Kṛishṇā.¹ Though the incidents of this rebellion are not yet fully known, the total absence of the Redḍi inscriptions between A.D. 1363 and 1371 seems to indicate that the power of the Redḍis suffered an eclipse. The attack on Dharaṇikōṭa by Māda, the younger brother of Anavōta of Rāchakoṇḍa, and the defeat of Anavōta-Redḍi in battle and his flight must also be assigned to this period.² Taking advantage of the troubles that had beset his overlord, Bhaktirāja appears to have joined the rebels, and asserted his independence. Anavōta appears to have made an attempt to put down the rebellion and reassert his authority. The rebel forces, however, proved too much for his strength and he sustained defeat at the hands of Bhaktirāja.

Two more facts are mentioned in the present inscription about Bhaktirāja. (1) He laid the foundations of a new city which he called after his own name **Kāmapurī**; and it seems to have been made **the capital of his principality**. The situation of Kāmapurī is not definitely known, as no village of that name is found at present in the east coast of the Telugu country. There are, however, two villages bearing the name of Kāmavaram which is generally believed to be a corruption of Kāmapuram. One of them is now a deserted village in the Ellavaram division of the East Godavari District; and the other is situated in the Vizianagaram taluk of the Vizagapatam District. Besides these villages there is a Kāmavarapupāḍu in the Ellavaram division, and a Kāmavarapukōṭa, the headquarters of a taluk of that name in the West Godavari District. Mr. V. Apparao believes that the latter is identical with the town founded by Bhaktirāja.³ (2) He also **married Annemāmbā** by whom he had a son called Annadēva. Bhaktirāja had according to Niśāṅku Kommana, a contemporary writer, another son called Bhīma or Bhīmaliṅga,⁴ of whom nothing is said in this inscription. This has probably to be attributed to the want of cordiality between the brothers, the causes of which will be explained presently.

¹ *Madras Ep. Rep.*, 1915, part ii, para. 59. This record (No. 20 of 1915) which was set up at Śrīlallam in A.D. 1377 by an officer of Koṇḍaviḍu refers to certain events which seem to have taken place before Anavēma's accession. It is said that Anavēma destroyed a number of forts both on land and in the water (*sthala-durga* and *jala-durga*) in the deltas of the Kṛishṇā and the Gōdāvarī. This region was, according to Errā Preṅṅaḍa's *Harivamśa* under the sway of Prōlaya Vēma (*Harivamśa*, part ii, 2: 1: 4: 1); and it was included in the dominions subjected to the authority of Anavōta until A.D. 1357, as shown by the Drākṣhārāmam epigraph cited above. There would have been no occasion for Anavēma to conquer, much less to destroy the *sthala-durgas* and *jala-durgas* in the deltas of the Kṛishṇā and the Gōdāvarī, had there been no rebellion in this region. Anavēma's authority was recognized in the Gōdāvarī valley from the very beginning of his reign, as shown by his inscriptions (above, Vol. III, pp. 286 ff.; *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 785; *ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 115; above, Vol. III, pp. 59 ff.; No. 446 of 1893 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection). Therefore, the rebellion referred to above must have broken out before Anavēma's accession. Probably Anavēma himself was benefited by the rebellion; for, in the Śrīlallam inscription mentioned above, Anavēma is said to have been the lord chosen by the damsel of sovereignty in a *svayamvara* (*rājya-ramarasāṇi-svayamvara-labha-nāyaka*). This is a covert statement which alludes to the illegal assumption of sovereignty by Anavēma, setting aside his nephew Kumārāgiri, the rightful heir to the throne. Anavōta probably died unexpectedly while the rebels were still at large; and taking advantage of the prevailing confusion in the kingdom, Anavēma seized the throne ignoring the claims of his young nephew.

² The *Velugōḍipuri-rasāśāṁṣi*, vv. 80, 81.

³ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, p. 181.

⁴ Niśāṅku Kommana: *Śivaitāśāsam*. Above, Vol. XIII, p. 241 (see note 1 on p. 29 below).

How long Bhaktirāja continued to rule his principality after the events described above is not quite clear. According to an epigraph summarised by the Mackenzie Surveyors, his son and successor Annadēva was crowned in the city of R(K?)āmavaram on Āsvija, śu. 10, of the year Parābhava corresponding to Śaka 1259.¹ The date is unfortunately irregular. The Śaka and the cyclic years do not agree. The cyclic year Parābhava does not coincide with Śaka 1259 but with Śaka 1289. As the Śaka year given in the record yields a date far too early for the coronation of Annadēva, it must be rejected as inaccurate. If, on the other hand, the cyclic year is taken to be correct, Annadēva's coronation may be said to have taken place in A.D. 1366. Much however cannot be built on the basis of the information furnished by this inaccurately dated record especially as the original is not available for our examination. The earliest genuine record of Annadēva is a short epigraph dated Śaka 1310, Vibhava (A.D. 1388); and it registers the gift of Kāñchanapalle to the temple of Śiva at Tripurāntakam in the Markapur taluk of the Kurnool District.² He seems to have passed under a cloud during the next sixteen years; and when at the end of this period he emerges into light again, he is found ruling with full titles of sovereignty in the neighbourhood of Drākshārāmam.³ There is reason to believe that he was in exile, for, in the first place, the provenance of the inscriptions of Kumāragiri-Redḍi who ascended the throne in or about A.D. 1382 clearly shows that the lower Gōdāvarī valley wherein lay the family estates of Annadēva was included in the Redḍi kingdom.⁴ The Komāragirivaram grant dated A.D. 1408-09 clearly states that Kumāragiri-Redḍi bestowed on Kāṭaya-Vēma the Eastern kingdom with Rājamahēndranagara as its headquarters.⁵ It is obvious that the lower Gōdāvarī valley was under the control of Kumāragiri at the time of his death which took place in or about A.D. 1404. Moreover, in the Anaparti grant dated A.D. 1390, it is said that the east coast up to Simhādri (i.e., Simhāchalam in the Vizagapatam District) acknowledged Kumāragiri's rule; and that he, being desirous of bequeathing to his young son, Anavōta II, a larger kingdom than he possessed, planned the conquest of fresh territories extending to the east of that hill.⁶ Secondly Vēdagiri I, the Velama king of Dēvarakōṇḍa in Telingāṇa (Nalgonda District of the Hyderabad State), a contemporary of Kumāragiri, is said to have offered protection to Annadēva.⁷ It follows from these facts that Annadēva was living abroad owing to the occupation of his territories by the Redḍi kings.

The circumstances which led to the displacement of Annadēva may now be envisaged briefly. Anavēma who seized the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu on the death of his elder brother, planned an expedition against the rebels in the deltas of the Kṛishṇā and the Gōdāvarī, and brought them soon under control. According to the Śrīśailam epigraph cited above, Anavēma "demolished the *jala-durga* of Divi (Kistna District) and captured all the *jala-durgas* at the confluence of the Gautamī (i.e., Gōdāvarī) and the sea, broke open the *sthala-durgas* of Rājamahēndra, Niravadyanagara (Nidadavole in the West Godavari District) and others; and planted pillars proclaiming his glory at the foot of the Simhāchalam and the Vindhya".⁸ Anavēma seems to have made use of force as well as diplomacy in re-establishing his authority. He crippled the strength of the Telugu Chōḍas who were a formidable obstacle in his path, by creating dissensions among the members

¹ *Mac. Mus.* 15-4-4, pp. 231 ff. The epigraph in question is said to have been engraved on a slab lying outside the postern (*diḍḍi gummam*) gate of the fort of Rajahmundry. Its present whereabouts are not known.

² No. 234 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

³ No. 421 of 1893 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 7, 156; above, Vol. IV, pp. 328-9.

⁵ *J. A. R. R. S.*, Vol. XI, p. 210.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 203-4.

⁷ The *Velugōḍigiri-vaṃśāvali*, 122.

⁸ No. 20 of 1915: *Madras Ep. Rep.*, 1915, part II, para. 59.

of the family. Bhaktirāja was probably dead by this time; and differences seem to have arisen between his sons regarding succession. Taking advantage of this, Anavēma entered into an alliance with his son Bhīma or Bhīmalinga, and secured his support and loyalty permanently by bestowing on him the hand of his daughter in marriage.¹ Annadēva must have felt helpless against this combination, and sought refuge in his ancestral estate of Ēruva, where he seems to have kept up a precarious existence up to 1388 A.D. The expansion of the Vijayanagara kingdom towards the east seems to have ousted him even from this place of refuge, and he became a wanderer seeking his fortunes in the courts of the Deccan. This accounts for the inveterate hostility which he displayed in later life towards the Reddis and their allies, the Rāyas of Vijayanagara.

3. The first achievement of Annadēva that is described in these plates is the assistance which he rendered to the Turushka king in defeating the king of the Karpāṭa at Sagara. This statement clearly indicates that Annadēva entered into an alliance with the Bahmanī Sultan. The Karpāṭa army that is mentioned in the inscription is the army of Vijayanagara; and Sagara is a city of that name on the northern bank of the Krishnā in the Gulburga District of the Nizam's Dominions. It stood on the frontier between Gulburga and Vijayanagara, and constantly figured in the wars between the two kingdoms. It follows from this that the Turushka king who was engaged in fighting with the Karpāṭaka army was the Bahmanī Sultan. Now between A.D. 1388, the date of Annadēva's Tripurāntakam record, and A.D. 1416 when he appears to have died,²

¹ The marriage of Bhīmalinga with the daughter of king Anavēma is referred to by contemporary Telugu writers. According to Niśanku Kommana, Allāḍa married Vēmāmbikā, the daughter of Bhīmalinga who was the son of Chōḷa-Bhaktiśāhāvara:—

*Ma : Bharita-śrīnidhi-yam-mahāramayud=oppēh=Jōḷa-Bhakti-kshitt-
svara-sūnand-aga Bhīmalinga-manujēśa-śrīśekh-sat-putri bhā-
svara-kirunga-dada-jan-ācāra-vidhā-mādhāttri Vēmāmbikan
cāriyāichen=bati-bhakti-gaurava-dridha-vyāpāra-nityāmbikan ||*

(Śivalīlāvēśam, canto 1.) Śrīnātha states that Vēmāmbikā was a grand-daughter (i.e., daughter's daughter) of king Anavēma of Koṇḍaviḍu:—

*Ma : Anavēma-kshittipālu-pātri-yaga-Vēmāmbā-Mahādēviki
ghanaud=ayy-Allāḍa-bhāmi-pāṇunaku saṅgrāma-āthali-gāṇḍivul
tanayul=Vēma-vibhūḍu Vira-vasudh-ādhyakṣuḍu Dōḍḍa-prabham-
denun=Annayyayū bāku-vikrama-kal-āṭṭōpa-pratp-ōḍḍatul || (Kāṣikhaṇḍam, canto I, v. 32).*

It is obvious that Vēmāmbā's parents were Bhīmalinga, the son of Chōḷa Bhaktiśāvara and an unnamed daughter of king Anavēma.

Chōḷa Bhaktiśāvara	Anavēma
Bhīmalinga m.	daughter
Vēmāmbikā m. Dōḍḍaya Allā	

² An epigraph (*S. J. L.*, Vol. V, No. 113) at Palivela dated January A.D. 1417 states that Dōḍḍama-Redḍi Allāḍa destroyed the family of Kāṭaya-Vēma's enemy completely and restored the kingdom to his children. These were Kāṭaya-Vēma's son Kumāragiri who succeeded him on the throne of Rajahmundry, and daughter Anitallī who married Virabhadra-Redḍi, the second son of Allāḍa (*Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. II, p. 108). Now, the present grant makes it quite clear that Annadēva was fighting with Kāṭaya-Vēma's family about A.D. 1416. So far as we are aware, the only enemy of Kāṭaya-Vēma who having displaced the latter's children occupied their kingdom was Annadēva. Therefore, the enemy of Kāṭaya-Vēma whom Allāḍa-Redḍi destroyed with the whole of his family before January A.D. 1417 in order to restore Kāṭaya-Vēma's children to their paternal kingdom must have been none other than Annadēva. Any doubt that may still linger in our minds is completely set at rest by the poet Śrīnātha who flourished at the court of Vēma and Virabhadra, sons of Allāḍa-Redḍi. He states that Allāḍa destroyed the overweening pride of Virabhadra and Annadēva of the Solar family:

Bhānumat-kula-Virabhadra-Annadē-ādi-gorva-saṁgrāmaśāmbu-gāku chēri (Bhīmēśvara-purāṇam, 1: 62).

It is therefore certain that Allāḍa-Redḍi came into conflict with Annadēva-Chōḷa and his son Virabhadra and killed them before January 1417 A.D.

there was one major conflict between the Bahmanī Sultan and the king of Vijayanagara in which the city of Sagara played an important part. Firūz Khān and Ahmad Khān, the nephews of Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī, rose up in revolt in 800 A.H. (A.D. 1397) against the latter's son Shams-ud-dīn in Sagar. Though defeated in war and reconciled ostensibly to the Sultan, who again received them into favour, they did not give up their designs upon the throne; and treacherously seized it on the 14th February, A.D. 1397.¹ Firūz Khān ascended the throne and assumed the title of Firūz Shāh Bahmanī. The Hindu chiefs who held estates from the Bahmanī Sultan in the neighbourhood of Sagar revolted immediately as a protest against Firūz Shāh's usurpation. Though the Bahmanī historians do not explicitly mention this rebellion, they refer to an invasion of Dēvarāya of Vijayanagara and the suppression of the Hindu rebels at Sagar by Firūz Shāh. According to Firishhta, Dēvarāya invaded the territories of the Raichūr Doab in 801 A.H. with the object of capturing the forts of Mudkal and Raichūr, but Firūz Shāh moved towards Sagar to frustrate his attempt. "After this", says he, "he put to death a Zemindar, with seven or eight thousand Hindoos, who had long been very refractory".² Sayyid 'Alī more definitely alludes to a rebellion of the Hindu chiefs. According to him, Firūz Shāh declared a *jihād* on Vijayanagara in 802 A.H. (A.D. 1399) and "marched towards Sagar. When the chiefs of that district heard of the Sultan's approach, they tendered their submission, and paid the revenue of the country into the royal treasury, and so remained secure from attack by the army."³ It is evident that about A.D. 1398-99 there was a Hindu rebellion in the district of Sagar against the Bahmanī Sultan; and the rebels actually took possession of the fort. Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad declares that the first action of Sultan Firūz Shāh, after his accession to the throne, was an attack upon the fort of Sagar where some rebels who had taken possession of it had defied his authority.⁴ But the Sultan declared war upon the king of Vijayanagara, even before he marched to put down the rebels. Very probably the rebels secured help from the king of Vijayanagara, and placed the stronghold of Sagar in his hands; otherwise, there could have been no battle at Sagar, as stated in this inscription between the forces of the Bahmanī Sultan and the Karnāṭaka army. Another fact which seems to throw some light on this problem may be mentioned here. In the *Tāladīpikā* of Sāluva Gōpa-Tippa, one of the *tālas* is called 'Sagaradurggādivipātah', i.e., 'he who first broke into the fort of Sagar'. This is, indeed, a curious name for a *tāla*; but Tippa states in explanation of the name that the *dēhya-tālas*, forty-one in number, were named by him after his titles.⁵ Therefore, Sāluva Gōpa-Tippa had the title of 'Sagaradurggādivipātah'. Much is not known of Tippa's military activities, and the Sāluva inscriptions so far as they are known do not allude to the capture of Sagara by Tippa or his immediate ancestors. Probably like the names of other *tālas*, 'Samburāyasthāpakah', 'Dakshīṇasuratrāṇavipātah', the 'Sagaradurggādivipātah' was also called after one of his ancestral titles. In that case, it alludes to the capture of Sagara (Sagar) by one of the early chiefs of the Sāluva family in the service of the king of Vijayanagara. As there is no other known earlier instance of a Vijayanagara attack on the fort, the title perhaps had its origin in the capture of Sagar about this time.

¹ *Burhān-i-Ma'āzīr* (Ind. Ant., Vol. XXVIII, p. 185); Briggs: *Ferishhta*, Vol. II, pp. 359-60.

² Briggs: *Ferishhta*, Vol. II, p. 370.

³ *Burhān-i-Ma'āzīr* (Ind., Ant. Vol. XXVIII, p. 186).

⁴ *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Bib. Ind.), iii. p. 13.

چون در قلعه سگر بعضی مردان متحصن شده بودند - اولاً بگو شمال آن گروه متوجه شد -

⁵ Mysore Or. Mus. Library, No. 3869, 10th fol. f. I am obliged to Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi for extracting for my use this portion from his own copy of the *Tāladīpikā*.

Annadēva evidently joined Firūz Shāh in his expedition against the fort of Sagar in A.D. 1398-9 and helped him to defeat the Karṇātakas and regain the fort. The help which he rendered to Firūz Shāh could not have been substantial. As a prince living in exile, he could not have had a large following. Firūz Shāh was an ambitious king. He had designs on Teliṅgāṇa and the rich deltas of the Kṛishṇā and the Gōdāvarī. A pretender to the sovereignty of this region would be a pliable tool in his hands, and could be used to his advantage when occasion arose. Moreover, it was desirable to secure an ally who might embarrass the king of Vijayanagara on the east coast in the event of a war in which he might become involved. These considerations prompted Firūz Shāh to enter into an alliance with Annadēva and associate him in his war with the Karṇātakas.

The **second achievement** attributed to Annadēva is the **conquest of Jaggavāga**, and other enemy cities. Though at the present state of knowledge the identification of these cities and the enemies to whom they belonged is not possible, the capture of these cities seems to indicate Annadēva's return from Gulburga. An inscription in the Bhīmēśvara temple at Drākshārāmam¹ clearly shows that Annadēva had not only returned to his native country before July 1404 A.D., but had managed to regain the power which he had lost some years earlier.² As Drākshārāmam is in the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry which at this time served the Redḍis as the capital of their northern possessions, it is impossible that Annadēva could have gained a footing in this region without coming into conflict with them, specially with Kāṭaya-Vēma, who was then ruling over this part of the Redḍi kingdom.³ The absence of Kāṭaya-Vēma's inscriptions during the early years of his reign (A.D. 1404-07) in Rajahmundry and its neighbourhood seems to suggest that very probably he had temporarily lost control over his capital immediately after the death of his brother-in-law and sovereign, Kumāragiri-Redḍi in A.D. 1403 though he appears to have recaptured it before A.D. 1408.⁴ The titles, '*Rājādhirāja*,' and '*Pārcasinhā-anādhiśvara*' which Annadēva assumed about this time⁵ were probably meant to proclaim his own sovereignty and the triumph which he won over his Redḍi adversaries. The circumstances which facilitated Annadēva's return from Gulburga, and the re-establishment of his authority in the Gōdāvarī delta must be explained here, in order to present the facts enumerated in the inscription under consideration in their true perspective. Anavēma died probably in A.D. 1381 and his nephew Kumāragiri-Redḍi succeeded him on the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu. Kumāragiri's accession was not, however, peaceful and uncontested. The Tottaramūḍi plates which declare that his brother-in-law, 'the powerful Kāṭaya-Vēma placed him on the throne and protected him even as Śrīkṛishṇa protected Yudhisṭhira', allude covertly to some opposition which Kāṭaya-Vēma had to overcome before he placed Kumāragiri on the throne, and to the sovereign powers which he exercised on his behalf after his accession. It is evident that Kumāragiri left the onerous task of governing the kingdom to his powerful brother-in-law, and contented

¹ S. I. I., Vol. IV, 1347.

² My reasons for thinking so are: (1) No trace of him is found before this date in the region of the Gōdāvarī; (2) Anavēma and Kumāragiri-Redḍi were in actual possession of this region from A.D. 1371 to 1403; and (3) the Velama king Peḍa-Vēdagiri is said to have offered protection to Annadēva '*Ala-Chōḍa-Bhaktindru Annadēvarā-juna camp-āra-gāche*' (The *Velugōḍivari-namāvalī*, p. 122).

The word *kāche* implies some danger which threatened Annadēva; (4) Annadēva was, after all, a petty chief as yet unknown to fame. It is not likely that his greatness reached the Bahmani court and induced Firūz Shāh to court alliance with him. Judging in the light of these facts, it appears to me that Annadēva who was at Dēvara-konda joined the Velamas who were the friends of Firūz Shāh and helped the latter to take Sagar.

³ *Mac. Mus.*, 15. 4. 4, p. 233.

⁴ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XI, p. 213.

⁵ S. I. I., Vol. IV, 1347.

himself with the enjoyment of sensual pleasures.¹ When his only son, Prince Virāṇnavōta, died a premature death some time after A.D. 1390, Kumāragiri, who was left without any heir except his distant cousins, resolved to reward his brother-in-law for the valuable services rendered by him. Therefore, he conferred on Kāṭaya-Vēma the eastern territories with Rajahmundry as its capital, and left the remaining part of the kingdom to one of his cousins who might be successful in seizing his throne. Accordingly, on his death, the Redḍi territories which had hitherto remained under the authority of a single monarch were divided into two kingdoms, practically hostile to each other. Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma, who succeeded him on the throne of Kōṇḍaviḍu, did not naturally acquiesce in the division of the kingdom effected by Kumāragiri and was inclined to question the right of Kāṭaya-Vēma to rule at Rajahmundry.

Another factor which contributed to the removal of the obstacles from the path of Annadēva was the confusion that arose in the kingdom of Vijayanagara, consequent upon the illness which afflicted Harihara II in A.D. 1403. His three sons Bukka II, Virūpāksha I, and Dēvarāya I repaired from their respective provinces to the capital, and were each busy in concerting measures to seize the throne.² The death of Harihara II in A.D. 1404 was the signal for the outbreak of a civil war which racked the kingdom for two years. Kāṭaya-Vēma who expected help from Vijayanagara, owing to his political and family alliance with Harihara II, could hope for little or no assistance from his ally under the circumstances.³ It was at this juncture that Annadēva considered it expedient to return to his native country, and make an effort to recover his patrimony. There is reason to believe that his restoration was partly due to a Velama invasion of the Rajahmundry kingdom. Rāvu-Siṅga II, the ruler of Warangal and Rāchakoṇḍa, invaded, probably at the instance of Sultan Firūz Shāh Bahmani, the Gōḍāvari delta and overran the country as far as the frontiers of Orissa.⁴ His cousin, Peda Vēdagiri, the chief of Dēvarakoṇḍa who formerly gave asylum to Annadēva, co-operated with him in the enterprise, and destroyed, according to the *Velugōṭivāri-vamśāvali*, the fort of Beṇḍapūḍi (Tuni division of the East Godavari District) which belonged to Kāṭaya-Vēma.⁵ These statements are corroborated by the evidence of a few inscriptions of Peda-Vēdagiri's officers at Simhāchalam and Śrīkūrmam, both of which were included in the dominions of Kāṭaya-Vēma.⁶ One of these records registers the gift of 10 *gaṇḍa-māḍas* to the temple of Śrīkūrmam by Pina Māda-Nāyaḍu, son of Siṅgama-Nāyaḍu, a younger brother of Rācherla Sūrā-Nāyaḍu of Dēvarakoṇḍa in A.D. 1405.⁷ The

¹ *Lūli-grihān-kānaka-ratna-chayair-anilān prāśidam=annata-śikhar-Griharāja-sahjāam |*
krīḍā-sarāṇai cha vidhāya Vasantharāyab kēṭi-radhānusi (?) sah-āramata priyābhī || The Komaragirivaram Grant (J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XI, pp. 209-10).

² *Local Records*, XXII, p. 166.

³ The marriage between Kāṭaya-Vēma's son, Kāṭa-Prabhu, and Harihara's daughter is mentioned in the Vemavaram grant (above, Vol. XIII, p. 242).

⁴ *Sōm (Sālā) = Śilāsini Pārāṭika-nripatau sandh-ānu-sāndhāya (na ?) kailā |*
laṅgāroṭha-samarpaṇt Gajapatau sambandha-gandhasprihi |
Rācherl-āveaya-lāṅgānam naraṇatim drashtuṁ rāṇi sūhasam
sandhāyām sa (na ?) ki Gautamī-parisara-koṇḍra-koṇḍābhīd-yaṇ ||

(Viśvāvara, *Chamatkara-chandrikā*—Madras Government Or. Mus. Lib., R. No. 2679, p. 114).

⁵ See Introduction to Kāṭaya-Vēma's Commentary on Kālidāsa's *Śūkuntalam*.

⁶ Kāṭaya-Vēma conquered the country between Simhāchalam and the Vindhya between A.D. 1385 and 1390. This is brought out by the following passage in the Anaparti grant :

Tasmāt-Simhādri-paryanta-prāchyā eva mahāvarāḥ |
Jīṇyāḥ=tan=mahāpālān=adhunā jaya-llayā ||

Tatō Vindhyaḍri-Simhādri-madhyavartī-mahāvarāḥ |

Jitā tad-āṇa-durgāḥ nigujya sa-ādihārīṇaḥ || J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XI, p. 204 (vv. 27 and 35).

⁷ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 1242.

identity of the Sūrā-Nāyaḍu mentioned in this record is disclosed by another at Simbāchalam dated A.D. 1407.¹ He was the Pradhāni or the Minister of (Peda) Vēdagiri-Nāyaḍu of Dēvarakonda. It follows from this that the Velamas who invaded the kingdom of Rajahmundry about A.D. 1404 remained in the eastern districts for three or four years. As Annadēva was a *protégé* of Peda-Vēdagiri, and as the Velama invasion roughly coincided with Annadēva's return to his native country, it seems reasonable to conclude that the Velama invasion was undertaken to reinstate the latter in his ancestral estates.

What happened in the Gōdāvarī delta in the years that immediately followed Annadēva's return is not known. A study of the Redḍi inscriptions of this period, however, leads to the conclusion that the successors of Kumāragiri had completely lost control over the coastal region between the Kṛishṇā and the Gōdāvarī. Whereas the inscriptions of Kumāragiri are found in this region as in the other parts of the Redḍi kingdom, no inscription of his successors—neither of Pedakōmaṭi-Vēma nor of Kāṭaya-Vēma,—has been so far discovered. The inscriptions of the early years of Kāṭaya-Vēma's reign are not found anywhere to the west of Piṭhāpuram and Peddāpuram; and none of Pedakōmaṭi-Vēma is found on the north of the Kṛishṇā. A part of this region, if not the whole of it, probably passed into the hands of Annadēva.

Kāṭaya-Vēma was thus hemmed in between two enemies during these years. On the east were the Velamas in the neighbourhood of Simbāchalam, and on the west was Annadēva in the neighbourhood of his capital. Kāṭaya-Vēma must have been driven out of his capital and maintained a precarious hold on the Piṭhāpuram-cum-Peddāpuram region, biding his time to dislodge his enemy. He perceived, at last, a chance of obtaining help from Vijayanagara. Dēvarāya I who emerged successfully out of a civil war ascended the throne in A.D. 1406; but he had to face a simultaneous attack delivered by two of his neighbours. Pedakōmaṭi-Vēma who could not reconcile himself to the loss of the districts of Addanki and Śrīśailam despatched an expedition into the Udayagiri-rājya and occupied a large part of the present Cuddapah District.² At the same time, Firūz Shāh attacked Vijayanagara from the north.³ Dēvarāya, however, successfully withstood these attacks, and within the course of the next three or four years consolidated his position in the kingdom. It was at this time that Kāṭaya-Vēma set out for Vijayanagara and reached Ahōbalam in the Kurnool District about the end of A.D. 1410.⁴ It is not known whether he actually proceeded to Vijayanagara to solicit help from Dēvarāya. Taking into consideration the serious situation in which Kāṭaya-Vēma was involved, it is difficult to believe that his visit to Ahōbalam in the interior of the Vijayanagara kingdom was not actuated by political motives. The presence of the Vijayanagara armies on the banks of the Gōdāvarī fighting against Annadēva during the succeeding years, as mentioned in the inscription under review, clearly shows that Vēma succeeded, whether he actually met Dēvarāya or not, in obtaining help.

Now this brief narrative of the political developments in the kingdom of Rajahmundry furnishes the clue for a clear understanding of the events mentioned in this inscription. Kāṭaya-Vēma seems to have abandoned the caution which characterised his early actions, some time after his return from Vijayanagara and embarked on a policy of aggression. Though he still maintained his hold on the eastern bank of the river, his enemy was in possession of the opposite bank.⁵ It was necessary that he should control both the banks of the river to ensure the safety

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 1100.

² *Local Records*, Vol. XXII, p. 166.

³ Briggs: *Ferishtā*, Vol. II, p. 383.

⁴ No. 84 of 1915 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁵ Two epigraphs, one at Pōlavaram on the west bank of the Gōdāvarī (No. 1293 of 1920 of the Madras Epigraphical collection) and another at Pēlakōl in the Narsapur tāluk of the West Godāvarī District (*S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 145) dated A.D. 1406 and A.D. 1413 respectively show that Annadēva was the master of the western bank.

of his dominion, and free himself from the ever-present threat of attack. The conquest of the district of Attili (Taṭuku division, W. Gōdāvari District) and the capture of that town and the fort by the southern kings referred to in the present inscription, point out clearly that Vēma launched an attack upon his enemy's territory.¹ The number and identity of the southern kings are not known, though it may be confidently asserted that the tributary princes and the nobles of Vijayanagara were certainly among them. Annadēva was not disposed to allow this affront to his authority to pass unavenged. Having quickly gathered together his friends and followers, he marched at their head to chastise the invaders. He came upon the army of Kāṭaya-Vēma's southern allies in the vicinity of Attili, and inflicted on them a crushing defeat. A large body of the enemy's forces numbering 10,000 men who were stationed in the fort of Attili were compelled as a consequence of defeat to surrender to him.

While Annadēva was engaged in taking possession of the fort of Attili, one of his friends who is unfortunately not mentioned by name in the inscription, came into conflict with a contingent of the Vijayanagara (*Kannāḍa*) army at Kāṅkaraparti on the Gautami (i.e. the Gōdāvari). Confronted with a superior force, he was unable to cope with the situation, and stood in grave peril of destruction. Intelligence of the sad plight of his friend having reached Annadēva, he hastened with his troops to rescue his friend. As soon as he arrived at Kāṅkaraparti, he lost no time in engaging himself in action. Led by his brother-in-law, Pina-Uḍirāja, his army fell upon the Karpātakas and hacked them to pieces. It was an overwhelming disaster to Kāṭaya-Vēma's side, his allies were nearly annihilated and his family had to surrender to his enemy, abjectly begging him to spare their lives.

Two points demand explanation here. (a) It is said that Annadēva rescued some friend who was assailed by the Karpātakas at Kāṅkaraparti. The inscription gives no help to establish his identity. A passage from *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*, however, seems to throw some light on the problem. Describing the events during the last years of Firūz Shāh Bahmanī, Sayyid 'Ali states that the Sultan led an army into Telingāṇa and subjugated the country as far as Rajahmundry.

"The Sultan", says he, "being determined to conquer Telingāṇa proceeded in that direction till having got near Rajahmundry he conquered many forts and districts of that country, and having taken the whole of that territory he consigned it to the agents of government, and then set out for his capital".² Sayyid 'Ali does not give the date of this expedition; but he mentions a number of events which had taken place before and after the dispatch of the expedition. However, a comparison with Ferishta's account of these events, may enable us to determine

¹ Though the identity of the southern kings is not disclosed in the inscription, it is not difficult to conjecture who they were. In the south, more strictly south-west, of Annadēva's dominions were the kingdoms of Koṇḍaviḍu and Vijayanagara. It is not likely that they should have joined together to attack Annadēva; for, in the first place, the relations between Koṇḍaviḍu and Vijayanagara were anything but friendly at this time; and secondly Pedakōmati-Vēma, the king of Koṇḍaviḍu, who was hostile to Kāṭaya-Vēma would not have helped him or his family by making an attack upon Annadēva. The king of Vijayanagara was related to Kāṭaya-Vēma, as pointed out already, by marriage alliance. At Sagar the former encountered at first Annadēva as an ally of the Bahmanī Sultan; and then according to the present record he was fighting with the latter at Kāṅkaraparti on the Gōdāvari as an opponent. Moreover, according to Śrinātha's *Ekāmśa-purāṇam*, children to their kingdom. Taking into consideration all these facts, it is not unreasonable to suppose that one of the southern kings referred to in the present record was the king of Karpātaka and that he came there with his forces to help Kāṭaya-Vēma and his family.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 187.

roughly the time when the expedition was undertaken. The facts mentioned by both the historians are given in the following schedule, for the purposes of comparison :

<i>Sayyid 'Alī</i>	<i>Firishta.</i>
(1) Firūz Shāh's second war with Vijayanagara ; and his capture of Bhānūr and Musalkal.	<i>Nil.</i>
(2) One year after this, he invaded Māhūr and made peace with the Rāya.	The Sultan invaded Gondvana i.e. Māhūr in 815 A.H.
(3) Hushyār and Bēdār rose to prominence	<i>Nil.</i>
(4) Death of Khwāja-i-Jahān, the prime minister of the Sultan	<i>Nil.</i>
(5) The invasion of Telīngāna as far as Rajahmundry, and the conquest of the country	<i>Nil.</i>
(6) The siege of Pāngal	The siege of Nalkoṇḍa-Pāngal in 820 A.H.

It is obvious that Firūz Shāh's expedition to Rajahmundry took place between 815 A.H. and 820 A.H.

Another fact which seems to have some bearing on the subject must be taken into consideration here. Notwithstanding the uniform success which attended his arms, and the comparative ease with which he subjugated the country, Firūz Shāh is said to have returned to his capital without making an attempt to capture Rajahmundry, although he marched victoriously to the neighbourhood of the city. The reason for his failure to take advantage of the opportunity to capture the city is not quite apparent. Rajahmundry was an important stronghold in the lower valley of the Gōdāvarī, and it was the seat of a flourishing Hindu kingdom. The temptation to plunder the city, if not actually to take possession of it, must have been too strong for an orthodox and ambitious Muhammadan king like Firūz Shāh to overcome. Therefore, the return of the Sultan without even making an attempt to invest the city must be attributed to some obstacle which compelled him to turn back and hasten homewards.

A few incidental remarks thrown out by the Muslim historians, while describing the siege of Pāngal-Nalkoṇḍa by Firūz Shāh in the middle of 820 A. H. (August, A.D. 1417), seem to suggest that the Sultan was compelled to return by the arrival of a fresh Vijayanagara army in the east. *Firishta* states that in the middle of the year 820 A. H., the Sultan made an attack on Pāngal commonly known as Nalkoṇḍa in his day, a fort which stood at a distance of eighty farsangs or two hundred and forty miles from Ādōni on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā.¹ The authenticity

¹ Briggs' *Firishta*, Vol. II, pp. 389-90. There are two forts named Pāngal in Telīngāna. One of them stands, at a distance of about seventy miles to the east of Ādōni, in the Mahbubnagar District of Hyderabad State. This could not have been the Pāngal besieged by Firūz Shāh, as the distance between this fort and Ādōni is seventy miles and not two hundred and forty as stated by *Firishta*.

There is another Pāngal, adjoining the town of Nalkoṇḍa, the headquarters of the District of the same name in Hyderabad. In fact, Pāngal and Nalkoṇḍa are so near each other that they may be regarded as two different suburbs, as it were, of the same town. Moreover, the distance between this fort and Ādōni roughly agrees with that given by *Firishta*.

The name Bilkōṇḍa which is found both in Briggs' translation and the published Persian text (Naval Kishore Press) of *Firishta* is a corruption of Nalkoṇḍa, due to a scribal error commonly met with in Persian mss., lithographs, etc. Some scribe, either due to negligence or ignorance, shifted the dot indicating the phonetic value of the initial letter 'noon' (ن) from the top to the bottom, and changed it into 'be' (ب). Consequently, Nalkoṇḍa (نلکونڈہ) was transformed into Bilkōṇḍa (بلکونڈہ). In one of the mss. in the Library of the Royal

Asiatic Society of Bengal the name of the fort is spelt as Malkoṇḍa :—

در واسطه سال مذکور قاصد تسخیر پانگل که درین وقت به ملکونڈہ شهرت دارد از قلعه ادلی تانجا هشاد فرسنگ است شده بانصوب لشکر کشید.

—Cat. of Arab. and Persian mss. in the Library of R. A. S. B. No. D 57 fol. 332A.

of Firishṭa's account is corroborated by the evidence of two inscriptions both dated July, A.D. 1417, at Vēdādrī in the Nandigama taluk of the Kistna District. They refer to the occupation of Vōḍapalli-Vazirābād and Śrīraṅgarājukoṇḍa (Vēdādrī) on the banks of the Kṛishṇā in the eastern country by Sarakhu Maluka Jainādi Vōḍaya (Sharqī Malik Ziān-ud-dīn), an younger brother of Masnad-i-ʿAlī Ḥabīb Nizām-ul-Mulk, one of the favourite ministers of Sultan Firūz Shāh¹. As Vōḍapalli-Vazirābād, where Malik Ziān-ud-dīn was ruling in A.D. 1417, is situated at the junction of the Musī with the Kṛishṇā at a distance of about thirty miles in the south-east of Pāngal-Nalkoṇḍa, there is no scope for any doubt about the identity of the fort invested by the Sultan. The causes of this attack are not fully explained by the Muslim historians. From Firishṭa's account it would appear that it was an act of unprovoked aggression. "Without regarding his relationship to the Rāy of Beejanuggur", says he, "he marched and commenced the siege, which extended to two whole years."² Sayyid 'Alī asserts, on the contrary, that the Sultan was compelled to march against Vijayanagara, though he does not mention the circumstances which rendered the invasion obligatory.³ Khāfi Khān, however, states that Firūz Shāh's march upon Pāngal-Nalkoṇḍa was due to an invasion of his territories by the king of Vijayanagara. "At this time (i.e. after 818 A. H.)", says he, "the intelligence of the advance of Rāy of Bijānagar with numerous forces on the territories of Islam arrived. Sultan Firūz Shāh having gathered his troops marched in that direction personally to oppose him with the army and the materials of war."⁴ If the evidence of Sayyid 'Alī and Khāfi Khān could be relied upon, Firūz Shāh appears to have marched to the eastern Telingāna to ward off an attack of the king of Vijayanagara on his dominions in that region. Firūz Shāh was an ally, and, according to the Muhammadan historians, the overlord, of the Velamas whose territory extended from Dēvarakoṇḍa and Rāju-koṇḍa in the south to the Gōdāvarī in the north. Though this region did not properly form part of the Sultan's kingdom, it may be termed the territory of Islam (*bilād-i-Islām*), as its rulers, the Velamas, paid tribute and owed probably allegiance to him. It is not known when the fort of Pāngal-Nalkoṇḍa, which stands close to their principal capital Rājukoṇḍa, fell into the hands of the king of Vijayanagara. Probably Dēvarāya I seized it in the absence of the Velama forces, when they accompanied the Sultan during his expedition to the Gōdāvarī valley. The reduction of this fort, and the consequent submission of the dependent territory must have brought under the control of Dēvarāya an important strategic position which commanded the route along which his armies had to pass on their way to the east coast. If, on the other hand, the fort of Pāngal-Nalkoṇḍa had been in the possession of the king of Vijayanagara even earlier, the Bahmani territory which he invaded at this time must have extended further eastwards into the coastal region which was recently conquered by the Sultan. In any case, the Vijayanagara attack on the possessions of Firūz Shāh in the east must have threatened the Sultan's rear, and compelled him to retreat from the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry abandoning his designs of further conquest.

However, the date of this invasion is not known. Khāfi Khān places it sometime after 818 A. H. (A.D. 1415-16).⁵ As the Vijayanagara invasion immediately preceded Firūz Shāh's

¹ Nos. 306 and 307 of 1924 of the Madras Epigraphical collection. Sayyid 'Alī gives a brief account of Nizām-ul-Mulk and his colleague and friend 'Ain-ul-Mulk in the *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir*.

² At this time (about 815 A. H.) two slaves named Hushyār and Bēdār who, by royal favours and rank, were distinguished above all courtiers, had various dignities conferred on them, and most of the important affairs of government and army were conducted according to their judgment and opinion. Bēdār was given the title of Nizām-ul-Mulk, and Hushyār that of 'Ain-ul-Mulk'. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 187).

³ Briggs' *Firishṭa*, Vol. II, p. 390.

⁴ *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb* (Bib. Ind.), iii, p. 63.

⁵ *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVIII, p. 188).

درویں آزان خبر حرکت رائے بیجاپور بالشکر بے کوان طرف بلاد اسلام رسید - سلطان فیروز شاہ
مقابل اور لشکر کشیدہ خود را مع فوج (مصالح معاہدہ بہ ان) سمیت روانید -
Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb (Bib. Ind.), iii, pp. 62-3.

attack on Pāṅgal-Nalkoṇḍa in 820 A. H., it seems to have taken place probably in the previous year. Sayyid 'Alī, it may be remembered, describes Firūz Shāh's invasion of Telingāṇa immediately before his attack on Pāṅgal-Nalkoṇḍa, suggesting thereby that one preceded the other. Taking all these facts into consideration it seems reasonable to assign Firūz Shāh's expedition against the kingdom of Rajahmundry to the year 819 A. H. (1416-17 A.D.).¹ Now, this appears to be the time when Annadēva was waging war on Kāṭaya-Vēma and his allies in the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry.² As Firūz Shāh was an old friend and ally of Annadēva, it is not unlikely that he came to assist the latter at his invitation. Since Firūz Shāh is said to have got near Rajahmundry and turned back without proceeding against the city, he was probably 'the friend' whom Annadēva rescued from the Karpātakas on the battlefield of Kāṅkaraparti.

(b) The other problem which stands in need of elucidation is the manner of Kāṭaya-Vēma's disappearance from the scene of his activities. Nothing is said about him in the present inscription though it speaks of the surrender of his family to Annadēva. It is certain that Vēma did not fall into the hands of Annadēva. Neither is it likely that he perished in a battle with Annadēva, nor being defeated by him could have taken to flight leaving his family at the tender mercies of his enemy; for, in either case, Annadēva would not have failed to include these facts in the list of his achievements given in the present charter. Therefore, the only reasonable alternative is to assume that Kāṭaya-Vēma died elsewhere under circumstances which are not known at present. Though nothing can be said definitely about the manner of his death, it is certain that the event itself had taken place between March and August 1416 A.D.; for, in the first place, he was still ruling at Rajahmundry according to an epigraph at Drākshārāmam dated March A.D. 1416.³ But another epigraph at Palivela dated in the month of January A.D. 1417 alludes to his death and the destruction of Kāṭaya-Vēma's enemy, evidently Annadēva, at the hands of Allāḍa;⁴ and a third epigraph dated August A.D. 1416 refers to the establishment of the power of Allāḍa in the kingdom.⁵ It follows from this that Kāṭaya-Vēma's death took place between March and August A.D. 1416. As Firūz Shāh led his troops as far as Rajahmundry in A.D. 1416, it is not unreasonable to believe that Vēma might have perished in the invasion while attempting to check the advance of the Muslim army.⁶

¹ Sayyid 'Alī places Firūz Shāh's expedition to Rajahmundry before his attack on Pāṅgal (Nalkoṇḍa). Firishta assigns the commencement of the siege of Pāṅgal-Nalkoṇḍa to 820 A. H. Khāfi Khān places the Vijayanagara invasion of Bahmanī dominions in the east (which in my opinion compelled Firūz Shāh to retreat from the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry) sometime after 818 A. H.

Assuming that the position taken up by me is correct, Firūz Shāh must have been in the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry at the time of the Vijayanagara invasion. If the Vijayanagara invasion took place after 818 A.H. and the siege of Pāṅgal-Nalkoṇḍa commenced in 820 A. H., Firūz Shāh's Rajahmundry expedition which, as I understand the situation, took place between these two dates, may be reasonably assigned to 819 A. H.

² Kāṭaya-Vēma was in Ahōbālam at the end of A.D. 1416. Hostilities between him and Annadēva must have commenced sometime after his return to his capital; it is not possible to determine the exact duration which elapsed between Vēma's return and the commencement of hostilities.

³ Above, Vol. IV, p. 330.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 133.

⁵ S. I. I., Vol. V., No. 113; see note 2 on p. 29 above.

⁶ Tradition preserved in the family records and the *prastāvi* of the Koppunūḷḷa chiefs (*Mack. Mus.* 15. 4. 3, pp. 112-13) alludes to a battle in which a scion of the family, called Gajarow Tippa, defeated the army of Kāṭaya-Vēma at Guṇḍukolanu, a village in the Ellore taluk of West Godavari District. Moreover, the family *prastāvi* embodies a *hiruda*, viz., *Kāṭaya-Vēmani-tala-guṇḍa-guṇḍa* (the hero who took the head of Kāṭaya-Vēma) which points to Vēma's death at the hands of Gajarow Tippa or some other member of his family, probably at Guṇḍukolanu itself. If this tradition could be relied upon, Vēma appears to have died in a battle with the Velamas, to which community the Koppunūḷḷa family belonged. Taking into consideration the time of Vēma's death as well as the friendly relations that subsisted between the Velamas and Firūz Shāh, the Koppunūḷḷa chiefs seem to have accompanied Firūz Shāh's army during the Telingāṇa invasion and killed Vēma at Guṇḍukolanu. In that case, the engagement at Guṇḍukolanu must have preceded that of Attili.

4. Besides the achievements of Annadēva and his father enumerated above, the plates under edition give also an account of their **religious beliefs** and pious benefactions. Annadēva and his father were both staunch Śaivas. Though the latter was originally named Kāmarāja by his parents, he acquired, on account of his excessive devotion (*bhakti*) to the god Śiva, the sobriquet Bhaktirāja, by which he was commonly known to his contemporaries (III, l. 8). Kāmapuri, his capital, appears to have been a strong Śaiva centre. The allusion to the sound of the bells echoing in the streets of the city from early dawn onwards suggests that the inhabitants were given more or less exclusively to the worship of the god of the place who was Śiva (III, ll. 18-19). Though the present charter does not mention any of Bhaktirāja's deeds of charity, information gleaned from other sources represents him as a patron of Śaiva divines and institutions. The Madras Museum Plates register his gift of the village of Kaṇḍavakolaṇu, probably identical with Kaṇḍavakolaṇu a small station on the M. S. M., N. E. line in the Guntur District, to the great ascetic Viśvēśvara or Viśvanātha of Śrīparvata.¹ And the Telugu poet Śrinātha speaks of his grant of two villages Chervuāḍa and Ātukūru to the shrine of god Mallikārjuna at Śrīśaila.²

Annadēva seems to have inherited his love of the Śaiva creed from his father. He was a *Paramamāhēśvara*³ and most of his inscriptions record his benefactions to Śaiva shrines. Annadēva was accustomed to offer worship to Śiva six times a day, beginning with sun-rise (IV, l. 40); he added a *gōpura* of seven storeys (*sāpta-bhauṇa*) to the temple of Śiva probably at Mummaḍi-Prōlavaram (IV, ll. 43-44); gilded the temple of Virabhadra at Paṭṭesa and the *cimāna* of the shrine of Bhīmēśvara at Drākshārāma (IV, ll. 50-52); and granted several villages to god Viśvēśvara of Kāśī, the deity of his family.

Though Annadēva was an ardent devotee of Śiva, he was not a follower of the fanatical Vira-Śaiva sect which gained the enthusiastic support of a large number of people in his time. He was, as evidenced by the term *Paramamāhēśvara*, a member of the Pāśupata community⁴, the members of which notwithstanding their bias to Śiva, did not approve of the Vira-Śaiva tenets denouncing the Vēdas and the social system based on them. That accounts for the praise bestowed upon such deities as Vāṇī and Hari in the opening verses of this charter, and the liberal munificence of Annadēva to Brāhmins. Annadēva, in observance of a vow, as it were, fed daily a large number of Brāhmins—Śaiva as well as non-Śaiva, ascetics and *yōgiṇs* (IV, ll. 40-41; ll. 45-46). He gave also to Brāhmins a thousand cows in the vicinity of the temple of Virabhadra at Paṭṭesa on the bank of the Gautamī, and supplemented it with the gifts, *Saptasāgara* and *Hiranya-mēru* (IV, ll. 47-49).⁵ In addition to these, he granted them two villages, **Uttama-gaṇḍa—Chōḍ—Annadēvavaram** in the district of Visiṇi situated at the junction of the Pinnaśāni and the Gaṅgā, and **Annadēvavaram** on the bank of the Gaṅgā to the west of Pallūri-Sailavaram. These benefactions show that Annadēva's deeds of charity to temples and Brāhmins were as numerous as his victories on the field of battle.

¹ J. O. R., Vol. V, p. 142.

² *Śivārātri-māhātmyamu*, 1: 16.

³ S. I. L., Vol. IV, 1347.

⁴ See Bhandarkar: *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc.*, p. 119. [The title *Paramamāhēśvara* would only show that he was a Śaiva, and not necessarily of the Pāśupata sect.—Ed.]

⁵ The *Saptasāgara* is the fourteenth *mahādāna* in the list of the sixteen *mahādānas* described by Hēmadri. The ritual connected with the performance of this *dāna* may be briefly described thus: Brāhmins must be invited on an auspicious day and requested to perform the *ṣaṇḍāśāśchana* or purificatory ceremony. In a *mandapa* which is specially erected for the purpose, the images of some deities must be installed on a *vēdi* or platform. This must be followed by the performance of *vriddhivāddha*, or the *vāddha* for ensuring prosperity.

5. *Annadēva's family* : Bhaktirāja had, as stated in an earlier context, two sons, Annadēva and Bhīma-Liṅga. The latter married a daughter of king Annavēma, and got by her a daughter called Vēmāmbā ; and she espoused Allāḍa and gave birth to four sons, Vēma, Virabhadra, Doḍḍa and Anna.

Annadēva married Irugāmbikā, the daughter of Chakravarti of the Solar race, and a sister of Pina-Uṇḍirāja who helped him to win the victory over the Kaṇṇāṭakas at Kāṇkaraparti (III, l. 28, IV, ll. 29, 33-34). Pina-Uṇḍirāja and his father Chakravarti were probably related to Peda-Uṇḍirāja of the Solar race who granted the village of Rāvulaparti to Brāhmins in Śaka 1304¹, though the exact connection between the two families is not definitely known. Annadēva had by Irugāmbā, a son called Virabhadra (IV, l. 30). Though no information is furnished by the present Plates about Virabhadra's activities, a line in Śrināṭha's *Bhīmēśvara-purāṇam* suggests that he helped his father in fighting against his enemies and was consequently slain by Allāḍa.²

6. The **date** on which the Rajahmundry Museum Plates were issued is not known, owing to the loss of some plates belonging to the set. Nevertheless it is not impossible to discover the probable date when the gift was made. As the inscription describes the submission of Vēma's family to Annadēva, the gift must have been made after the occurrence of this event. We have already stated that Kāṭaya-Vēma died about the middle of A.D. 1416, and that his family submitted to Annadēva about the end of the same year. Now it is stated in an epigraph at Palivela dated 17th January A.D. 1417 that Doḍḍaya Alla, after the death of Kāṭaya-Vēma, destroyed 'the family of the latter's enemy' completely.³ The enemy referred to in this inscription, as pointed by Mr. V. Apparao in his article on the Rajahmundry Plates, was Annadēva.⁴ The defeat, if not the destruction, of Annadēva and his son Virabhadra is alluded to by the poet Śrināṭha in the introduction to his *Bhīmēśvara-purāṇam*.⁵ It follows from this that Annadēva did not long survive his victory. Therefore, the Rajahmundry Plates which he issued after Kāṭaya-Vēma's death must be assigned **to the end of A.D. 1416.**

Seven golden *kudās* (vessels) 21"×21" or 10"×10" in dimensions (height and width) and weighing from 7 to 1,000 *palas*, according to the means of the donor, must be secured. They should be placed first on sesamum and then on the skin of an antelope. Next, each of the seven pots should be filled with salt, milk, ghee, molasses, curds, sugar and water respectively to symbolise the seven oceans of the Hindu mythology : and the images in gold respectively of Brahman, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Indra, Lakṣmī and Pārvatī, and gems and grains of different varieties must be added to them. Twenty-five Brāhmins (8 *Ritviks*, 8 *dvārapālaks*, 8 *japa-Brāhmins* and 1 *guru*) have to be engaged, and *hōmas* for all the gods installed in the *maṇḍapa* must be performed. When the *hōma* for Varuṇa is completed, the *gajamāna* has to bathe and go around the *reṭi* three times chanting the *mantras*. On the second day the *hōma* has to be performed a thousand times ; and finally the *kudās* must be given away as a gift to the Brāhmins. (Hemādri, *Chatuṣṭaya-chintāmaṇi*, *Dānakhaṇḍa* (Bibl. Ind.), Ch. 5, pp. 337-339).

The *Sucarṇamēru* comes under *Mērudānas*. The representation of the Mēru mountain can be made in any kind of metal or grain. In case it is made of grain, it is called the *Dhānya-Mēru*. If it is *svaṛṇa* or gold, the representation must have three ridges weighing three *palas*. When the representation of the Mēru is ready, worship is offered to it in the prescribed manner. And then on occasions like eclipses, it is presented as a gift to a Brāhman invited for the purpose. This *dāna* is given to propitiate the god Varāha, (Hemādri, *op. cit.*, pp. 391-92.)

¹ *Madras Ep. Rep.*, 1918, Part II, p. 173.

² *Bhīmēśvara-purāṇam*, I : 62.

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 113.

⁴ *J. A. H. E. S.*, Vol. I, p. 179.

⁵ *Bhīmēśvara-purāṇam*, I : 62.

7. The names of several territorial divisions, rivers, towns and villages are mentioned in this inscription.

I. Territorial divisions :—

(1) Attili-sīma ; (2) Visari-nāḍu.

II. Rivers :—

(1) The Gaṅgā, (2) the Gautamī, (3) the Pinnaśāni.

III. Towns :—

(1) Attili, (2) Jaggavāga, (3) Kāmapurī, (4) Kāśī, (5) Mummaḍi-Prōlavāra, (6) Sagara, (7) Sūravarampaṭṭana.

IV. Villages :—

(1) Bharapāḍu, (2) Chōḍ-Ānnadēvavara, (3) Drākshārāma, (4) Gulapūṇḍi, (5) Kāṁkara-parti, (6) Pallūri-Śailavara, (7) Pañchadhāra, (8) Paṭṭesa, (9) Pedakoṇḍa.

In addition to these, the name of a hill called the Gōmukhagiri with a temple dedicated to Gōmukhagiriśvara, evidently named after the hill on which the shrine was built, is also mentioned.

Some of these towns and villages have been already identified in the course of the preceding discussion. The rest are taken up here for consideration.

Attili-sīma was so called after Attili, which was evidently the headquarters of the district. Attili is at present situated in the south-west of the Tanuku taluk of the West Godavari District. It stands at the junction of two roads on a canal named after it. The boundaries of the Attili-sīma are not known ; and it is not possible, in the absence of the necessary data, to demarcate even roughly the area included in the district.

The situation of **Visari-nāḍu** is not so easily ascertained. Visari-nāḍu figures in an epigraph belonging to the middle of the 13th century among the countries conquered by Ēruva-Bhīma, one of Annadēva's ancestors.¹ As Annadēvavaram, the object of the present grant included in this district, is said to have been situated at the junction of the Pinnaśāni and the Gaṅgā (another well-known name of the Gōḍavari), it is certain that Visari-nāḍu extended along the bank of the Gōḍavari ; and as no tributary of the Gōḍavari is known at present by the name of the Pinnaśāni, and as no village of Chōḍ-Ānnadēvavaram or Annadēvavaram can be located on the bank of the river, the position of Visari-nāḍu cannot be defined exactly at present.

Of the **rivers** mentioned in the plates, **Gaṅgā**, as explained already, is another name by which the Gōḍavari is frequently referred to in inscriptions as well as in literature. The poet Śrīnātha who was a contemporary of Annadēva states that the river Gaṅgā flowed touching the western wall of the city of Rajahmundry.² The **Gautamī** is also another well-known name of the Gōḍavari. As Paṭṭesa, famous for its shrine of Virabhadra, is said to be on the bank of the river, it should be identified with the Akhaṇḍa-Gautamī, i.e., the Gautamī before it divides itself into the seven branches known collectively by the name of Sapta-Gōḍavaram. The identity of the Pinnaśāni, which must have been a small stream flowing into the Gōḍavari, is, as stated already, not known.

8. Of the **towns** mentioned in the record, **Attili**, **Kāmapurī**, **Sagara** and **Sūravaram** have been identified already. Nothing is known about Jaggavāga ; Kāśī is, of course, the famous city of Benares. The situation of Mummaḍi-Prōlavāra of which a glowing account is given in the present inscription cannot be ascertained definitely. Mr. V. Apparao identifies it with 'Mura-maṇḍa-Pōlavaram (probably the same as Murumaṇḍa in the Rajahmundry taluk of the East Godavari District)'.³

¹ No. 308 of 1935-36 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection ; *Bhāratī*, Vol. XV, p. 158.

² *Kāṁkhaṇḍam*, I : 58.

³ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, p. 181.

9. Of the villages mentioned in the charter Gulapūṇḍi, Pañchadhāra and Pedakoṇḍa have already been taken into consideration. Some of the remaining villages can be easily identified. Drākshārāma which is celebrated for its famous Śiva temple is still a place of some importance. It stands on the north bank of the Iṅjaram canal in the Ramachandrapuram taluk of the East Godavari District. Kāmkaṇapartī is identical with the modern village of Kākaraparra, on the west bank of the Gōdāvari. It is at present included in the Tanuku taluk of the West Godavari District. Paṭṭesam stands on a picturesque island in the Gōdāvari and is at present included in the Rajahmundry taluk. On a craggy hill, which was known in the days of Annadēva as the Gōmukhagiri, are the temples of Gōmukhagiriśvara and Virabhadra, whither large numbers of pilgrims still flock to attend the annual festival in the month of February.

The situation of the remaining three villages is not known. No village bearing the name of Bharapipāḍu seems to be in existence at present. There is, however, a village of the name of Bharipikam in the Anakapalle taluk of the Vizagapatam District. As Bhaktirāja was active in this region fighting with the Gajapati at Pañchadhāra, it is not impossible that Bharapipāḍu where he defeated king Singa should have been identical with Bharipikam.

While engaged in editing these plates, I received considerable assistance from several scholars. Mr. Bhavaraju V. Krishnarao kindly furnished me, at my request, with a set of impressions of these plates, taken afresh from the originals in the Rajahmundry Museum. The Epigraphist to the Government of India secured from the same scholar, for my use, the impressions of the Anaparti plates of Kumārāgiri-Redḍi which are in his possession. Mr. C. R. Krishnamachari, Superintendent for Epigraphy (Madras), checked my transcript and helped me to determine the correct reading of the text in certain places. Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi and Dr. V. Raghavan rendered invaluable help in the correction and interpretation of the text. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and Messrs. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar and N. Lakshminarayan Rao revised the manuscripts of the introductory portion of this article and offered me several useful suggestions. I am grateful to these scholars and offer them my heart-felt thanks for their generous and ungrudging help.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 श्रीङ्गारवन्निखिळ'वाखिभवस्य सुष्टेराद्या शरत्तुङ्गिनदौधितिवन्दिकाभा [1*] सर्वेश्वरादिसक-
कामरव-
- 2 दनित्या² वाणी वराभयकरा भवतात् प्रसं(स)न्ना ॥ 1[11*] सा भारती निखिळवद-
पुराणरूपवाग्वादिनी क-
- 3 मऊसंभवमुख्यवंद्या [1*] इसावदातवपुराणममौकिम्ब्या चिन्मावमूर्तिरवतादखिळ-
- 4 प्रपंच(चम्) । [1211*] आनंदमूर्तिरखिळांतरमार्गहृत्तिरभोरुहैकवनसंचरणोज्जसंती ।
आस्त्रादिनैदुवि-
- 5 गऊन्मधुरामृतार्द्रा सा योगिवंद्यविभवा भवतात् प्रसं(स)न्ना 1[1*] 3[11*] दंतायकोटि-
दरदष्टधराधरस्य यस्यां³

¹ Regarding the use of *ja* for *la* attention is drawn to the remarks on orthography on p. 14. As such use is too frequent in the text no correction is made.

² Read 'वन्दनीया.

³ The *anusvara* is written in the next line.

- 6 गके निखिलवारिधयः प्रवृधाः¹ । स्वेदांबुविंदुवदुदंचितमत्व(स्व)हृत्तेरामात्वसौ किरिततुर्हरि-
 7 रस्तु भूत्वे ॥4²||1*| यस्य चिलोकजननी जननी भवानी यस्यश्वरः³स्त्रिजगतां
 जनको गिरीशः 1*| यस्य स्मृतिर्निश्चिक्क[वि]-
 8 ध्रतमोविवस्वान् सोयं करीद्रवदनो जयतात्कुमारः 11*| 511*| हेमाद्रि⁴गर्भविपु-
 लैकपुरोपकंठप्रा-
 9 कारभूतमहितावधिपर्वताये । विश्वं प्रबोधयितुमुच्चलितो⁵ प्रदीपौ देवाग्रयेव जयता-
 10 मिह पुष्पवंतौ 1*| 8 11*| यां [सं]स्तुर्वन्ति(ति) गिरिजां प्रकृतिं च मायां लक्ष्मीं
 गिरं सकलसृष्टिनिदानरूपां(पाम्) । दु-
 11 गौ प्रचुड⁶महिषासुरमर्दनौ मा भर्गेकश्च विभवा भवताग्रसदा 11*|711*| क्रीड-
 म्मुदा श्रुति⁷पुटांचिततिग्म-
 12 भानुचूडावतंसपदलंभितचंद्रबिंबः । उद्दामशृंगरवपूरितपद्मजांडः चेचेश्वरो दिशतु स-
 13 र्वशुभानि नित्यं(त्वम्) 11*| 21| 1*| गंगातरंगतनुशौकरतारकार्त्ति(भिः) संसेव्यमान[हिम-
 रश्मिकक(का)किरीटं(टम्) । शर्त्तंगकांतम-
 14 णिमादिगुणोज्जसंतमाराधयामि मनसा शिवमष्टमूर्त्तिं(र्त्तिम्) 11911*| चध्यासितुः
 श्वशरमंदिरप

Second Plate (lost).

Third Plate : First Side.

- 1 लामरकामिनीभिः । युद्धांगणा(णे) निहृतवीरवरो(र)स्य कांता विष्णोरिवाश्वितजयाभ-
 वदवेमांवा ॥
 2 जातस्तयोर्भवदे⁸वभौमभूपस्त्रैलोक्यगीतविमकात्मयशःप्रतापः 11*| प्रोलाविकाप-
 3 तिरनेककक्काप्रवीणो भूलोककन्यतरुंरिंदुरिवाचिपेयः ॥ लक्ष्मीपत(ति)स्तदनु दाम-
 नृपालचं-
 4 द्रो जातस्तयोर्जगति विश्व(श्च)तधर्ममूर्त्तिः । सूर्याविकापतिरभूदय सोमभूपः क्षीरांबुधे-
 5 रिव ततो जगतामुपास्यः 11*| गंगाधरोजन(नि) तयोरिकर्णाविकायाः प्राणेश्वरः
 प्रक्षितमान-

¹ Read प्रवृद्धाः.

² The Telugu numeral figure 1 denoting the number of the plate, is inscribed just above the line.

³ Read यस्यश्वरसि.

⁴ Read "हेमाद्रि".

⁵ Read प्रचलितो.

⁶ Read प्रचुड.

⁷ The numeral 21 is wrongly introduced for 8 here.

⁸ Read हेमाद्रि.

⁹ Read श्रुति.

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iii.a.

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iii.b.

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- 6 धनो नृपालः । साक्षाद्गिरौशमिव यं विबुधाः[*] स्तुवंति धर्मैकमूर्तिमरिगंडरगंड-
कीर्ति(र्तिम्) ।[*]
- 7 गंगाधरादिरुग्माविकया समेतास्त्रीभाग्यशौर्यमहितोजनि कामराजः । यथंद-
8 चूडचरणान्दुरुहैकभक्त्या भक्तौश्वराह्वयमगाह्वनेषु पद्यात् ।[*] प्रति युवैव गु-
9 लपूडिपुरस्व शूरान् यो वोग्गारादियवनाधिपतीनजैषीत् । प्राच्यां च कोपुल-
पतिर्दिशि
- 10 येन पंचधारागणे गजपतिं जयताभ्यर्षेच ॥ शूरायणि(णी)भरणिपाटिपुरोसमीपे यः
त्रि(स्त्रि)ग-
- 11 भूतकूपतिं कद[ने] व्यनैषीत् । यस्तेजसा च पेड(द)कीडपुरोसमीपे रत्नोवनान्
दतुरुक्षान्-
- 12 मुखानज(जै)षीत् ।[*] येनैव सूरवरपट्टनसंनिधाने वीरास्त्रवोतनृपतिर्विजितो विनो-
दात् । तस्यापहीत् कर-
- 13 सरोरुहमन्नेमांश भक्तौश्वग(र)स्य गिरिजिव शशांकमौकेः । भक्तौश्वरोयमथ निर्मित-
वानुदाराम्-
- 14 जृ(जृं)भमाणविभवां पुरमात्मनाम्ना । या पुण्यशीलमनुजाश्रयणे ज्ज(ज)गत्यां कल्याण-
नामक-

Third Plate: Second Side.

- 15 मनिव्य'तरापराभृत् ॥ चांघ्रावतंसमिह कामपुरी प्रसिद्धा विस्तारिसर्वविभवा
सुक्तैक-
- 16 भूमिः । [जि]त्वामरंदनगरीं चपितात्मपुण्यामुजृ(जृं)भते सततसंचरदंन(दन्न)दाना ॥
हर्म्येषु य-
- 17 च निशि निर्भरकामतंचकांताकुचांतरगळ्ळुगनाभिरणौ । नित्यं चरन्मृतगुरप्यभज-
त्कळंकिभा-
- 18 च भृ(ध्रु)वं जयति कामपुरीयमुर्व्या(व्याम्) ॥ यत्नानुवीचि विचरत्तुणोदयादिवेकासु
सुचि-
- 19 तशिवार्चनकर्मयज्ञः । चंटाखः श्रुतिपथेन मनः प्रविश्य तचाप्यघं हरति कामपुरो-

¹ Read "नीव."

² Read "श्रुति."

- 20 यमोद्या ॥ यथांगणे महितपुष्पफलैकगम्ये कस्तूरिकाद्यगणितार्थगणं निरीक्ष ।
विद्वद्वयो-
- 21 भवदन्तपदार्थवादी सर्वोपि सा जयति कामपुरी पृथिव्यां [1*] भक्त्यैश्वर्य
तनयो महि-
- 22 तोन्नदेवस्तस्याभवज्जगति जंगमपारिजातः [1*] सौन्दर्यसौमपरिभूतजयतकी-
- 23 त्तिर्त्तावस्थनिर्जुतनवीनसृगांकमूर्तिः ॥ वेश्यागनायितविरोधिधरातर्कद्रो वाहुप्रताप-
- 24 विभवादनदेवभूपः । भुत्वा तुरुष्कनृपतिस्रगरं सहायः कर्नाटसैन्यमसिमाचसखो
- 25 अनेषीत् ॥ उदङ्घ्रितिविभवाक्षिपुरीमिवेशो यो जम्बवागमुखवैरिप(पु)राखजैषीत् । सं-
- 26 जीवनं सुरवरद्विजपुंगवानां जागर्त्तयं जगति चोडकुलाद्यदि(दे)वः ॥ भार्गवीन(श्वे)तः
सुकृत-
- 27 वान् सुरविप्रवर्यविश्वासविस्तृतसमस्तविभूतिभेदः । श्रीविष्णुनाथचरणार्चनसक(त्त)भक्तिमूर्त्यु-¹
- 28 जयो जयतु² चोडकुलान(लाभ)देवः ॥ श्रीचक्रवर्त्तितनयामिरुगाविकां यः सूर्यान्व-
वायसु-

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 29 कृतैकफलं सुशीलां(लाम्) ॥ (1) पिंनुंदिभूपसहजां ललनाललामभाग्योन्नतामुदवह-
[द्विरि]जामिवेशः ॥
- 30 श्रीवीरभद्रनृपतिर्भुवनैकवीरो यस्यात्मजत्वमगमद्रविम(वं)शदीपः । सोऽयं विनिर्जित-
समस्तवि-
- 31 रोधिभूपो जागर्त्तिं चोडकुलमंडनमन(मन्न)देवः ॥ येनैव भूविदितमत्तिलिसौमि
सर्वान्निर्जित्य दत्त-
- 32 णदिगौश्वरैरिभूपान् । तत्पट्टनावरणमध्यगताश्च नन्नाम्न(स्मर)चिता दशसहस्रमिता
विपचाः [1*]

¹ Read "गणितार्थ-"

² Read "पदार्थ-"

³ The Tsinu numeral figure 3 indicating the number of the plate is inscribed between the letters *de* and *na*.

⁴ The *anusvara* is inscribed at the beginning of the next line.

⁵ The syllable *fa* is written below the line.

- 33 अर्धयुभूतपिनयुडिन्पेण येन श्रीगीतमौ निकटकांक००पत्तिवेद्या । आलभ्य कन-
(कव)डमुखा[रि]-
- 34 पशूनकारि वीराध्वरो निजसुहृत्परिरक्षणायै(य) ॥ पादांबुजप्रणतकाटयवेमवंशः¹ कीर्त्त-
कवत्स-
- 35 लतया समरक्षि येन । सोयं विभाति शरणागतभूपरक्षादीचागुरुजयति चोडकु-
लान(लात्र)देवः ॥ यस्मिन् प्रशमति महीमनदेवभूपं सर्वोपसर्गारहिता मनुजाश्च-
देव । पूगेक्षुकान-
- 37 नतकेषु मुदा रमते नित्ये(त्यो)क्षवो विजयतेयमुदारतेजाः ॥ यद्देश एव विततेक्षुवने
सुपकशाखा-
- 38 दिसस्यभरिते सहकारसांद्रे । सर्वोपसर्गारहिते सुकृतेकगमै(स्ये) खेळति नूनममरा
मनुजावता-
- 39 राः ॥ यद्देशमौकिसिमुक्षुडिप्रोलवारं नानादिगागतमहावणिजां निवासं(सम्) ।
शंखाद्यनेकनिधि-
- 40 नित्यनिवासभूमिं स्मृत्वा भियेव धनदोभजदीशसख्यं(स्यम्) ॥ षडालपूजितसदाशिव-
पादपद्मे नित्यां-
- 41 न(त्यात्र)दाननियमार्चितभूमिदेवः । गौराजकेतनसमर्पितगोसहस्रो विभ्राजते विमळवंश-
भवोन(वोन्न)दे-
- 42 वः ॥ नित्यं गिरीशचरणारुणोदयादिवैक्र(का)सु षट्स्रपि मुदाश्रुतसंख्यदीपेः ।
नौराजयन्विम-

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

- 43 ऊचोडकुलान(लात्र)देवो जागर्ति राजपरमेश्वर एव भूम्यां(म्याम्) ॥ चामौकरव्यज-
नचामरकेतुमुक्ताच्छ-
- 44 [वां]कहेमललनांकितसप्तभौमं(सम्) । सौवर्णमिंदुमुकुटाय सम[र्प्य] कां[तां(तं)] सौधं
समुत्त-
- 45 सति चोडकुलान(लात्र)देवः ॥ माधुर्यमुख्यरसपद्विलासिमुष्टनित्यान(त्यात्र)दानविभवापह-
तक्षु[धा]र्ति । [शै]-

¹ The letter *va* in *ushish* is written above the line.

- 46 षड्विंशजटियोगिकुलं प्रहृष्टं यत्पट्टेन विजयतामयमन(मन्त्र)देवः ॥ श्रीगौतमीनिकट-
 47 पट्टेसर्वीरभद्रप्राति द्विजद्रनिकराय गवां सहस्रं(सम्) । दत्त्वा(त्वा)द्य तत्तृपमसौ मथितं किंकादाचो-
 48 डान(डाद्य)देववृपतिर्जलधिं(धीं)द्य मत्त ॥ येनाखिकामपि धरां स सुराद्रिमुख्यामु-
 त्तप्तकांचनमया(यी)
 49 ददता द्विजेभ्यः । भूमाचदः पट्टु जितः किंका जामदग्न्यचोडान(डाद्य)देवरघुनायक
 एव भाति ॥
 50 येनैव¹ गोमुखगिरौश्वरवीरभद्रदेवालयो महितहेममयः कृतोभूत् । श्रीकाशिकाधि-
 51 पतये कुलदेवतायै यामाद्य विरूपतय² समदायि येन ॥ मौवर्णमात्मकुलशेखरचोड-
 वन्द्य[द्रा]-
 52 चादिरामपुरभीमयसौधयुगं(गम्) । चांद्रस्वर्लोभकुटरव्रमकारि येन चोडान(डाद्य)देव-
 धरणीतक्रनाय[केन] ॥
 53 येयं लसद्भिर्मणिनां हिममाख्यदेशे चोडान(डाद्य)देववरमुत्तमगंडपूर्व(र्वम्) । गंगातटे
 भुवनविभूत-³
 54 पिंन(पिन्न)सानिसंगेन(गेऽद्य)देववृपतिर्द्विजसादकर्षीत्⁴ ॥ पञ्जरिशैलवरपश्चिमसीम्नि गंगा-
 तीरेन(रेऽद्य)देववरना-
 55 ववहा⁵ग्रहारः । पुण्येन येन समदायि महाजनेभ्यश्चोडान(डाद्य)देवधरणीपतिरद्य भाति ॥
 येनो-
 56 भयान्वयविनिर्मळविप्रवर्या विदीन(द्योद्य)ता विधिवदुदहनं प्रचीताः । सूर्यान्वह(वा)य-
 तिल[केन च]

Fifth and Sixth Plates missing.

Seventh Plate ; First Side.

- 1 भारद्वाजकुलार्णवपूर्णसुधा(धा)रश्मिरवनिपतिमिषं [1⁶] श्रीकृचनार्थतनयः शिं(सिं)गयना-
 2 मा द्विजेन्द्र इह भागी ॥29॥ [का]द्विन्य⁶गोचाविसुधामयूखः कीवूरिरामात्मज-
 रामचंद्रः । आ-
 3 चारवा⁷गामतत्व(त्व)दर्शी भागीह सृत्वंजयपादभक्तः ॥30॥ कौडिन्यगोचांनुजसूर्यते-

¹ The Telugu numeral figure 4 denoting the number of the plate preceded by a vertical stroke is inscribed here between the letters *sa* and *pa*.

² Read विरूपतये.

³ Read द्विजसादकर्षीत्.

⁴ Read कौडिन्य.

⁵ Read "विभूत."

⁶ Read "नामगहा."

⁷ Read चाचारवाजाम्.

- 4 जा[.] श्रीभास्कर[.] श्रीवृद्धरेस्तनूजः । सांगागमे संचितकीर्तिरत्र भागी सदाचा-
रवतां वरेण्यः [1*]31॥
- 5 श्री[का]चिभट्टतनयः काश्यपगोत्राब्धिपूर्णहिमरश्मिः । नारायणोत्र भागी ज्योतिः-
शास्त्रैकमर्म-
- 6 तत्त्व[स्व]ज्ञः [1*]32[1*] श्रीगूडपतिवज्रभतनयः श्रीयौभर्केन्द्रनामात्र । भागी
काश्यपगोत्रः पुण्यस्मन्मा-
- 7 मंचंद्रमा विद्वान् ॥33॥ चाचेयगोत्रतिलको वि[ह]यनामदिजातिवरचतुः । यजुर्ण-
वचन्द्रयशा
- 8 वरदयनामात्र भागवान्विप्रः [1*]34[1*] श्रीरामादिमणि[मि]मयतन[यो] मंगाधर-
द्विर्मंदः [1*]
- 9 कौडिन्यगोत्रपात्रं भागी यजुषां निधानमिह पुण्यः [1*]35[1*] श्रीगौरयविप्रेस्वर-¹
तनय[.] श्री-
- 10 [मि]मनाह्वयो विद्वान् । भारद्वाजकुलांबुजभानुयशा भागवानत्र ॥36॥ आदित्यावनि-
देवप्रि-
- 11 यतनयो हरितवंशपद्माक्षः । याजुषमणिरत्नाकरतेजाः पुरुषौ(यो)त्तमोत्र लब्धांशः
[1*]37[1*]
- 12 चिकिपिकुचयभूसुरनंदनो हरितवंशमहार्णवचंद्रमाः । सकळशास्त्रय(र)हस्यविदं-
- 13 शवानिह हि तल्लयनाम सुधीस्वरः [1*]38[1*] कौडिन्यवंशार्णवचंद्रमूर्ति[.]*]
श्रीयंन(यत्र)मच्छास-
- 14 रनंदनोत्र [1*] विश्वेश्वरो याजुषभाग्यदेव लब्धांशवानत्र सतां वरेण्यः [1*]39[1*]
गोपाळभट्ट[1*]ज एष
- 15 पुण्यः श्रीयंन(यत्र)माख्यो हरितान्ववायः । ज्योतिर्विदयेसरकीर्तिरत्र लब्धांशवानागमपार-
दृशा [1*]40॥
- Seventh Plate; Second Side.*
- 16 मंजपिंगाधरवरतनय[.]* कौडिन्यवंशवार्धौ(र्धौ)दुः [1*] अन्नय[नामा भागी यजु]षां
निधिरत्र स-
- 17 सताचारः [1*]41[1*] श्रीभारद्वाजान्वयवज्रभधरणीसुरात्मजः पुण्यः । लक्ष्मणनामा
विप्रो वेदविद[द](विद)-

¹ The letter ra is inscribed below the line just under *sa* and *ta*.² Read कौडिन्य.

- 18 प्राशवान्धः [1*]42[1*] सादपुलविधवरो वल्लभदयालभा(नुमा)पुष्पः । कांडिन्य-
वंशतिल-
- 19 को भागी वेदैकमूर्तिरिह साधुः [1*]43[1*] श्रीमन्नागयविद्वत्तनयो निगमैक-
मूर्तिरिह भागी । दुंडि-
- 20 गडन(गनामा) काश्यपगोत्राधिपूर्णिमाचंद्रः [1*]44[1*] श्रीराजुकीडमप्यतनय[1*]
श्रीमन्निकार्जुनाख्या-
- 21 नः । काश्यपगोत्रपवित्रो भागी निखिळागमैकतत्त्व(त्त्व)ज्ञः [1*]45[1*] मंडुगुरि^१ लङ्क-
नाख्यो मान्यो विदुषां समस्तश-
- 22 स्मरः । भारद्वाजकुलार्णवचंद्रो भागीह वेदतत्त्व(त्त्व)ज्ञः [1*]46[1*] कोल्लपल्लिपुरा-
दिमणिं(मिं)गयतनयो य-
- 23 जुर्निधिः पुष्पः । श्रीकृष्णदिजनामा काश्यपगोत्रा(त्रो) गृहीतभागोच [1*]47[1*]
श्रीकंदुकूरियौभक्तन-
- 24 य[1*] श्रीरामनामाच भागी [1*] यालुपमणिगणजलधिह(हं)रितान्वयावतंसयशः
[1*]48[1*] श्रीकृष्णम-
- 25 व्यतनया^२ यजुराकरबुद्धिरमितगुणकांतिः । श्रीमाननंतनामा भागी श्रीवत्सवंशवार्धौदुः
[1*]49[1*]
- 26 श्रीभारद्वाजकुलो देवयधरणीसुरात्मजः पुष्पः । श्रीभक्तनामा भागी यजुरध्ययनैकशुद्ध-
बुद्धिर-
- 27 ह [1*]50[1*] श्रीसर्वदेवतनयाय जनार्दनाय कांडिन्य^३गोचतिलकाय महाजनैद्राः ।
ते सर्व एव स-
- 28 सुदीरितशसनाय स्त्रीयैकभागसदृशं व्यतरन्निर्वाणं(शम्) [1*]51[1*] भक्त्या कलज-
ॐकोम्पराजतनयेनाच
- 29 प्रतिष्ठ(ष्ठा)पितृश्रीकिदारमहेश्वराय महसे श्रीमाधवेन द्विजाः । सर्वे ते स्थिरभागसै-
कमदुराचंद्रार्कमा-
- 30 [तारक]^४ [पासा]दित् भोगभाग्यसुपमा[स्त्रै]र्याय कौतुहलात् [॥52॥*]

^१ Read कौडिन्य.

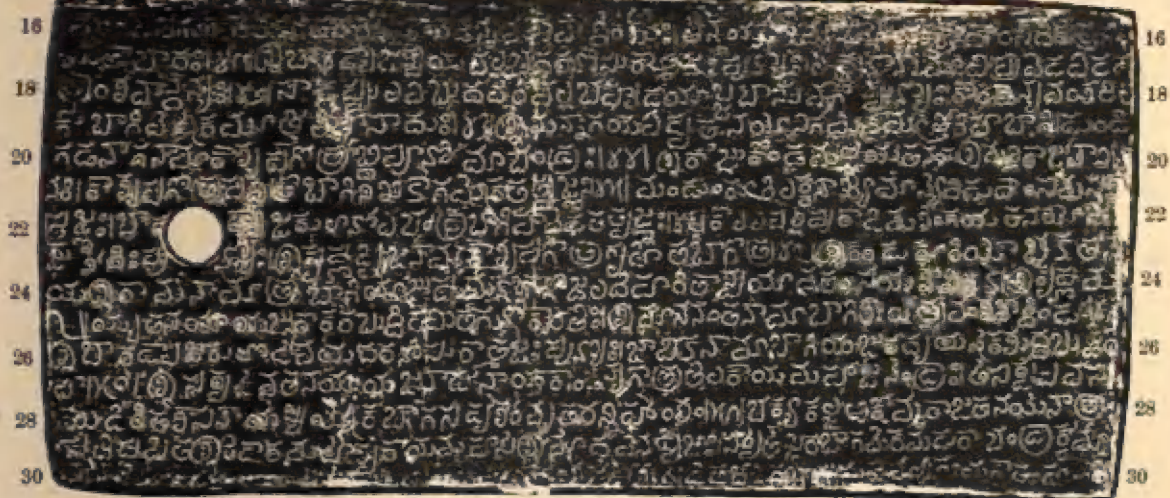
^२ Read मंडुगुरि.

^३ Read तनयो. The Telugu numeral figure 7 denoting the number of the plate is inscribed at the beginning of the line.

^४ Read कौडिन्य.

^५ [I would read the portion as : -ā-chandr-ārkaṁ=ārkkāṁ-j-ōrvatīvar-(śin=?) ōdita-ōga-bhāgya etc.—N. L. R.]

ciii, b.



No. 3.—RAJIM STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE NALA KING VILASATUNGA.

By PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M. A., NAGPUR.

Rājīm is a well-known holy place, 28 miles south by east of Raipur, the head-quarters of the Raipur District in the Central Provinces. It is situated on the eastern bank of the Mahānadi at the junction of the Pairi with that river. A fair is held there for a fortnight from the full-moon day of Māgha in honour of the god Rājīvalōchana. The principal temples at Rājīm are those of Rājīvalōchana, Rāmachandra and Kulśvara. They have been described in detail by Mr. Beglar and General Cunningham in the *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. VII, pp. 148-56 and Vol. XVII, pp. 6-20, respectively. Mr. Cousens¹ and Mr. Longhurst² who visited the place in 1903 and 1907 have also written notes on them in their respective Progress Reports.

As early as 1825 Mr. Richard Jenkins, who was Resident at Nagpur, drew attention to three inscriptions at Rājīm, of which he sent eye-copies and facsimiles to Mr. W. B. Bayley, Vice President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal³. One of these was the copper-plate inscription of Tivaradēva, which has since been edited by Dr. Fleet in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, pp. 291 ff. The remaining two were stone inscriptions, one of which, viz., that of Jagapāla, was later on edited by Dr. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, pp. 135 ff. The third inscription has, however, remained unpublished so far. Jenkins had sent a copy and a facsimile of this record also to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, but as 'it was too much mutilated to be decipherable with any degree of satisfaction', no transcript of it was published in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV which contained transcripts, imperfect of course, of the other two. The inscription was, for the first time, very briefly noticed by Dr. (then Mr.) D. R. Bhandarkar in Cousens' *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India* for 1903-04, p. 48. He drew attention to the names of the princes Andapānala⁴ Prithvirāja, Virūparāt and Vilāsatuṅga and of the *Sūtradhāra* Durgahastin and stated that the inscription recorded the erection of a temple of Vishṇu. He, further, assigned the record to about the middle of the 8th century A. D. This account was followed by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*⁵, but he, for the first time, correctly read the name of the king Nala in line 6. Owing presumably to its mutilated condition, the inscription has so far received little attention⁶, but as it is the only stone record of the Nala dynasty found in the Central Provinces, I edit it here from the original stone, Cunningham's facsimile⁷ and inked estampages taken under my supervision.

Like the aforementioned inscription of Jagapāla, the present record is incised on a slab of stone which is built into the left hand wall of the *maṇḍapa* of the temple of Rājīvalōchana. The record contains 22 lines and at present covers a space 3' 8" broad and 1' 4" high. Some *akṣaras* have, however, been lost on the right and left sides under the lime border.

¹ *P. R. A. S. W. I.* for 1903-04, pp. 24 ff.

² *An. Rep. A. S. E. C.* for 1907-08, p. 35.

³ *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, pp. 501 and 511.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ Dr. Bhandarkar seems to have wrongly read *khyātō=adapānala iti* instead of *khyātō nripō Nala iti* in line 6.

⁶ These words were for the first time correctly read by R. B. Hiralal.

⁷ First ed. (1916), p. 103; second ed. (1932), p. 112. Hiralal read the word Pāṇḍava in line 4, which, if correct, would connect this family with the Sōmavamsīs. But I do not find it anywhere in this record.

⁸ Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamachari, while editing the Poḍāgaḍh inscription, remarked that that was 'the first stone record of the Nala dynasty' discovered till then (above, Vol. XXI, p. 155).

⁹ *A. S. I.*, Vol. XVII, plate IX.

This was the state of things even in Cunningham's time, but since then the lime border has made further encroachments so that some *akṣaras* on either side, which appear clear in his facsimile, have since become invisible. The writing has, again, suffered considerably in the middle and specially on the proper left. Besides, as several letters have now become choked up with oily dust, the inscription does not yield a satisfactory estampage. I have, therefore, mainly relied on Cunningham's facsimile which is quite clear though somewhat touched up by hand¹. I have, however, checked some doubtful readings by a personal examination of the original record.

The characters are of the proto-Nāgarī type resembling those of the Sirpur stone inscription of Mahā-Sīvagupta-Bālārjuna². The stroke of the medial *ā* is often placed on the top of letters see *pāda*- and *tasy-ābhū*—both in l. 6, and *śri-hāri* in l. 15; *kā* has two forms, one in which the right limb contains a loop and the other in which it is without it, see e. g., *duḥkha*-, l. 15 and *saṅkhy*-, l. 3; *j* is generally tripartite; in some places its upper bar is reduced to a wedge as at the top of other letters, but the central bar has not completely bent down, see *devīa*-, l. 3 and *vijay*-, l. 12; *p* is open at the top as in *vapushā* l. 5; *y* is throughout bipartite, see *īriyam*-, l. 4; in its subscript form the letter has an elongated rectangular shape as in the aforementioned Sirpur stone inscription; the right limb of *l* is not brought down as in the proper Nāgarī alphabet; *d* and *r* have developed serifs at their lower ends, while *h* is without a tail, see *radanti* and *alpa-cāraṇ*, both in l. 14 and *vīhātā* in l. 18; a final consonant is indicated by an encircling curve in *bhāvāt*, l. 14 and by a slanting stroke at the bottom as in *upārjanīyam*, l. 14. The language is Sanskrit and the record is composed metrically throughout. There are twenty-nine verses in all, none of which is numbered. The orthography exhibits the usual peculiarities of the reduplication of a consonant after *r* and the use of *v* for *b*, see *chandr-ārka*- and *Vali*-, both in l. 5.

The inscription is one of a king, probably Vilāsatuṅga, of the Nala dynasty. The object of it is to record the construction, by the king, of a temple dedicated to Viṣṇu. It opens, as might be expected, with some verses invoking the blessings of that god. There are as many as five verses of this type, of which the first is almost completely lost. The fourth verse is in the form of a dialogue between Hari (Viṣṇu) and Lakṣmī, while the fifth describes the Dwarf incarnation of Viṣṇu. Verse 6 which is partly defaced apparently glorifies a royal family³ which by means of *double entendre* is compared with the sun. The next verse describes Nala as one who had surpassed the god of love by his splendid form and whose lotus-like feet were kissed by the bee-like crust-jewels of a crowd of hostile kings who submitted to him. This Nala is plainly the well-known legendary king of that name glorified in the *Mahābhārata*. The record next proceeds to describe, in verses 8 and 9, Prithivīrāja who, like the stream of the Rēvū (Narmadā), was venerated by all people and was, like Māndhātṛi, created by God as He found the world tainted by the attack of the Kālī age. Verses 10-12 are devoted to the glorification, equally conventional, of Prithivīrāja's son Virūparāja. Verse 14 mentions Vilāsatuṅga who was probably a son⁴ of Virūparāja. The next three verses (15-17) were probably devoted to his praise, but they are very badly mutilated. It was pro-

¹ The facsimile is misleading in a few places. See for instance *apre* in l. 16 and *parushāṣa* in l. 18, which cannot be read as such from the facsimile, but are clear in my estampage.

² Above, Vol. XI, pp. 184 ff.

³ Some word like *saṅkṣāṣa* is lost at the end of line 5.

⁴ No word specifying this relation occurs in the extant portion, but the word *viṭhinaṣa* in the ablative or genitive case in verse 14 probably refers to Virūparāja.

bably this king Vilasatunga who erected the excellent and lofty temple of Vishnu¹ which is described in verses 19-22. This is followed by the usual prayer to future rulers to preserve the religious monument and the hope that it would last for ever. The *prastāvi*, as the inscription is called in verse 28, was composed probably by Durgagōla. It was incised by the artisan (*Sūtradhāra*) Durgabastin, son of Jalabastin.

The inscription is not dated², but on palaeographic grounds it was considered to be not later than the 8th or 9th century A.D. by Cunningham³ and was referred to about the middle of the 8th century by D. R. Bhandarkar.⁴ As stated before, its characters resemble those of the Lakshmana temple inscription of Mahā-Śivagupta—Bālārjuna at Sirpur. I have stated elsewhere⁵ the evidence on which I place Tivarādēva in *circa* A.D. 530-550 and his grand-nephew Mahā-Śivagupta in the first half of the seventh century A.D. The Nala kings mentioned in the present inscription seem to have established themselves in the Raipur District some time after Mahā-Śivagupta. It may, therefore, not be wrong to assign the present record to about A.D. 700.

Until recently the Nala dynasty was known only from references to them in the Aihole inscription⁶ of Pulakēśin II and some records⁷ of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī. In the former, Kirtivarman I, the father of Pulakēśin, is called the night of destruction to the Nalas, Mauryas and Kadambas. Dr. Fleet thought that the territory of the Nalas lay in the direction of Bellāry and Karnūl, because a copper-plate inscription from the Karnūl District records the grant, by Vikramāditya I of the Early Chālukya dynasty, of the village Ratnagiri in the *Naṣavāḍi-vishaya*, which according to Dr. Fleet, is identical with the modern Ratnāgiri in the Maḍakśirā *tāluka* of the Bellāry District.⁸ The discovery of the Rithapur plates of Bhavadattavarman⁹ showed that the Nalas had extended their sway, for a time at least, to the ancient Vidarbha. These plates are inscribed in box-headed characters resembling those of the Vākāṭaka grants. They were issued from Nandivardhana which I have shown elsewhere¹⁰ to have been the Vākāṭaka capital before the foundation of Pravarapura. The occupation of this important city in the heart of the Vākāṭaka territory points to the conclusion that the Nalas had invaded the Vākāṭaka kingdom and established themselves for a time in Vidarbha. This is again confirmed by the statement in the Bālāghaṭ plates that the Vākāṭaka Prithivishēṇa II raised his sunken family.¹¹ He seems to have driven out the Nalas from Vidarbha and to have even carried the war into the enemy's territory.

¹ Verse 20 shows that the king built the temple for the increase of the religious merit of his son who had died.

² Beglar thought that the inscription contained two dates—one 870 or 879 and the other seven hundred and odd, the units and tens being mutilated, *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. VII, p. 152, but this is wholly incorrect. What Beglar supposed to be the figures 870 or 879 is only the word *atīrēṣā* in l. 22.

³ *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XVII, p. 7.

⁴ *P. E. A. S. W. I.*, for 1903-04, p. 48.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 18 ff. and Vol. XXIII, p. 118.

⁶ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff.

⁷ See, for instance, the Kauthān grant of Vikramāditya V, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI, p. 15.

⁸ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 363. The *Naṣavāḍi-vishaya* is also mentioned in the Dayyamdinne plates of Vinayāditya dated Śaka 614. See above, Vol. XXII, pp. 24 ff.

⁹ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 100 ff. The king's name appears wrongly as Bhavattavarman in this inscription.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 210 ff.

¹¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 271.

The Poḍāgaḍh stone inscription¹ states that Bhavadattavarman's son restored the glory of his family and re-settled the capital Pushkari which had been devastated by the enemy. This enemy was probably none other than the Vakāṭaka Prithivishēga II.

The Poḍāgaḍh stone inscription points to the south-eastern portion of Mahākōśala, comprising the Bastar State and the adjoining Jeypore Agency, as the home of the Nalas. The *Parāpas* also state that the Nalas ruled over Kōśalā² which must be taken to mean Dakṣiṇa Kōśala or Mahākōśala. No predecessors of Bhavadatta were so far known, but recently in 1939 a hoard of gold coins of the Nala dynasty was discovered at the village Eḍeṅgā in the Konḍegāon *tahsil* of the Bastar State.³ This hoard comprised coins of three kings, viz., Varāha, Bhavadatta and Arthapati. It seems that Varāha preceded Bhavadatta who was himself followed by Arthapati. From the Rithapur plates we know that Arthapati was a son of Bhavadattavarman.⁴ He evidently succeeded Bhavadatta and ruled for a time in Vīdarbhā, but was ultimately driven out by Prithivishēga II. Skandavarman,⁵ another son of Bhavadatta, is known from the Poḍāgaḍh inscription. He rehabilitated the fortune of his family as stated above.

As Bhavadatta, Arthapati and Skandavarman were thus contemporaries of Narēndrasēna and Prithivishēga II, they must have ruled in the south-eastern part of Mahākōśala in the second half of the fifth century A.D. The Drug, Raipur and Bilāspur Districts, which lay to the north of their territory, were held by the kings of the so-called Śarabhapura dynasty; for their inscriptions have been found at Āraṅg,⁶ Khariar,⁷ Raipur,⁸ Sāraṅgarh⁹ and Sirpur.¹⁰ These kings at first ruled from Śarabhapura, but subsequently their capital was shifted to Śrīpura, modern Sirpur, about 35 miles north by east of Rājim in the Raipur District. This dynasty was overthrown by the Early Śōmavamśis.¹¹ As I have shown elsewhere,¹² Udayana, the founder of this dynasty was ruling in Central India, for a stone inscription found at Kālāñjara records his construction of a temple of Viṣṇu evidently at Kālāñjara. He or his sons seem to have invaded Mahākōśala probably during a campaign of their Maukharī suzerain Iśvaravarman or Iśānavarman. Inscriptions of Udayana's grandson Iśānadēva and great-grandson Tivaradēva

¹ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 153 ff.

² Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 51.

³ For a detailed account of this hoard, see my article in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, No. I, pp. 29 ff.

⁴ The editor of the Rithapur plates took Arthapati mentioned towards the close of the record as an epithet (meaning 'the lord of wealth') of Bhavadatta himself, but this is incorrect. See *loc. cit.* p. 33.

⁵ The name of this prince, which occurs at the end of line 5 of the Poḍāgaḍh inscription is partly mutilated. It has been tentatively read as Skandavarman, but the subscript members of the ligatures *sk* and *ad* are not clear and it may be suggested, in view of the close similarity in the letters *s* and *a* in the alphabet of the period, that the intended name was Arthavarman. But the reading *Śrī-Arthavarmanopā* in place of *Śrī-Skandavarmanopā* in lines 5-6 of that inscription would involve a hiatus and it appears doubtful if the name Arthapati would have been shortened into Artha or Arthavarman. I therefore take this prince to be different from Arthapati.

⁶ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 191 ff.

⁷ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 170 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 196 ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 261 ff. and Vol. XXII, pp. 15 ff.

¹⁰ *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. X, pp. 100 ff.

¹¹ Hiralal was of opinion that the Śōmavamśis preceded the kings of Śarabhapura, but this view is not correct, see above, Vol. XXII, p. 17, n. 3.

¹² Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 116 ff.

have been found in the Raipur and Bilāspur Districts, which were previously under the rule of the kings of Śarabhapura. These Early Sōmavarmās ruled from Śrīpura. It has been already stated that a copper-plate inscription of Tivaradēva has been found at Rājim itself. The plates were issued from Śrīpura and record the king's grant of the village Pimparipadraka in the Pēṣṭhāma-*bhukti* to a Brāhmaṇa. It has been doubted whether this inscription belongs to Rājim at all,¹ for neither of the two places mentioned in it was identified in the vicinity of Rājim. But such a doubt can no longer be entertained; for the village Pimparipadraka is evidently Piprōd which lies only 3 miles north-west of Rājim.² The Sōmavarmās continued to rule in Chhattisgarh for some generations after Tivaradēva; for copper-plates and stone inscriptions of his grand-nephew Mahā-Śivagupta *alias* Bālārjuna have been found at Mallār³ in the Bilāspur District and at Sirpur and Āraṅg in the Raipur District.⁴ It is not known how long their rule lasted in Chhattisgarh, for the later records of the dynasty have been found far away to the east in the Sambalpur and Cuttack Districts of Orissa and the Pāṭṇā and Sonapur States in the Eastern States Agency.⁵ A stone inscription at Āraṅg mentions Rapakēsarin who was probably a brother of Mahā-Śivagupta⁶ and another at Sirpur names Śivanandi as a son of the same king,⁷ but it is not known if either of them came to the throne. The present inscription shows that the Sōmavarmās were ultimately ousted from Chhattisgarh by their southern neighbours, the Nala kings.

The Aihole inscription shows that the Nalas suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Kirtivarman I some time in the latter half of the sixth century A.D. As stated before, this Chālukya king is called the night of destruction to the Nalas, Mauryas and Kadambas. It seems, however, that the Nalas, like the Mauryas,⁸ were not totally exterminated. Like other princes of Kōśala and Kaliṅga,⁹ they must have submitted to Pulakēśin II also, but they found a favourable opportunity for expansion when the Chālukyan kingdom was overrun by the Pallavas at the end of Pulakēśin's reign. They invaded the country of their northern neighbours, the Sōmavarmās, whom they drove to the east. The present inscription mentions three Nala princes, Prithvirāja, Virūparāja and Vilāsatunga. None of these names is known from any other record and their exact relation to the successors of Bhavadattavarman cannot be determined.

The history of Mahākōśala during the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. is still shrouded by a thick veil of obscurity. We do not therefore know how long the rule of Nalas lasted in this territory. An inscription on the architrave of the door of the sanctum in an exquisitely carved temple at Pāli about 12 miles north of Ratanpur records the construction of the temple by Vikramāditya, son of Malladēva. I have elsewhere¹⁰ shown this Vikramāditya to be Vikramāditya I of the Bāpa dynasty, who was a son of Malladēva. He was also

¹ *P. R. A. S. W. I.* for 1903-04, p. 25.

² Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 116, n. 5.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

⁴ *P. R. A. S. W. I.* for 1903-04, pp. 49-50.

⁵ See the tabular statement above, Vol. XI, pp. 198 ff.

⁶ Hiralal has shown that Rapakēsarin mentioned in the Āraṅg inscription was a brother of Mahā-Śivagupta—Bālārjuna, above, Vol. XI, p. 185.

⁷ *P. R. A. S. W. I.* for 1903-04, p. 49.

⁸ The Mauryas were ruling in Koṅkaṇ till the reign of Pulakēśin II at least, see verses 20 and 21 of the Aihole inscription.

⁹ See verse 26 of the Aihole inscription.

¹⁰ *Proceedings of the Third Indian History Congress.*

called Jayamēru and Bāga-Vidyādhara¹ and flourished from circa A.D. 870 to 895. No other inscription of the Bāgas has been discovered anywhere else in the Central Provinces. Hence we cannot say if they had extended their sway to the Raipur District in the south-west. In any case the rule of the Nalas must have ended towards the close of the 9th century when the Kalachuri Mugdhataṅga-Prasiddhadhavalā, the son of Kōkalla I, conquered the country of Pāli from the lord of Kōsala².

We have seen above that the present inscription records the construction of a temple of Viṣṇu. The temple where the inscribed slab is set up at present is also dedicated to Viṣṇu under the name of Rājīvalōchana (lotus-eyed). The image worshipped in it is made of black stone and is a common representation of Viṣṇu with the usual symbols of the mace, the discus, the couch and the lotus. As Cunningham has shown³, the temple is built on a peculiar plan, its most striking features being the shape of the *maṇḍapa* which is oblong instead of square and the sculptures on the pilasters which are large single figures, like those on Buddhist stūpa railings, instead of clusters of small figures⁴ as is usual in Brahmanical temples. This plan is evidently old and so the inscription is *primæ facie* in its original position. Cunningham referred the construction of the temple to the 5th century A.D. on the supposition that the copper-plate inscription of Tivaradēva refers to it. This, of course, is incorrect; for the plates merely record the gift of a village to a Brāhmaṇa and have no connection with the temple. Cousens drew attention to the fact that in plan the Rājīvalōchana temple at Rājim is a copy of the Lakshmaṇa temple at Sirpur⁵. Of the latter temple he found only the *garbhagriha* standing, while the *maṇḍapa* was in ruins. Relying on the statement of some people of Sirpur⁶ that several pillars and other sculptures had been taken from there to Rājim, Cousens suggested that the pillars, pilasters, door-frames and some sculptures used in the Rājīvalōchana temple were brought from Sirpur and that the ruined temple of Lakshmaṇa was rifled for the purpose. He thought that the slab containing the present inscription also possibly came from the Lakshmaṇa temple and recorded its erection⁷. As stated before, when Cousens visited Sirpur the *maṇḍapa* of the Lakshmaṇa temple was in ruins. He recommended its fallen debris to be removed. When this was done, a large inscription of Mahā-Śivagupta—Bālārjuna was disclosed in it. This record has since been edited by R. B. Hiralal in this journal⁸. It registers the construction of a temple of Viṣṇu by Vasaṭā, the mother of Mahā-Śivagupta. It is therefore plain that the present inscription could not have originally belonged to the Sirpur temple. Unfortunately it mentions no place-name which could have decided its original position indisputably. But it is inconceivable that a king who prays to future rulers for the preservation of his own religious monument would rifle a similar edifice of a past king to obtain ready made building materials⁹. It does not also seem likely that the Sirpur temple

¹ See Guḍimallam plates, above, Vol. XVII, pp. 1 ff.

² See verse 23 of the Bilhari stone inscription, above, Vol. I, p. 236 and verse 12 of the Benares plates of Kanya, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 306.

³ A. S. I. R., Vol. XVII, p. 9.

⁴ P. R. A. S. W. I. for 1903-04, p. 24. For the plans of the two temples, see A. S. I. R. Vol. XVII, plates V and XV with corrections in the latter pointed out by Cousens, *loc. cit.* Though the temple at Sirpur is now called the temple of Lakshmaṇa, it was originally dedicated to Viṣṇu, see below.

⁵ A. S. I. R., Vol. VII, p. 41.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*, p. 25.

⁷ Above, Vol. XI, pp. 184 ff.

⁸ It is noteworthy in this connection that the present record describes in verse 22 the trouble and expense that one has to incur in erecting a unique temple.

had fallen in ruins before the Rājīvalōchana temple was constructed; for the interval between the dates of the two records of the Śōmavamśī and Nala kings is not more than a century at the most.

We do not know what was the capital of these later Nala kings, but it is not unlikely that like the Sōmavamśis, they retained Sirpur as the seat of government. In that case they must have employed the artisans of that place to construct their temple at Rājim. And it should cause no surprise if the artisans adopted a plan with which they were familiar. This is probably the reason why there is such a close agreement between the plans of the two temples at Rājim and Sirpur. The tower of the Rājīvalōchana temple which, unlike that of the Lakshmaṇa temple, is in the Dravidian style,¹ must have been rebuilt in later times when the original one had fallen down.²

TEXT.

[Metres : Verso 1 *Mandākrāntā* ; vv. 2, 5, 20, 21 *Śragdharā* ; vv. 3, 4, 8-12, 15, 22, 24-26 *Śārdūlavikrīḍitā* ; vv. 6, 13 *Āryā* ; v. 7 *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 14, 17, 18, 23 *Upajāti* ; vv. 16, 19 *Indravajrā* ; vv. 27, 29 *Anushtubh* ; v. 28 *Praharshinī*.]

1 १[१*] — — — — —
 — — — — — चरित्रः ।
 प्राप्तजीणानुष — — — — —
 — — — — — [॥१॥*] — — — — —
 — — — — —

2 — — — — — [सारि]च[ब्रं(क्रम)] । नि[र्भी]ष्य
[क्षीरसिन्धुं] व्यदधद^१[म]र[ता] सम्प्रहृष्टः सुराणाम्नातश्रीर्यः स दिश्याच्छ्रियमनुप-
हतामायुरप्यूर्जि[तेषन् *१] । [१२॥*] रम्ये धावनमेलह(न ?)प्रविकसन्नीलो[त्पल*]
— — — — — इद्यानप[मां] — — —

¹ It should however be noted that the use of decorative horse-shoe arches is common to the towers of both the temples.

² Mr. Longhurst thinks that 'the architecture of the temples at Rājim is clumsy, lacks correct proportion and is painfully modern'. Was the tower of the Rājivāśchana temple as well as its *maṇḍapa* reconstructed by Jagapāla in the 12th century A.D.? It is to be noted, however, that his inscription built into a wall of the *maṇḍapa* records in line 14 the construction of a *prāsāda* (temple) in honour of Rāma, though it opens with an obeisance to Nārāyaṇa. Perhaps he did not make any distinction between the two. Even now the image in the temple is popularly believed to be that of Rāmachandra. Consens, however, suggested that the slab was brought over from another temple at Rājim, viz., that of Rāmachandra and set up in this one to lend importance to it. See *P. R. A. S. W. I.* for 1903-04, p. 26.

² From Plate IX. *A. S. J. R.*, Vol. XVII, the original stone and inked estampages.

* The record may have opened with an obeisance to Vishnu.

² The correct grammatical form would be *syndhāhāḍa*.

* The context requires a reading like *apy=ārjitarā vab.*

⁷ Restore *Sydnamia*.

- 3 [वराह ?] — ८ सौख्योचिताम् । प्रोत्पुत्ता[म्बु(म्बु)]रुहस्थितद्विजव[रा] वि(वि)-
भच्छ्रियं सारसीं सन्तापप्रश्न(ग्रम)समः स जगतः [ग्रन्थकु]खायांस्तु वः ॥३॥*
करुवं देवि हरिः सृगस्यपसर क्रोडीकृतः कचया — — — निपुणा मुख-
[प्र] ८ ८
- 4 — — वतिं सा चमा । हि(ते ?) वाग्भिर्व [तु] कर्मणा प्रकटितं
धि[ग्मा ?]श्च का [मि] रतिः सत्वन्नः श्रियमित्थपास्तरभसां श्रियन्नप्रभुः पातु
वः ॥४॥* शौर्यच्छैलेन्द्रशृङ्गप्रपतनरभसा[दु]यदश्वोधिर्वीचि[व्या]सङ्गा — [सहे]-
लोच्छलदति ८ ८ — — ८ — —
- 5 ८ घोरम् । उच्चैर्योगीन्द्रलीलाविरचितवपुषो व्यस्तचन्द्रार्कतारं यस्याभूद्विषमध्यात्म्य
इव स व(व)लियीनिहन्ता हरि[व्यः] ॥५॥* जयति प्रथितमहोष्[त्तु]ङ्गशिरो-
निहितनिजपादः । [नित्यो]दितप्रतापो(पः) [पूरुषा ?]दित्यो¹ ॥६॥*
6 [चा*]सौदिलासिनिजरूपजितस्मरोपि शान्तात्मनाभुवि सदा सृङ्गणीयवृत्तः । ख्यातो
नृपो नल इति प्रणतारिचक्रचूडामणिभ्रमरपुम्बि(म्बि)तपादपद्मः ॥७॥*
तस्याभूजि[ज*] — ८ — ८ ८ ८ — — — ८ — भूभृतो विम्वस्ये[व*]
न[ग][स्व*]
- 7 — ८ ८ ८ [रदृ ?]ष्टातिकान्तोन्नतेः । पृष्पाराज इति क्रमोपचयिनीं वि(वि)भ्र-
च्छ्रियं निमैलां सेव्यः सर्वजनस्य पापविगमादेवाप्रवाहोपमः ॥८॥* — — —
व जुगुप्सितः [स]म[गुणैः ?] — — ८ — — ८ —, — — — ८ ८ —
८ — ८ ८ व[धै]र्योतस्स यो धि ८ — ।
- 8 [नि*]श्चिन्त्यातिकलिप्रपातमलिनामालोक्य लोकस्मितिं धावा सर्वगुणैः कृतः
चित्तिपति[मं] — [ढ] — — ८ मः² ॥९॥* तस्योच्चै[र्न]पुधे ?]श्वरव्यति-
[करव्याप्तात्म]कार्यो ८ —, [मि]वाणां ८ ८ — ८ — ८ ८ — — — ८
— — ८ — । [वि*]ख्यातो हिमवानिवा ८ ८
- 9 ८ दः पुत्रः पतिर्भूयतां धत्ते नाम विरूपराज इति यो दिव्यन्दिवन्द[स्तुतम्]
॥१०॥* [रु*]पेणाप्रतिमः [शु]तिन च पां³ सत्यान्वितव्या ८ —, [शौर्य ?]
स्वायतन[मयं परम]ति — — ८ — — ८ — । — — — ८ ८ — ८ —
८ ८ ८ — — — ८ — — [गु*]णैर्यस्योच्चै[र्मनु] — ८ —

¹ Some four aksharas like *dāhavā rasmāḥ* are lost here. It is curious to note that the name *Śrī-Pāraṇadītya* in characters of the 8th century A. D. occurs on two pillars of this temple at Rājim, A. S. I. R., Vol. XVII, Plate X. [The *visarga-sandhi* in the preceding word *-pratiṣṭhā* does not justify the proposed reading *Pāraṇadītya* in the present instance.—B. C. C.]

² The last seven aksharas of this verse were probably *Māndhātī-rāj-ōpamaḥ*.

³ The context requires a reading like *śrūtāna vimalāḥ*.

⁴ Restore *śatyagāman*.

- 10 ८ सकलं कौर्त्तिर्जगद्भाम्यते ॥[११॥*] शचुघ्नोतिव(व)लेन — ८ [मद*]नो
द[प्ये]ण कौर्त्त्या ८ —, — न्यारामततु[र्वु(र्वु)]धः पृथुरणे भीष्मः प्रतापेन
च । — — — ८ — ८ — ८ — ८ — ८ — — — ८ — — — ८ —,
— — — ८ — ८ — ८ — ८ — — — ८ — प्यः कृतः ॥[१२॥*]
प्रति[प*]-
- 11 [वो*]दयभाजः सवितुरि — — इमानुरागधरः ।
॥[१३॥*] विलासिनस्तुङ्गत[मा] ८ — —, विलासतुङ्गः ८ ८ — ८ — — ।
८ — ८ — — ८ ८ — ८ — —, ८ — ८ — — ८ ८ — ८ — —
॥[१४॥*] — — [ख*][ङ्ग]लताभिघात ८ ८
- 12 — [शङ्का]रिहृन्दाभ्युषं पश्येमात्र समोख्यनेन विजयाधी[शं ?] स्तु[वं ?]तेन्यतः ।
प — — ८ ८ — ८ — ८ ८ — — — ८ — — ८ —, मन्ये धीरपि
— ८ — ८ [वसु ?]धा(धा) कालेन [ना] — ८ — ॥[१५॥*] [म*]त्वा
स्त्रदे[हान्त]रिते[न] — —, — — ८ [वर्णा]न्त्य[सु]धाखिलानि*
- 13 [म*]न्तस्तुमुद्दिश्य विधान[दृ]ष्टदाना(न)क्रिया[भि]र्वनु सद्य एव ॥[१६॥*] ययो[च्च ?]
पि — ८ ८ भूतलो[के] पु[ना] ८ — — ८ ८ मेव [राज्ञा]म् । युगस्य य
— ८ ८ — ८ — —, पूर्वम्[पश्य*]न्ति परं स्मृतिज्ञाः ॥[१७॥*] ८
— ८ — — ८ ८ — ८ जे[भ्यः] चातुर्यशा[स्त्र ?] ८ ८ —
- 14 ८ भावात् [।*] धर्मस्य मूलं च यशो वदन्ति ८ — ८ [त*]स्मात्तदुपाज-
नीयम् ॥[१८॥*] मत्वा चलं जीवितमल्पसारं [वु(वु)द्वा] कचिल्लीर्त्तनमेव
कायम् । कौर्त्तिः स्थिरा यस्य स [जी]वलोके तत्पुण्यमूर्त्तिर्वि[रजीव] एव
॥[१९॥*] — — — — ८ राज्ञा दशवदनभुजोत्थि[स]कै[लास*]-
- 15 [मृ*]ङ्गयौहारि [स्त्रे]न धात्रा स्फुरदमलसुधा[नि]त्यन[ध्ये ?]न्दुनेद[म्] । देवस्याग्निप-
दुःखप्रभवभयनुदः कारितं स्थानमुवैर्विष्णोः पुण्याभिहृत्कौ [वि]दशजनसुखातिथ्य-
भाजः सुतस्य ॥[२०॥*] प्रातर्व्या[र्व्या]नार्करोचिर्व्यतिकरविलसच्चारुवामाधराभां
वि[वि]भ्राणं भूमिभाजां ८ ८¹

¹ The *aksharas* lost here and at the beginning of the next line may have been *su-vikr.*

- 16 ८ [ट]ममलं दृश्यते दृष्टिरस्याम् । यद्गुरादेव सिद्धैरपरमतिमद्दुयं भूरिधानः
पुण्याधारं सुमेरोः शिखरमिव [प]तल्लोलगङ्गाप्रवाहम् ॥[२१॥*] अये तावदुप-
प्रमाण[कर*]णं प्रख्यात — — ८ —, क्षेत्रमाय[मिदं*] व्ययेन महता सन्धा-
रसम्पा[दनम् १*]
- 17 तत्किञ्चैरल[सुख १]स्वस्य पुनरप्या[भो]गचिन्ता परा लोके सर्वललामकीर्तनकृतामा-
यास एवादितः ॥[२२॥*] कर्तुर्ध्वरं पालयिता मतो मे पा[त्वं] निरायाममपे-
८ — — । सर्वोत्तिलोभा ८ ८ — परं यत्तदर्थतां याति ८ — पि राज्ञा-
(ज्ञाम) ॥[२३॥*] विज्वस्तैः प ८ —
- 18 ८ रत्न च पराः पापात्मनां सम्यदः साधूनामपि पूर्वपुण्यविहिता दृश्यन्त
एवोच्च[ज्व]लाः । तस्मादभ्यफलप्रपञ्चरचितं दृष्ट्वा विचि[चं] ८ —, [त]त्तत्त्वं
पुरुषेण^१ येन गुणिना — — ८ वि[ह]म्य^२ति ॥[२४॥*] सत्त्वं स्मररीरकञ्च
कृतिभि[र्वि]ह[द्वि][र*]-
- 19 [प्य*]स्मिरं लेलालोक ८ — ८ — सुखमपि प्रबृङ्गजासाहतम् । श्रुत्वा शक्र-
पुरस्करा[श्च] विभवैः पुण्यात्मभिः सेविताः कार्यः कीर्त[न*]दानपालनविधौ
धर्मस्य यत्नः [परः ॥२५॥*] — — —^३ ८ विकासिनी मतिम[तां] भासन्ति^४
भाचो(वा) ८ —,
- 20 — — — [यु १]तदुग्धसि[क्य १]धवला — — [ति]^५ वचः[स्थले] । यावद्भववहो
वि — न्ति च जगत्तावन्नयत्नादिमाह्वीर्त्तिम्यालयतः प्रिया [नर*]पतेर्न्यासास्थया
स[ज्ज]नाः ॥[२६॥*] स्रवो मित्तमप[त्वं] ८ [पभू*]त्तस्यैव भूपतेः । दुर्गो-
गोल इति — ८,^६
- 21 ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ — ८ ८ [॥२७॥*] — — — ८ ८ ८ ८ [तो]न्वमार्गमा[चं]
विज्ञेया प्रविरचिता प्रशस्ति — —^७ । रात्रे — ८ ८ वचना वि[जा]त-
भावा सद्गुत्तेत्यतिमहतादरेण मान्या ॥[२८॥*] जलह[स्ति][सु*][ते]नेयं प्रशस्तिः
शिव्यशालि[ना] [१*]
- 22 उत्कीर्णा सूचधरिण [साधुना] दुर्गहस्तिना ॥[२९॥*]

^१ Restore *jayat*.

^२ These characters are almost clear in the stampage.

^३ This and the next pāda must have begun with *paśat*.

^४ This is incorrect for भासने.

^५ Some word like *nidra* is expected here, but the first character appears like *ka*.

^६ Restore *prajñā*.

^७ Restore *rāśā*.

No. 4.—VENKATAPUR INSCRIPTION OF AMOGHAVARSHA; SAKA 828.

By R. S. PANCHAMUKHI, M.A., DHARWAR.

The inscription which is edited here for the first time was copied by Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, M.A., in the field season of 1926-27 and included in the *List of the Bombay-Karnatak Inscriptions copied during the year 1926-27* as No. 82. It is standing on the site of the ruined village **Veṅkaṭāpūr** in the Gadag taluk of the Dhārwar District, close to the temple of Veṅkaṭeśa which is a modern construction of within fifty years. The place was visited by me along with the Superintendent for Epigraphy, in 1933-34 and again in 1935-36 when the inscription was examined by me *in situ* and its photograph and fresh impressions were taken under my supervision. I edit the record below with the kind permission of Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu, B.A., the Superintendent for Epigraphy.

The inscription is engraved on a pillar-like black stone which, being broad at the base, gradually tapers at the top and the inscribed portion measures 2' 10" in length and 11" and 1' 6" in breadth at the top and bottom respectively. The top of the inscribed portion contains two sections one below the other. The first section bears the figure of a *liṅga* while the second has that of a cow and a sucking calf. The height of individual letters ranges between $\frac{3}{4}$ " and $1\frac{1}{4}$ ".

The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets which developed in the Kannaḍa districts of the Bombay Presidency in the 10th century A.D. and are regular for the period to which the record belongs. They exhibit round forms as against the antique, square and upright type that characterised the records of Amoghavarsha I¹ and his predecessors. They resemble the writing of the Soratūr inscription of Kṛishṇa II dated in Śaka 805² and as in that record, the *talēkaṭṭu* of the letters is distinctly curved and crescent-like, in contrast with the horizontal straight lines found in the earlier inscriptions. Besides these observations generally applicable to the inscriptions of the early tenth century A.D. which marks the period of transition in the evolution of the Kannaḍa alphabet, the following points may be noted in the **palæography** of the present record :—(1) The initial vowel *ī* (*īrpatte*, l. 3) is of the archaic type and the initial vowel *e* is used in *Eṇēṇāga* (l. 16). (2) Among the consonants, only three principal test letters, viz., *j*, *b*, and *l*, are used : *j* is of the later cursive form as in the Nandavādige inscription³ of Śaka 822 (824), cf. *rājādhirāja* (ll. 7-8), *rājyābhi*² (l. 8), *Chandraleja* (l. 13), etc. The letter *b* is presented throughout in its later cursive form. The letter *l* is used in its cursive form without the inward miniature representation of the principal part of the old square character, but peculiarly enough, it has a *talēkaṭṭu* on the right-hand curve which is not met with in any record of this early period : cf. *vallabha* (l. 7), *Beṣvolam* (l. 9), *oḥkaltanam* (l. 17), etc. In only one case, this letter appears without the *talēkaṭṭu*, viz., *sale* (l. 9). (3) The record uses freely the special forms of *n*, *m* and *y*. The secondary form of *n* is used in *oṇḍuttaram* (l. 9), *n-āḷe* (l. 10), *Eṇēṇāga* (l. 16), etc.. The secondary form of *m* is used in *m-emba* (l. 3), *maḥārāja* (l. 7), *mūnūrumam* (l. 10), etc. For the secondary form of *y*, see *ṭṭeṇṇaneya* (l. 3), *dasamiyūm* (l. 6), *vṛiddhiyondū* (l. 9), *Māyirmma* (l. 11), etc. *V* seems to have been written in its special cursive type in one case only, viz., *per-ggāvuṇḍa* (l. 12). *Th* is unusually open at the left top which is curved inside to mark the aspiration : cf. *prithuvī* (l. 7). *D* cannot be distinguished from *ḍ* except in one case, *baḍḍarappode* (l. 18). The aspirate *ph* is used with a cross stroke on the right curve in *phalam* (l. 23). The Dravidian *f* and *r* are found in ll. 18, 19, 21 and 16 and 20 respectively.

¹ Mantravāḍi inscription : Śaka 787 (above, Vol. VII, p. 108, plate). Sirūr inscription : Śaka 788 (*ibid.*, p. 202). Nilgund inscription : Śaka 788 (*ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 98, plate). Soratūr inscription of the time of Amoghavarsha, A.D. 860 (*ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 176).

² Above, Vol. XXI, p. 206 and plate.

³ *Jad. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 221, and plate in Vol. XI, p. 127.

In regard to orthography, the following may be noted. (1) An *anusvāra* preceding a consonant in the body of a word is very often changed into the nasal of the class to which the following letter belongs, cf. *onduttara* (l. 9), *Mahāsirivanta* (l. 10), etc. (2) Palatal *ś* is substituted by a dental *s*, cf. *Śaka* . . . *sata* (ll. 1-2), *dasami* (l. 5), etc. The language is ancient Kannada except the latter half of the imprecatory verse in Sanskrit beginning with *bahubhir-vasudhā dattā*, in which, it may be noted, *sadā* is written wrongly for *tadā* (ll. 21-22). On the expression *onduttaraś*, attention may be drawn to Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao's remarks above, Vol. XXI, p. 207. It may be added that a similar expression occurs in another record of Kṛishṇa II from the Mysore province dated in Śaka 835 (in words), Prajāpati, in the following passage: *Akūlarashadēgna vijayarājyam-onduttarōttaram-abhividdhige saluttire*¹.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of king Amoghavarsha and records the gift of a garden with one thousand creepers at Māvinuru, with proprietary rights (*sāmya*), made to Chandratēja-Bhaṭṭāra, pupil of Mallikārjuna-Bhaṭṭāra, by Bagega when the latter was the *Perygūvūṇḍa* (senior *gūvūṇḍa*) of Sirivura, Māyirmma was administering Muḷgunda-twelve and Mahāsirivanta was governing Beḷvola-three-hundred division. It is stated that Mugina Kādamma, Erenāga, Kuppa and Māda were holding the rights of *okkaltana* (cultivation rights) in the village and that if they were to destroy this gift, they would incur the sin of destroying Vāraṇāsi, the seven crores of ascetics, a tank, a garden and a cow.

The date of the gift is given as : Wednesday, the 10th day of the dark half of Kārtika in the cyclic year Prabhava falling in the Śaka year 828 (expired). The year Prabhava fell according to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, in Śaka 829 (expired) while according to Sewell's *Siddhāntas and the Indian Calendar*, it was Śaka 829 (current) i.e., 828 (expired) by the Northern system. In this year i.e., Śaka 828 (expired), the lunar month Śrāvaṇa was intercalated according to both the authorities and the details given in the record fell on Friday, November 14, A.D. 906 in which case, the weekday cited in the record would be a mistake. If Śrāvaṇa were not intercalated, the details would regularly correspond, for the lunar month Āśvina of the *Ephemeris*, to A.D. 906, October 15, Wednesday. But, for Prabhava, according to the Southern system (Śaka 829, expired), the date corresponded to A.D. 907, November 3, Tuesday;² 73.

From the title Amoghavarsha borne by the king, the date and the alphabet of the record, it is evident that this inscription is a Rāshṭrakūṭa document. The *biruda* was assumed by more than one king of the family and the earliest of them was Nripatuṅga Amoghavarsha I to whose reign the present inscription will naturally have to be assigned. But this possibility is precluded by the date Śaka 828 which falls right towards the close of his son Kṛishṇa's reign, which, according to the Hirebidri inscription³, began in Śaka 800, the latest known date for his father being Śaka 799, Phālguna, śu. 10 (March, A.D. 878)⁴. If it is not a mistake on the part of the copyist-scribe or the engraver, we have to presume that Kṛishṇa II also bore, like his father, the *biruda* Amoghavarsha.

During the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. Beḷvola-three-hundred was held by a succession of Governors viz., Dēvaṇṇayya, in A.D. 866,⁵ 869,⁶ 872⁷ and Śaka 793, Vijaya (=probably A.D. 873)⁸ Maṅgatōraṇa in A.D. 893⁹ and Mahāsirivanta in A.D. 901,¹⁰ 907¹¹ and 918.¹² It is not certain

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sorab, 88.

² Bombay-Karnatak Collection No. 100 of 1935-36.

³ This is the date of completion of the *Jayadharasūktā* of Vīraśeṇa during the reign of Amoghavarsha I.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 98 ff.

⁵ B. K. No. 140 of 1926-27.

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 246 of 1928-29.

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 105 of 1926-27.

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 20 of 1926-27.

⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 60 of 1926-27.

¹⁰ The Venkaṭpūr inscription under publication (*ibid.*, No. 82 of 1926-27).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, No. 184 of 1932-33.

whether these officers were related to each other as father and son and inherited the governorship as an ancestral estate or were appointed there from time to time like the governors of a province in modern days. From the Hebbāl inscription of Śaka 896 (A.D. 975),¹ it is learnt that the district was presented to the Gaṅga king Būtuga II as *baḷicāḷi* (dowry) at the time of his marriage with the Rāshtrakūṭa princess Rēvakanimmaḍi, the daughter of Amōghavarsha III Baddega. It was subject to the Gaṅga power since then as can be gathered from the Rōṇ inscription² of A.D. 942 and the Kurtakōṭi inscription³ of A.D. 946 where the Gaṅga prince is called the *bhāva* (brother-in-law) of Kṛishṇa III. The Ātakūr inscription of Kṛishṇa III and Būtuga II dated Śaka 872 (A.D. 949-50)⁴ states, however, that Kṛishṇa III was pleased with the valour of Būtuga displayed in the killing of the Chōḷa prince Rājāditya in the battle of Takkōlam and granted to him as reward the districts of Banavāse, Purigere, Beḷvola, Kisukāḍu and Bāgenāḍu. This would show that Būtuga was dispossessed of his hold over the Beḷvola district in the interval between A.D. 946 and A.D. 949-50. But the circumstances under which this event must have happened are not apparent. It is not unlikely that his elder brother Rāchamalla called Rachyāmalla in the Deōḷi plates⁵ of Kṛishṇa III (A.D. 940) by ousting whom from Gaṅgavāḍi, Būtuga had been placed on the throne, attempted to regain his power and wrested from him a portion of the territory including Beḷvola some time after A.D. 946. Būtuga must have sought the assistance of his brother-in-law Kṛishṇa III and with his help killed Rāchamalla. This latter incident is mentioned in the subsidiary inscription on the top of the Ātakūr stone⁶ dated Śaka 872 (A.D. 949-50) as an event of recent occurrence and so must have happened before the battle of Takkōlam so that Kṛishṇa III could present Būtuga the districts mentioned above. Perhaps on the death of Rāchamalla, the territory including Beḷvola was formally annexed by Kṛishṇa III as an overlord and victor, to the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom so that he could grant it to Būtuga in token of his services at the Takkōlam battle. Beḷvola was held by Mārasinhā II in A.D. 970⁷ and after the subversion of the family by the Western Chāḷukyas in about A.D. 975, it passed to the family of Kannapa and Śōbhanarasa the officers of the Western Chāḷukyas.⁸

Of the places mentioned in the record, **Beḷvola-three-hundred** is the well-known district comprising portions of the modern Gadag, Rōṇ and Navalgund taluks of the Dhārwar District. **Mulgunda-twelve** was named after Mulgund the modern village of that name in the Gadag taluk. **Māvinuru** where the gift was made I am not able to trace. This is perhaps identical with Māvinūru at which, according to the Konnūr inscription, twelve *niartanas* of land were granted to the Jaina sanctuary founded by Baṅkeya at Koḷanūra. Kielhorn, who edited the record, has identified this village with the modern Mannoor 8 miles east by south of Konnūr.⁹

TEXT.¹⁰

- 1 ◎ Svasti [||*] Sa(Śa)ka-nṛipa-kāl-ātita-saṁ-
- 2 vatsara-sa(śa)tarigaḷ-epṭunūṛa
- 3 irppattenṭaneya¹¹ Prabhavam-embā va-

¹ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 350 ff.

² *Ibid.*, No. 126 of 1926-27.

³ Above, Vol. V, pp. 188 ff.

⁴ B. K. Nos. 21 and 149 of 1926-27.

⁵ Above, Vol. VI, p. 28.

⁶ From the ink-impression and original stone.

⁷ The letter *ya* is engraved below the line in small character.

⁸ B. K. No. 175 of 1926-27.

⁹ Above, Vol. VI, p. 55.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. VI, p. 55.

¹¹ See above, Vol. XX, pp. 65 f.

- 4 risham pravarttise [i*] tad-varshābhya-
 5 ntara Kārttikā(ka)-māsa bahuja dasa(sa)-
 6 miyuh Budhavārad-andu [Sva*]sty-Amōgha-
 7 varsha prithuvi-vallabham mahārājādhi-
 8 rāja paramēśva(śva)ra bhāṭṭārara rājyābhi-
 9 vridhiy=onduttaram sale Belvolam mō-
 10 nūrumam Mahāsirivantan-āje Mu-
 11 lgundu(da) panneradumam Māyiruman-āje Si-
 12 rivurake Bagega perggāvundam-āguttire
 13 Mallika(kā)rajuna-Bhāṭṭārara āshyar-Chandratēja-
 14 Bhāṭṭārargge Māvinuro[-Bagega[nu] koṭṭam
 15 sāvira(rā) baḷliya tōṇṭada sūmyama Mugina
 16 Kādammanur Erenāgamur Kuppanur Māda-
 17 num-okkaltanam geyye mattam=alhiy-o-
 18 kkal=ellam-i(i)dan=aliye baḷdar=appoḷ=ella
 19 Vāraṇāsiyumam¹=eḷkōṭi tapōdhanamu[mam]
 20 kereyuman=ārāmeyuman kavileyu-
 21 man=aḷida pāpam=akku ③ yasya ya-
 22 sya yadā bhūmi(mis-)tasya tasya sadā (tadā)
 23 [pha]lam ③ matṅalam ③

No. 5.—TWO EASTERN GANGA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM SUDAVA.

By B. K. GHOSHAL, M.A., CALCUTTA.

The two sets of copper-plates, which form the subject of the present paper, were found in course of some excavations near the temple of Dharmalingēśvara at the village of Sudava² (or, Sudaba) situated in the eastern division of the Parlākimēdi Estate in the Ganjam District of the Madras Presidency. At the time of the discovery, the plates were deposited in a mud-pot. They were received for examination by the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy from the Agent and Diwan to the Raja Bahadur of Parlākimēdi. They have been noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1920-21 (C. P. No. 1 and 2, page 93), and published for the first time by Pandit Satya Narayana Rajaguru of Parlākimēdi³. I now re-edit the two records from two sets of ink-impressions kindly supplied by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India.

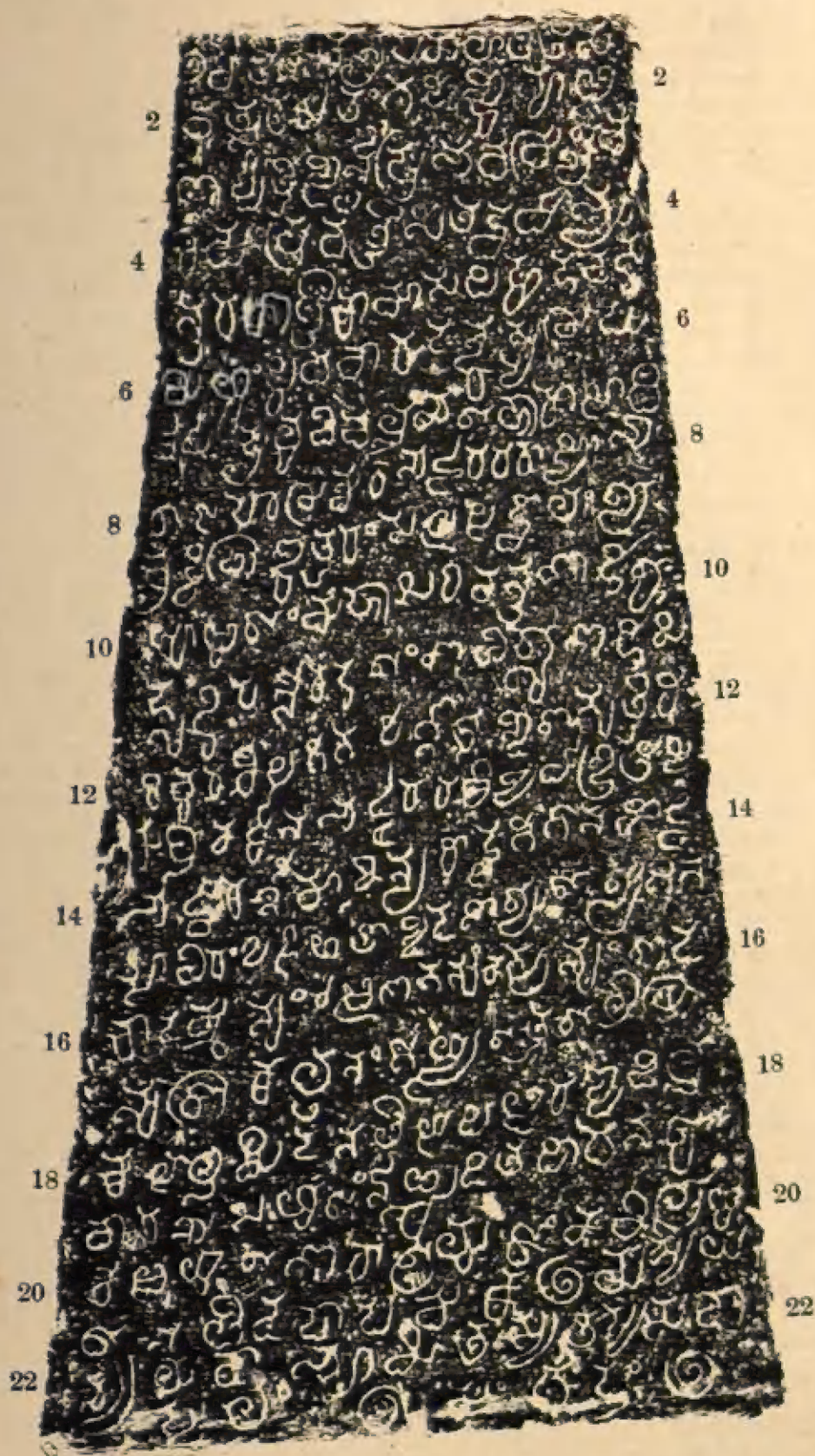
A.—Plates of Dēvēndravarmān, son of Guṇārjaya; [Gaṅga] Year 184.

These are three plates of copper, each measuring about 7½" by 3½". Towards the proper right end of each plate there is a ring-hole, a little above ½" in diameter, through which the plates slide on to a copper-ring of 3½" diameter. The ends of the ring were soldered to a circular seal of 1½" in diameter. It bears in relief on a counter-sunk surface the figure of a

¹ Read Vāraṇāsiyuman.

² In *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, p. 272 and *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XI, p. 300, the find-spots of these records are said to be Adava instead of Sudava. These two names perhaps indicate one and the same place.

³ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 271 ff.



bull, couchant to right, and a crescent above it. The edges of the plates are slightly raised into rims so as to protect the writing. The weight of the plates together with the ring and the seal is 102 *tolas*. The first and the third plates bear writing on their inner faces only, while the second one is engraved on both sides. Three of the inscribed faces of the plates have six lines of writing apiece, while the fourth has seven, the total coming to twenty-five lines in all, the last line containing only three or four letters. The inscription is on the whole in a good state of preservation.

The characters belong to the Southern class of alphabets and resemble those of the Chieucole¹ (Year 183), Trilingi² (Year 192) and Siddhāntam³ (Year 195) plates of Dēvēndravarman, the donor of the present grant, already known to us.

Some of the palaeographical features of the inscription are the following: (1) initial *a* occurs in line 5 and initial *ā* in l. 22, (2) the form of medial *ā* in *tā* of *mātā* (l. 9) is noteworthy, and (3) the final form of *t* occurs once only in *pūrvāt* (l. 16); the letter is smaller in size and is underscored once.

The numerical symbols for 100, 80 and 4 occur in the date which is given in l. 24.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Excepting the three customary verses and one mentioning the writer towards the end, the whole of the record is in prose.

Among the orthographical peculiarities of the record may be mentioned the following: (1) the occurrence of the *jīvaṃmūliya* in lines 1 and 14, (2) the use of the *upadhāniya* in lines 6 and 9, (3) the doubling of *t* before *y* in *sattya-*, *tyāga-* (l. 7) and *parikṛītya* (l. 9), according to Pāṇini, viii, 4, 47, (4) the doubling of consonants after *r*, (5) the doubling of consonants before *r*, the exceptions being in lines 18 and 19, (6) the use of *anuscāra* in place of final *m* in ll. 12, 20 and 21, (7) the change of *visarga* into *s* before dental *s* (ll. 1, 2, 4, 8 and 9), (8) substitution of *anuscāra* by guttural nasal before a palatal sibilant in *nistrīśa* (l. 4) and *vañśyēna* (l. 22).

The inscription records the gift of the village of Haduvaka which was situated in the district (*viśaya*) called Pushyagiri-pañchālī to the learned Brāhmaṇa teacher Pataṅga-Śivāchārya, who was the *guru* of the donor. The original donee again made over one half of the village to (*the god*!) Yāgśvara-bhaṭṭāraka and the other half to his own disciples and disciples' disciples. The gift was issued from Kaliṅganagara on the occasion of the termination of the *śikṣā* ceremony of the donor. The donor was Mahārāja Dēvēndravarman, son of Guṇārjuna. The writer of the charter was Pallavachandra, son of Mātrichandra, who belonged to the Apūrvanaṇa family. The witness of the gift was mahāmahattara Śavarmanandīśarman and the engraver was Sarvachandra, the son of Khaṇḍichandra, the *bhōgika*.

The date, given in words as well as in figures, is the Year 184, which presumably refers to the Gaṅga era.

Of the localities mentioned, Kaliṅganagara has been variously located at modern Kaliṅga-patam or at Mukhaliṅgam. The village of Haduvaka is evidently the same as Sudava (or, Sudaba), the findspot of our inscription. The district of Pushyagiri-pañchālī in which the village granted was situated, I am unable as yet to identify.

Paleographically, our inscription has to be placed in the second half of the 7th century A.D.

¹ Above, Vol. III, pp. 130 ff. and plates.

² *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XI, pp. 800 ff. and plates.

³ Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 213 ff. and plates.

TEXT¹.

First Plate.

- 1 Om² Svasti[|*] Sakala-vasumatī-tala-tilakāyamānas³-sarvv-artu-sukha-ramaplyād-vijaya-vataḥ Kaliṅganagara-
- 2 vāsakān=Mahēndr-śchal-āmala-sikhara-pratiṣṭhitasya eharāchara-gurōs-sakala-bhuvana-nirmāṇa-aika-sūtradhārasya
- 3 bhagavatō Gōkarṇasvāmīnaś-charaṇa-kamala-yugala-praṇāmād-vigalita-kali-kalaṅkō Gāṅg-āmala-ku-
- 4 la-tilakō nija-mistriṇśa(strimśa)-dhār-ōpārjjitas⁴-sakala-Kaliṅg-ādhirājya[ḥ*] pravītatā-chatur-udadhi-taraṅga-mē
- 5 khal-āvani-tal-āmala-yaśāḥ anēk-āhava-saṅkabhōbha-janita-jaya-śabda[ḥ*] pratāp-āvanata-samasta-sāmanta-chakra-chū-
- 6 dā-maṇi-prabhā-maṇjari-puṇja-raṇjita-charaṇaḥ paramamāhōśvarō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyātō naya-vinaya-śauryy-[au-]

Second Plate : First Side.

- 7 dāryya-sattya-ttyāga-sampadām-ādihāra-bhūtaḥ śri-Guṇārṇava-sūnur-mmahārājāḥ śrīma-[d*]-Dēvēndravarmma Pushyagiri-
- 8 pañchālī-vishayē Haḍuvaka-grāmē sarvva-samavētān-kuṭumbīnaś-sama(mā)jñāpayati [|*] Vīditam-astu bhavatā[ḥ*] yath-ānam-
- 9 bhir-ayam grāmas-sarvva-karaiḥ pariḥṛitty-ā-chandr-ārka-pratiṣṭhām mātā-pitṛōr-ātmanāś-cha puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē vēda-
- 10 vēdāṅg-ētihāsa-purāṇa-nyāya-vidyā-śva-siddhānt-ādhibatāya bhagavat-Pataṅga-Śivāchār-yyāya guravē di-
- 11 kaś-ōttara-kālō guru-pūjāyai dattas-tēn-āpi pratigrihya Yāgōśvara-bhaṭṭārakāy-ārddham śva-śishya-praśi-
- 12 shyēbhryō-py-arddham(m)⁵ity-ēvam-viditvā yath-ōchita-bhāgabhōgam-upa-nayanta[ḥ*] sukham prativasat-ēti[|*] grāmasya sīmā-ḷi-

Second Plate : Second Side.

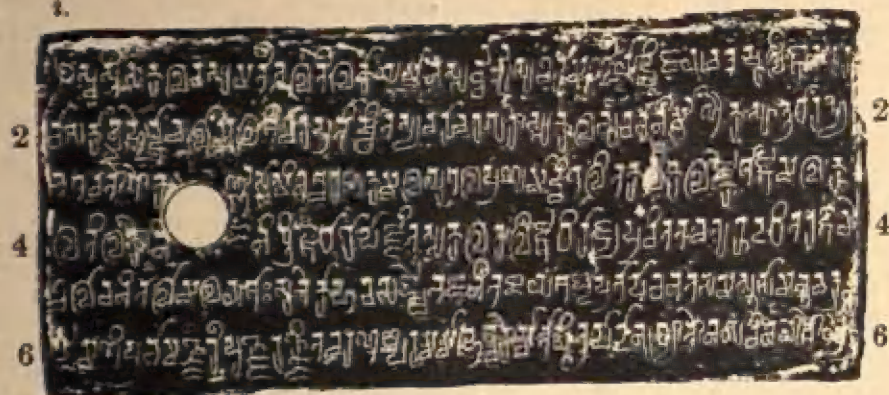
- 13 āgāni bhavanti [|*] Pūrvvasyān-diśi Guṇahārī garttā tata(tō)⁶ dakṣiṇasyān-diśi sīmāntē⁷ s-aiva garttā paśchima(mē)na kadamba-
- 14 vṛikṣaḥ tatas-chiñchā-vṛikṣaḥ nimba[s*] tata[ḥ*] sarjja-vṛikṣaḥ taṭā[k-ā*]jyān timira-vṛikṣaḥ tataś Pīśāch-āli-kāraka-vṛikṣaḥ
- 15 taṭāk-āli-paśchima-sīmāntē taṭāk-āly-uttarē bhallātaka-vṛikṣaḥ tata(tō) jambū-vṛikṣaḥ Chullavēṇa

¹ From ink-impressions.² Denoted by a symbol.³ Read 'māna-.⁴ Read -ōpārjjita-sakala-.⁵ The predicate dattas is understood here.⁶ [The reading is garta-dakṣiṇasyān-diśi.—B. C. C.]⁷ Here we have an example of tautology. We have to read either dakṣiṇasyān-diśi or simply dakṣiṇa-sīmāntē.

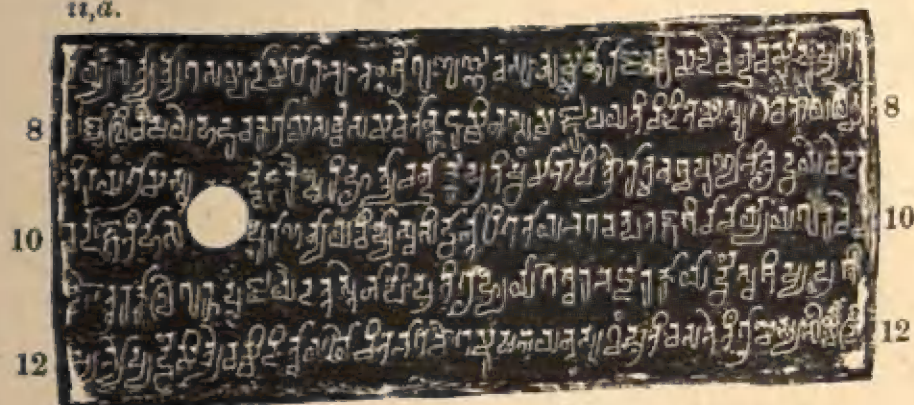
TWO EASTERN GANGA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM SUDAVA.

A.—PLATES OF DEVENDRAVARMAN; [GANGA] YEAR 184.

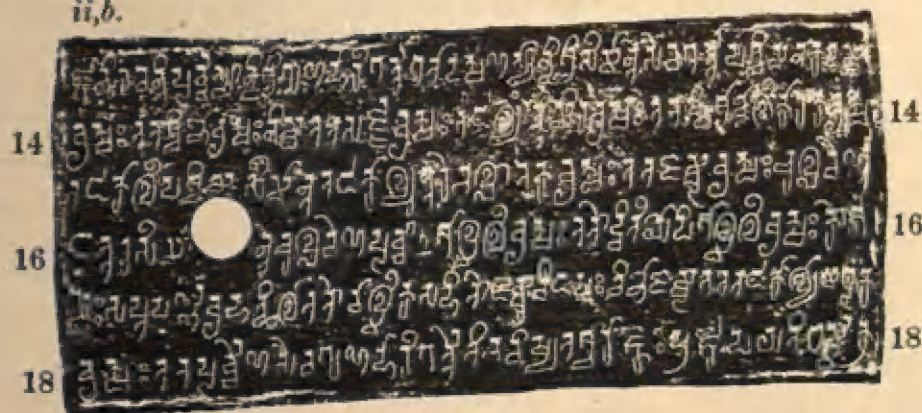
i.



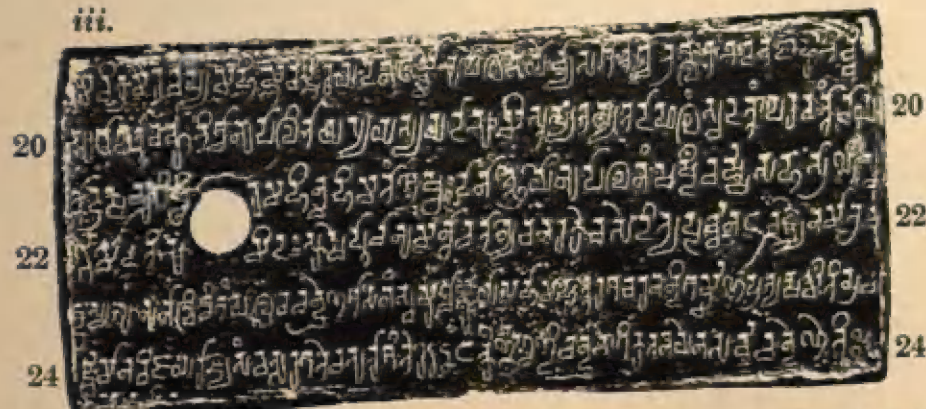
ii, a.



ii, b.



iii.



- 16 uttara-sīmāntē Chullavēṇa-pūrvvāt śālmali-vṛikshaḥ tatō dvitīyō-pī śālmali-vṛikshaḥ
kōśa-
17 mbaḥ saptaparṇṇa(rṇṇō) vṛi(bṛi)hat-chhi(ch-chhi)lā tatō vālmika-sahitō jambu
viṭapaḥ chīnchā-jambū[s*] tata[s*] tatāk-ālyā[m*] madhūka-
18 vṛikshaḥ tata[h*] pūrvvēṇa s-aiva Guṇahārī gartt-ēti [[]*] bhaviṣhyataś-cha
rājñāḥ prajñāpayati [[]*] dharma-kra-

Third Plate.

- 19 ma-vikramair-avāpya mahīm-bhavadbhir-ayam dānadharmmō-nupālanīyō(yaḥ) [[]*]
Vyāsa-gītās-ch-ātra ślōka(kā) bhavanti [[]*] 'Bahubhī(bhī)r-vva-
20 sudhā dattā va(ba)hubhīs-ch-ānupālītā [[]*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya
tadā phalaṁ(lam) [[]1*] Śva-dattām para-dattām vā ya-
21 inād-raksha Yudhiṣṭhira [[]*] mahi(hī)n-ma(m-ma)himatām śrēṣṭhaḥ(ṭha) dānāt-
chhrē(ch-chhrē)yō-nupālanam(nam) [[]2*] Śhaṣṭīm varsha-sahasrāṇi sva-
22 rggō mōdati bhūmidāḥ [[]*] ākshēptā ch-ānumantā cha tāny-ēva narakō
'vasēd-ity-Apūrvvanata-vaśyē(vamśyē)na Mātṛicha-
23 ndrasya sūnunā [[]*] līkhitam Pallavachandrēṇa¹ śāsanam sva-mukh-ājñayā [[]4*]
mahāmahattara-Śavaranandīśarmmaṇa[h*]² pratyakṣam-iti [[]*] prava-
24 rddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-sarhatsara-śatē chatur-āśītē 100 80 4 [[]*] utkirṇam
Khaṇḍichandra-bhōgika³-tanayēna 'Sarvvachandrēp-ētiḥ(ti) [[]*]
25 [! U*]māpati⁴

B.—Plates of Anantavarman, son of Dēvēndravarman ; [Gaṅga] Year 204.

These are three sheets of copper, with their edges slightly raised in order to protect the writing. They measure 6" by 3½". Towards the proper right end of each plate there is a ring-hole through which the plates slide on to a thick ring of copper measuring 3½" in diameter. The ends of the ring were secured and soldered to a circular seal which measures 1½" in diameter. It bears in relief, on a counter-sunk surface, the figure of a bull, couchant to right, surmounted by a crescent. Below the bull there is a floral design. The weight of the plates together with the ring and the seal is 138 tolas. The first and the third

¹ Metre : Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh) ; and in the following three verses.

² Read *vasā* [[]3*] *iti*.

³ The same person was responsible for drafting the Chicacole (Year 183) and Trilingi (Year 192) plates of Dēvēndravarman.

⁴ He figures also as a witness in the Chicacole and Trilingi records of Dēvēndravarman. The Chicacole inscription, however, calls him a *mahattara*, for a note on which term, see above, Vol. XVIII, p. 78, f. n. 6. Dr. E. Hultzsch's explanation of the first component of his (the witness's) name (above, Vol. III, p. 134, f. n. 3) seems to be unwarranted ; for, Śavara need not always signify the savage tribe. In fact, Śavara is only another name of Śiva who is the object of devotion of the donor of our grant.

⁵ For a note on *bhōgika*, see above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 59 and 64 ; also Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, *Gujarāt Inscriptions*, p. 100, f. n. 1.

⁶ He also engraved the Chicacole and Trilingi plates of Dēvēndravarman. The name of the father of the engraver of the latter grant has been misread (*I. H. Q.*, Vol. XI, p. 302) as *Chandrabhōgika*, whereas it is clearly *Khaṇḍichandra* on the facsimile. Cf. plate III (opp. p. 301), wrongly numbered there as 'Plate II (Reverse)'.

⁷ This was probably the name of the record-keeper (*akṣatālīn*) or some other official at his office. [The reading seems to be *Māgha-dī I.*—B. C. C.]

plates are inscribed on their inner faces only, while the second one contains writing on both of its sides. The inscription consists of thirty-two lines, each of the inscribed faces of the plates containing eight lines of writing.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Southern class of alphabets and resemble those of the Ganjam Plates of *Mahārāja Jayavarman*¹ and the Dhanantara Plates² of *Sāmanta-varman*.³

The orthography of the inscription calls for no special remarks. It shows almost the same features as those that occur in the record of *Dēvēndravarma*n dealt with under A above.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of one imprecatory verse, the whole of the inscription is in prose.

The inscription records the gift of the village of *Tālatthēra* situated in the district (*viśaya*) of *Krōṣṭhukavarttani*, to the learned *Brāhmaṇa Viśvasūmāhārya* who belonged to the *Pārāśara gōtra* and hailed from *Śrīgāṭikā-agrahāra* in the *Kāmarūpa viśaya*. The occasion for the gift was a marriage ceremony (*kanyādāna*). The donor of the grant was *Mahārāja Anantavarman*, son of *Mahārājādhirāja Dēvēndravarma*n, who belonged to the family of the *Gaṅgas (Gāṅga-kula)*. The grant was made at the request of the king's brother, *Jayavarman*.

The date, given in words as well as in figures, is *śukla-trayōdaśī* of the month of *Mārgaśīrṣa* of the Year 204 (of the *Gaṅga* era). The engraver was *Kuyāli*, the son of *Nādimachi*.

Of the localities mentioned, the *Krōṣṭhukavarttani-viśaya* is mentioned in some of the early and later *Gaṅga* inscriptions.⁴ It has been identified by Dr. E. Hultzsch⁵ with modern *Chicacole*. The *Kāmarūpa-viśaya* may not necessarily signify the famous country of the same name in Eastern India. Perhaps it is just another (hitherto unknown) district of ancient *Kāliṅga*. I am unable to identify at present both this and the *Śrīgāṭikā-agrahāra* as well as the village granted. Besides these, our inscription contains a medley of geographical names (chiefly those of hillocks, etc.) which marked the boundaries of the village of *Tālatthēra*. These, however, seem impossible to identify without a local investigation.

Paleographically, our inscription is to be referred to the last quarter of the 7th or the first quarter of the 8th century A.D.

¹ Above Vol. XXIII, pp. 261-63 and plates.

² Above Vol. XV, pp. 275 ff. and plates.

³ Apart from the one under discussion, there is another grant of *Anantavarman*, son of *Dēvēndravarma*n, (see *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1918-19, p. 14, No. 8 and *J. A. B. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 188-190 and plates). This record, however, does not seem to be genuine; for, the script appears to be too late for the reign of *Anantavarman*, and further the record, which abounds in gross mistakes in composition, is not dated.

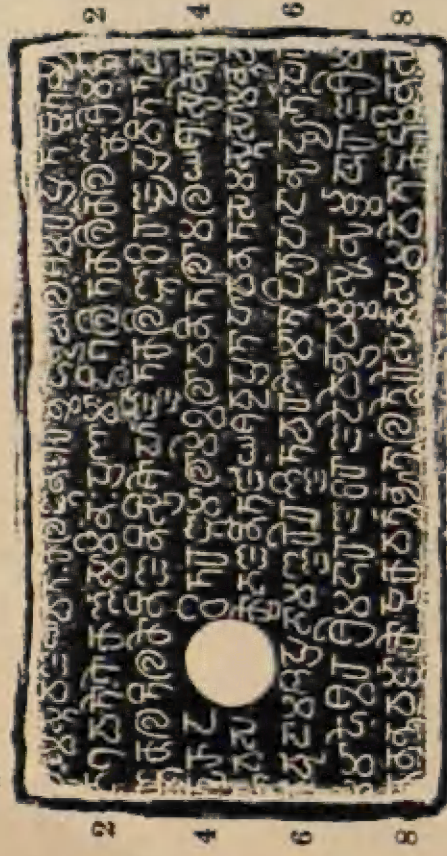
⁴ E.g., *Udām* plates of *Hastivarman* (Year 80), above, Vol. XVII, pp. 332 ff.; *Chicacole* plates of *Dēvēndravarma*n, father of the donor of the present grant (Year 183), above, Vol. III, pp. 131 ff., etc.

⁵ Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 332 ff. (In fact, Dr. Hultzsch has only pointed out that the district of *Krōṣṭhukavarttani* also occurs in the *Chicacole* plates of *Dēvēndravarma*n but he has not identified it with *Chicacole* as stated by Mr. Ghosh here as well as on p. 196 of Volume XXIV, above. The *viśaya* has, however, been identified by Mr. G. Ramadas with the country to the north of the river *Vamādhārā* in the *Ganjam District* (*Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XIV, p. 263).—Ed.]

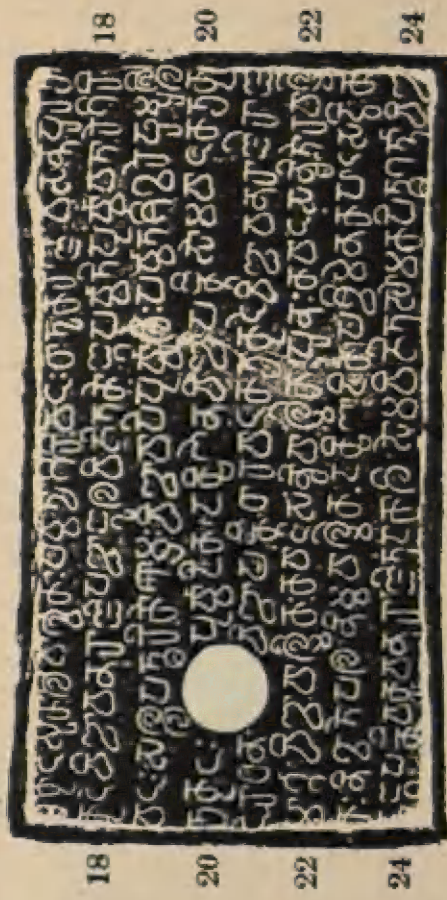
TWO EASTERN GANGA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM SUDAVA.

B.—PLATES OF ANANTAVARMAN; [GANGA] YEAR 204.

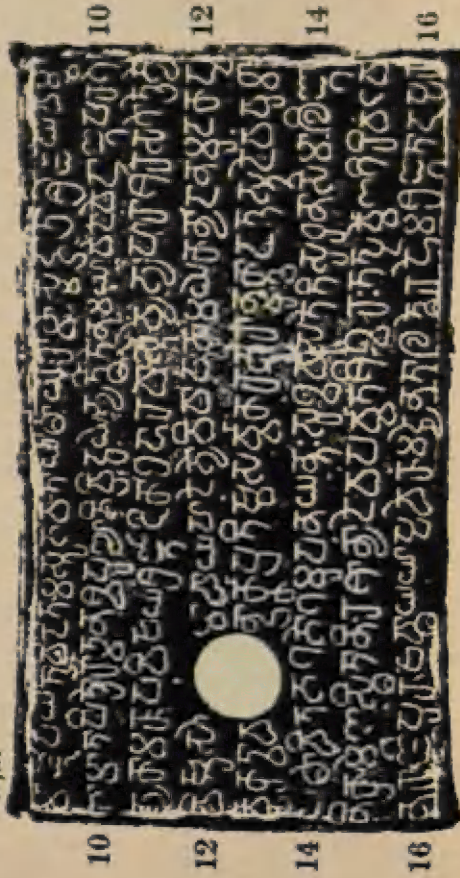
i.



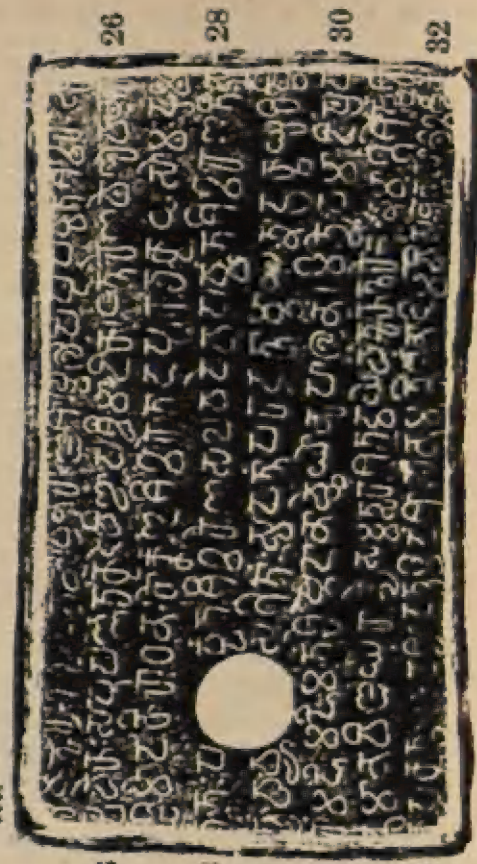
ii, b.



ii, a.



iii.



TEXT.¹

First Plate

- 1 Ōm² Svasti [||*] Vijayavataḥ Kalinganagarān=Mahēndr-āchala-śikhara-pratishṭhitasya
 2 bhagavatō Gōkarṇṇasavāminah prapāmad-vigalita-kali-kalaṅkaḥ śrīmad Gā-
 3 ṛga-kula-tilakō nija-nistri[m*]ś-ōpārjita-Kaling-ādhirāja[h*] pravīrata-cha-
 4 tur-udadhi-taraṅga-mālā-mēkhal-āvani-tal-āmala-yaśāḥ anēk-ā
 5 hava-saṁkshobha-janita-jaya-śavda (bda)[h*] pratāp-āvanata-samasta-sāmanta-cha-
 6 kra-chūdā-maṇi-prabhā-maṇjari-raṅgita-charaṇō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānuddhyātah para-
 7 mamāhēśvara-śrī-mahārājādhirāja-Dēvēndravarmma-sūnur-nimahārāja-śrīmā-
 8 n-Anantavarmma Krōśhṭukavarttanyā[m*] Tālatthērē sarvva-samavētān-ku(n-ku)-
 tumvi(ṁbi)na[h*] sa-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 9 mājñāpayati [||*] Vīditam-astu bhavatā[m*] yath-āya[m*] grāmō-smad-bhrātrā śrī-
 Jayavarmma-
 10 pā mātā-pitrōr-ātmanas-cha puṇy-ābhivri(vṛi)ddhayē-bhyarthitēna mayā vēda-vēdāṅga-
 pa(pā)ragē-
 11 bhya[h*] Kāmarūpa-vishaya-Śrīngāṭik-āgrahūra-vāstavyēbhya[h*] Pārāsara-sagōt-
 trē[bhyō]
 12 Vishṇusōmāchā[r*]ya-pādēbhyō vivāha-samayē kanyā-dānam-udaka-pū-
 13 rvaṁ kṛitv-ā-ehandr-ārka-pratishṭham sarvva-kara-bharān-muktā dattas-tad-ēvaṁ
 vudhvā(buddhvā)
 14 yath-ōchita-bha(bhā)gabhogam-upanayantaḥ sukhaṁ vasat-ēti [||*] adhunā sīmā-līngā-
 15 ni kramēṇa sthitāni I(Ai)śānyāḥ Dēvaparvata-śikharaḥ tat-pūrvvēṇa giri-vaṭa-va-
 16 na-rāji-purusha-chohāy-āppachēru-maddhyēna Tālatthēra-Hēmaṅga-tādappara[h*]

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 17 ttrikūṭē³ suruli-vālmikaḥ pa(pā)rvvatyā(tya)-girivaṭah dhātu-karāja[h*] Vasantapura-
 tji(tri)-
 18 kūṭē chīchā-vana-rāji-paṇchāṅgula-vibhīta[h*] Kōṅga-parvate pūrvv-āvatārē giri-
 19 vaṭah salla-pattharē kōśāmrāḥ chīchā vāpi-pūrvv-ālīḥ parvata-śikharē Dumūlli-
 20 ttri(tri)kūṭah pūrvvā dika(k) dakshinēna chīchā-paṅkti[h*] Sōma-vāṭaka-ttri(tri)kū-

¹ From ink-impressions.² Expressed by a symbol.³ He has been identified by Mr. S. N. Chakravarti (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 261) with Mahārāja Jayavar-madēva of a Gaujām grant and by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (A List of Inscriptions of Northern India, p. 386, f. n. 7) with a king of the same name mentioned in another inscription from Gaujām (I. H. Q., Vol. XII, pp. 491 ff.).⁴ "This description appears to presuppose the position of the sun at an angle of 45° over the horizon." (above, Vol. III, p. 134, f. n. 1).⁵ According to Dr. Hultzsch 'its meaning might be "the point at which three roads meet"'; see above, Vol. III, p. 20, f. n. 7.

- 21 tē rādhana-chiñchā-paṅkti[h*] Dhāra-vātaka-tri(tri)kūṣe chiñchā-vana-rāji-rāja-
 22 mārgga[h] chiñchā-vālmikaḥ Kavāṣa-sandhi-vālmikaḥ punaḥ Kavāṣa-sandhi-tōra-vālmī-
 23 kaḥ nikhāt[-s]pala[h] nimva(mba)-vālmikaḥ dakṣiṇā dīka(k)l paśchimēna Kapāṣa-
 saddhiḥ(nādhī) ku-
 24 ḍuṅga-paṅk[t*]i[h*] vaku[la*]-vana-rāji-taṣāk-āli[h*] sōma-vibhita-sōma-kapittha-garttā
 chiñchā-

Third Plate.

- 25 drumah¹..... chiñchā-vana-rāji-sālmali Pipū-parvvata-sikharaḥ a-
 26 ppachēruḥ saptaparṇa[h*] tri(tri)kūṣe chiñchā paśchimā dīka(k)l uttarēṇa vēṇu-vana-rā-
 27 ji mōdakē rādhanaḥ Kōrkkapṭa-sikharē tādapparaḥ tri(tri)kūṣaḥ sōma-druma[s-*]
 28 tataḥ parvvata-sikharēṇa Śalavadēva-parvvata-sikhara iti [i*] a-
 29 ttra cha Vyāsa-gītāḥ [i*] Sva-dattām para-dattām-vā(ttām vā) yatnād-rakṣa Yudhi-
 shṭhi-
 30 ra [i*] mahi[m*] mahimatā[m*] śrēṣṭha dānāch-chhā(chhrē)yō-nupālanaṁ(nam) | (||)
 mi(i)ty-ēvam-ādi prava-
 31 rddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsara-śata-dvayē Chatur-uttarē 204 Mārgaśr-
 shṣa-śu-
 32 kla-pakṣa-ttrayōdaśyām dattam-idaṁ śāsanam-utkirṇaṁ Nādimachi-su(sū)nu-Kuyāli-
 likhinā [i*]

No. 6.—KAMALI PLATE OF GOVINDACHANDRA, KING OF KANAUJ; V. S. 1184.

By R. K. GHOSHAL, M.A., CALCUTTA.

This plate belongs to what might be called a remarkable 'board' of twenty-five copper-plate inscriptions which were discovered in October 1892 in the village of Kamali, near the confluence of the Barnā and the Ganges at Benares. They have been deposited in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow since July 1893. Three of this lot were studied by Mr. Arthur Venis² and the rest by Dr. F. Kielhorn.³ Of the present record Dr. Kielhorn did not give us the text, but contented himself with furnishing a brief notice.⁴ I now edit the inscription from the excellent ink-impressions kindly supplied by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India. I am also indebted to Dr. Chakravarti for generously placing at my disposal an advance proof of a paper from his pen on another Gāhaḍavāla inscription, namely that of Jayachandra.⁵

This is a single sheet of copper measuring 1' 4" by 1' 8" and is engraved on one side only. At the top centre there is a ring-hole, about $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, through which passed a ring. The circular seal, which connected the ends of the ring, measures a little over $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. It bears on it in relief on a slightly counter-sunk surface the conventionalised

¹ After this follow some five or six syllables which are too obscure to admit of a definite reading.

² Above, Vol. II, pp. 347 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 97 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 111, No. I.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 291 ff.

figure of Garuḍa, the mount of Viṣṇu, with the hands folded in devotion. From his wide-spread wings and the poise of his legs, he seems to be in the act of flying. Across the centre of the seal runs the legend *Śrīmad-Gōvindachandra(ndra)dēvaḥ*. And below it, in the lower semicircle, is engraved the figure of a conch-shell. The entire margin of the seal is rayed or rather serrated. The plate along with the ring and the seal weighs 359 *toḷas*.

The plate contains twenty-five¹ lines of writing. The inscription is on the whole in a good state of preservation.

The characters are the usual Nāgarī of the 12th century A.D. Attention may however be called to some of their outstanding features. These are :—(1) initial *a* occurs in line 1, *ā* in ll. 1 and 20, *ī* in ll. 8 and 9, *u* in l. 21; (2) examples of consonants *kh*, *gh* and *ṭh* are found in ll. 13, 9 and 25 respectively; (3) the signs for *dh*, *ch* and *v* are sometimes almost identical in form; cf. *vividha* (l. 12), *ādīśati cha* (l. 14) and *vasumatī* (l. 5) respectively; (4) the letter *r* shows two forms, cf. e.g. *-āvaruddha-* (l. 8) and *bhaṭṭāraka* (l. 10); (5) similarly the letter *g* has two forms, one of which is looped, cf. *Gōvindachandraḥ* (l. 8) and *-galūta-* (l. 7) respectively; (6) signs for conjuncts *dg* and *ng* are hardly distinguishable, e.g. *divan-gatāsu* (l. 2) and *śrīmad-Gādhīpur-* (l. 4); (7) *bh* shows two forms as in *bhāgabhōgakara* (l. 20); (8) dental *s* has also two forms, e.g. *āsīd* (l. 1) and *Sagar-ādībhiḥ* (l. 23); (9) medial *ṣ* is composed in two different ways as in *akunṭh-ṭkaṇṭha-* (l. 1) and *sa-garṭṭ-ṣharaḥ* (l. 15).

The numerals 1, 4, 5, and 8 are contained in the date in line 16. The sign indicating the continuation of an incomplete word at the end of a line consists of one vertical with a slanting stroke to its right.

Among orthographical features worth noticing are the following :—(1) both the letters *ḥ* and *v* are invariably indicated by the sign for the latter, (2) the consonants are usually doubled after *r*, (3) the letters *ś* and *s* have been used promiscuously in a number of cases, (4) *anusvāra* is used for a class nasal in many instances as in *śamkham* (l. 21), *vasumdhārām* (l. 24), (5) final form of *m* occurs in *nijam* (l. 2), *phalam* and *vasumdhārām* (l. 24).

The language is Sanskrit. There are altogether fifteen verses, composed in various metres, of which the first praises Viṣṇu and his consort Lakṣmī, the next eight describe the several kings of the dynasty coming before the donor of the grant, and the remaining six are imprecatory and benedictory ones. Barring these, the rest of the inscription is in prose. There are quite a number of errors, both of omission and of commission, in the text, which will be noted in their proper places.

The inscription is one of the *Paramahatṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, *Paramamāhēśvara*, *Aśvapati-Gajapati-Narapati-Rājatray-ādhipati* Gōvindachandra, and records that, on the Manvādi, Friday, the full-moon tithi of Kārttika of the (Vikrama) Year 1184, after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī, he made a gift of the village of Bhānī, situated in the *pattalā* called Maḍavattala, together with its *pāyaka*s, to the *Maḥāpurōhita* Jāgūśarman, son of the *Dikṣita* Vilhā, and grandson of the *Dikṣita* Purushōttama. The donee belonged to the *Bandhula gōtra* having the triple *pravara* of *Bandhula-Aghamarshaṇa*-*Viśvāmitra*.² The village was given subject to payment of taxes called *bhāgabhōgakara*, *pravapikara* and *kūṭaka*³, but inclusive of certain fundamental rights such as mining, fishing, etc. The gift was announced formally in the presence of a number of high officials of the State. The writer of the grant was *Thakkura Viśvarūpa*.

¹ Or rather twenty-six, the last consisting of but six letters.

² He belonged further to the *Vājasaneyā śākhā* (cf. e. g., above, Vol. IV, p. 103, text l. 20; p. 107, text l. 18, etc.).

³ [In fact, these taxes were to be paid to the donee. Cf. above, Vol. IV, p. 99.—B.C.C.]

Inscriptions mentioning Gōvindachandra known so far (including the Basāhi,¹ Kamauli² and Rāhan³ plates which speak of him as *Mahārājaputra*) range over a period of Vikrama Samvat 1161-1211 (or A.D. 1104-1154), i.e. exactly fifty years.⁴ The present record of Gōvindachandra belongs to V. S. 1184. There is another record of the same king which also is dated in the same year.⁵

The inscription under discussion does not furnish us with any facts that are already not known except that it refers to one or two new place-names. The genealogy of the donor is given once in verses 2-9 and again in ll. 10-12, this time with the exclusion of Yaśōvigrāha and Mahichandra, the first two members of the Gāhaḍavāla family. Mahichandra's son was Chandradēva who is claimed to have acquired the kingdom of Gādhipura (i.e., Kanyakubja) by the prowess of his own arm and to have protected 'the holy *tīrthas* of Kāśī, Kusika, Uttara-Kōśala and Indrasthāna after he had acquired them'. The Sēt-Mahēt inscription of Vidyādharma,⁶ which is dated in V.S. 1176, however, as suggested by Dr. H. C. Ray,⁷ somewhat tends to undermine the former claim by reason of the fact that it speaks of two persons, of Rāshtrakūṭa origin, named Gōpāla and Madana, ruling about this time in and about Kanyakubja. In fact, one of them, Gōpāla, is actually called *Gādhipurādhipa*. It seems that Chandradēva, as claimed in the Basāhi plate⁸ (V. S. 1161), after the death of his two mighty contemporaries, viz., kings Bhōja⁹ and Karpa,¹⁰ found the time opportune and the field open to extend his influence in the Ganges-Jumna *doab* by establishing his capital at the most fiercely-contested-for city in the whole history of mediaeval India. Shortly afterwards, however, the imperial capital seems to have been lost to the Gāhaḍavāla sovereign, following, presumably, an expedition led by the Rāshtrakūṭa ruler of Kanauj, probably Gōpāla (*Gādhipurādhipa*) of the Sēt-Mahēt inscription. Madana, the son and successor of Gōpāla, appears however to have soon lost this advantage once for all.

Indeed, Kanyakubja seems to have changed hands again during (the otherwise uneventful) rule of Madanapāla; for as has been recorded in the Basāhi and Kamauli plates, *mahārājaputra* Gōvindachandra made in those years (V.S. 1161-62) gifts of villages situated in the *Jīvati-pattalā* which again was situated in the Pañchāla-dēśa. And Kanyakubja, as is well-known, was the first city of the Pañchāla country. These two records therefore mark the re-passage of Kanauj into the hands of the Gāhaḍavāla kings who from now on held the capital to themselves till almost the end of their dynasty. The Rāshtrakūṭa interregnum in Kanyakubja (during the regime of Gāhaḍavāla kings) may therefore be said to have lasted

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 101 ff.

² Above, Vol. II, pp. 358 ff.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 14 ff.

⁴ For a list and *résumé* of all known inscriptions (except one or two that have been discovered latterly) of Gōvindachandra, see H. C. Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India: Early Mediaeval Period*, Vol. I, pp. 515-528.

⁵ *Vis.*, Bhadavaṇḍ grant (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 291 ff.; 'Tālā Inscription', D. R. Bhandarkar, *A List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 266). Dr. Bhandarkar's suggestion (*ibid.*, f. n. 6) that the grant is spurious has been deemed unconvincing by the Editor (*ibid.*).

⁶ Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 204. Vidyādharma's father Janaka was according to this inscription the minister (*sachiva*) of Gōpāla.

⁷ *Dynastic Hist.*, Vol. I, p. 507.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 101 ff.

⁹ He has been variously identified with his famous Paramāra or Gurjara-Pratihāra namesake (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 101 ff.; H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History*, Vol. I, p. 507, f. n. 1).

¹⁰ Generally identified with the great Kalachuri king Lakshmi-Karpa.

roughly from 1095 to 1105 A.D., approximately ten years.¹ It was perhaps during this interval that the Gāhaḍavālas moved on temporarily to some other city, possibly as suggested by Dr. V. A. Smith² and then by Dr. H. C. Ray,³ to Benares or some region near to it.

Gōvindachandra, the donor of the present record, succeeded his father Madanapāla on the throne. He is described here as one who 'by his creeper-like long arms secured the elephant which was the new(*ly acquired*) kingdom' (*navarājya*). This latter term has been taken by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti⁴ to refer to the kingdom to which Gōvindachandra succeeded as a matter of course after his father Madanapāla. On this same expression Dr. Kielhorn observed⁵ that "the sovereignty over Kanyakubja is described as having been newly acquired, even when Gōvindachandra, the grandson of Chandradēva, was reigning." This circumstance in our opinion finds a satisfactory explanation in the fact (suggested above) that it was Gōvindachandra who re-established the supremacy of his line over Kanyakubja and the territories depending on it.

It was Gōvindachandra again who, significantly enough, assumed, as in the present instance, first of all the members of his family,⁶ the ambitious titles of *śvrapati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-tray-ādhipati* originally used by the Kalachuri kings of Dāhala from Lakshmi-Karṇa onwards. This fact acquires an added significance from the evidence furnished by the Bengal Asiatic Society's plates⁷ of Gōvindachandra (V. S. 1177). This inscription records transference of the gift of a village which was originally granted to another person by the Kalachuri king Yaśah-Karṇa, son and successor of Lakshmi-Karṇa. It seems therefore to have been rightly held by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti⁸ that, taking advantage of the favourable turn of events following the death of Lakshmi-Karṇa, Gōvindachandra "wrested a part of the Kalachuri kingdom, probably from Yaśahkarṇa himself, and to mark the occasion assumed the *birudas* hitherto used by Kalachuri kings".⁹

Of the localities mentioned, Kāśi, Uttarakōśala and Indraasthāna have been identified¹⁰ with the present Benares, Ayōdhyā and Indraprastha (or Delhi) respectively. Kuśīma, Gādhipura and Kanyakubja have generally been identified with one and the same place, *viz.*, modern Kanauj. The village granted and the *patalā* in which it was situated I am unable to identify.

¹ The earliest date for Chandradēva known so far is 1090 A.D. (cf. his Chandravatī plate, V. S. 1148, above, Vol. IX, pp. 302 ff.). Taking him to be a contemporary of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōpāla (for whose son Madana's reign we have a date in 1112-20 A.D. as recorded in the Śat-Mahāt inscription and who has been rightly supposed to be a feudatory of Gōvindachandra; cf. H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 507, l. n. 5), we may reasonably allow him an uninterrupted reign of five years before the imperial capital passed on, though for a short time, to the Rāshtrakūṭas.

² *Oxford History of India*, 1923, p. 195.

³ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 507.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 292.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 6.

⁶ Chandradēva, the grandfather of Gōvindachandra, is once (above, Vol. IX, p. 324) referred to as *narapati*, a title which (among others) was also assumed by the Kalachuri king Yaśah-Karṇa, who has been supposed by Dr. Ray (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 788) to be a contemporary of Chandradēva. It has indeed been suggested by Dr. Ray (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 508) that the assumption of such a title by Chandradēva may indicate some conflict with the Kalachuri kings. In fact, as has been pointed out by Dr. Ray, Chandradēva claims (above, Vol. XIV, p. 193) to have defeated a *narapati-gajapati*, titles which are assumed by Yaśah-Karṇa himself.

⁷ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 123 ff.

⁸ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 292.

⁹ There is also an interesting numismatic evidence which goes to support the contention that Gōvindachandra extended his dominions at the expense of the Kalachuri rulers of Dāhala (H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 531).

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 8, l. n. 46.

The date of the record is given, both in words and in decimal figures, as Manvādī, Friday, the full-moon *tithi* of Kārtika of the year 1184 and "regularly corresponds, for Vikramā-Samvat 1184 expired, to Friday, the 21st October A.D. 1127".¹

TEXT.²

[Metres: Vv. 1, 3, 10, 11, 13-15, *Anushtubh*; v. 2, *Indravajrā*; vv. 4, 7, *Śāriṭlavikrīḍita*; vv. 5, 6, 8, *Vasantatilakā*; v. 9, *Drutavilambita*, v. 12, *Śūlinī*.]

- 1 Om Om³ Svasti || Akṣaṇṭh-ōṭkaṇṭha-Vaikuṇṭha-kaṇṭha-pīṭha-luṭha-karaḥ | saṅhrambhaḥ sur-
at-ārambhē sa Śriyaḥ śrēyaśē-stu vaḥ || [1*] Āśid-Āśitadyuti-varṇa-jātaḥ(jāta-)kṣmāpā-
- 2 la-mālāsu divaṇ-gatāsu | sāksṣhād-Vīrasvān-iva bhūri-dhāmnā nāmnā Yeśōvīgraha ity-
udāraḥ || [2*] Tat-sutō-bhūn-Mahichandraś⁴-chandra-dhāma-nibhaṇ-nijam | yēn-ā-
- 3 pa(pā)ram-akūṣhā(pā)ra-pārē vyāpāritam yaśaḥ || [3*] Tasy-ābhūt-tanayō nay-aika-raśi-
(śi)kaḥ krānta-dvishan-maṇḍalō vidhvast-ōddhata-vīra-yōdha-timiraḥ śri-Chandra(ndra)-
dēvō⁵ nṛipaḥ | yēn-ōdārātara⁶
- 4 pratāpa-samit-āśēsha-praj-ōpadravaṇ śrīmad-Gādhipur-ādhirājyam-asaman-dōr-vvika-
mēp-ārjītam || [4*] Tīrthānī Kāśi-Kuśik-Ōttarakōśal-Ēndrasthānīyakānī paripā-
- 5 layat-ābhigamya | hēm-ātma-tulyam-anisa(śa)n-dadatā dvijābhyō yēn-āṅkitā⁷ vasu-
matī śataśas-tulābhiḥ || [5*] Tasy-ātmajō Madanapāla iti kṣhitīndra-chūḍāmaṇi⁸.
- 6 r-vvijayatō nija-gōtra-chandraḥ | yasy-ābhishēka-kalāś-ōllasitaiḥ payōbbhiḥ prakṣhālitam
kali-rajah-patalan-dharitṛyāḥ || [6*] Yasy-āśid-vijaya-prayāga-samayē tuṅg-ā-
- 7 chal-ōchchais-chalan-mādyat-kumbhi-pada-kram-āsama-bhara-bhrasya(śya)n-mahī-maṇḍalō |
chūḍāratna-vibhinna-tālu-galita-styān-āśig-udbhāsitaḥ ⁹Śēshaḥ pēsha-vasā(śā)d-iva
kṣaṇam-asau krō-
- 8 jē nilin-ānanah || [7*] Tasmād-ajāyata nij-āyata-vā(bā)hu-valli-va(ba)ndh-āvaruddha-nava-
rājya-gājō narēndrah | sāndr-āmṛita-drava-muchā[m*] prabhavō gavāś yō Gōvinda-
chandra iti cha-
- 9 dra(ndra) iv-āmvu(mbu)rāsō(śō)ḥ || [8*] Na katham-apy-alabhanta rapa-kṣhamārtis-tispiśhu
dikṣhu gajān-atha vajriṇaḥ | kakubhi va(ba)bhramur-Abhramuvallabha-pratibhaṭā iva
yasya ghaṭā-gajāḥ || [9*] Sō-
- 10 yam samasta-rāja-chakra-saṁsēvita-charaṇaḥ |¹⁰ paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parama-
(mē)śvara-paramamāhēśva[ra*]-nija-bhuj-ōpārjji[ra*]]-śrī-Kanyakuṇj(bj)-ādhipatya - śrī-
Chandradēva-pād-ānu¹¹.

¹ Above, Vol. IV, p. 111.

² From the ink-impression kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

³ Expressed by a symbol. [The first symbol answers to *siddham* or *siddhi-astu*. See above, Vol. XVII, p. 352.—Ed.]

⁴ Here follows a sign for continuation of the word.

⁵ Also called Mahiśa (*e. g. Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 101 ff.), Mahiyala (*e. g.* above, Vol. II, p. 359, text, l. 2), and Mahitāla (*e. g. Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 14 ff.). In some records (*e. g., Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 15, text, l. 1), it is he who stands at the head of his line instead of Yeśōvīgraha.

⁶ He is also known as Chandradītya (above, Vol. XIV, p. 194) and once, simply as Chandra (above, Vol. IX, p. 324).

⁷ The conjunct *śi* in this word seems rather imperfectly engraved on the impression.

⁸ Dr. Kielhorn thinks (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 140, n. 45; *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 11, n. 14, etc.) that this phrase should more properly be read as *Śēshaḥ taishka-rasād-īca*.

⁹ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

- 11 dhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamā[hē*]śva[ra*]-śrī-Mada-
napālādēva-pād-ānudyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamā-
hēśva-
- 12 r-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-tray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichāra-Vāchaspati-śrīmad-Gō-
vindachandradēvō vijayī Maḍavattala¹ pattalāyām sa-pāṭaka-Bhānī² gra(grā)ma-
nivāsi-
- 13 nō nikhīla-janapadān-upagatān-apī cha rāja-rājñi-yuvarāja-mantri-purōhita-pratīhāra-sēn-
āpati-bhāṇḍāgārik-ākshapatalika-bhisag-naipi(mi)ttik-āntaḥpurika-dūta-kari-ta-
- 14 raga-pattan-ākarasthāna-gōkul-ādhikāri-purushān-ājñāpayati vō(bō)dhayaty-ādiśati cha
yathā | viditam-astu bhavatām-upari-likhita-grāmaḥ sa³-jala-ethalaḥ sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ā-
- 15 karaḥ [sa-*]maśy(tsy)-ākaraḥ sa-gartt-ōsharaḥ sa-madhūk-āmra-vana-vāṭikā-viṭapa-tṛipa-
yūti-gōchara-paryanta[h*] s-ōrddhā(rddhv-ā)dhaś-chatur-āghāṭa-visu(śu)ddhaḥ sa(sva)-
simā-paryantaś-chatur-aśīty-adhika-śat-aikā-
- 16 daśa-saṁvatsarē Kārttikē māsi śukla-pakṣē paurṇimāyām Manvādau Śukra-dinē-ākē-pi
Saṁvat 1184 Kārttika-sudi 15 Śukrē śrīmad-Vārāṇasyām śrī-Gaṁgāyām snātva
vidhivan-mantra-dē-
- 17 va-muni-manuja-bhūta-pitṛi-gaṇāms-tarpayitvā timira-pātala-pāṭana-paṭu-mahasam-Ushṇa-
rōchisham-upasthāy-Aushadhipatisa(śa)kalaśēkharām samabhyarchya tribhuvana-
trātur-Vāsudēva-
- 18 sya pūjām vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishā Havirbhujām hutvā mātā-pitrōr-ātmanaś-
cha puṇya-yaśō-vivridha(ddha)yē tad-ētat-parama-sra(śra)ddhayā saṁyatībhūya
gōkarṇa-kuśa-la-
- 19 tā-pūta-kara-tal-ōdaka-pūrvvam-asmābhir-Vvadhū(Bandhu)la-gōtrāya Varadhū(Bandhu)l-
Āghama(rsha)ṇa-Viśvāmitra-triḥ(tri)-pravarāya dikshita⁴-śrī-Purushōttama⁵-pautrāya
dikshita-śrī-Vīlhā⁶-putrāya mahāpurō-
- 20 hita-śrī-Jāgūsa(śa)rmmaṇō⁷ ā-chandr-ārkkam āsanīkṛitya pradattō matvā yathā-diyamā-
na-bhāgabhogakara-pravaṇikara-kūṭaka-prabhṛiti-samast-ādāyān-ājñāvidhēyibhūya
- 21 dāsyatha [*|| Bhavanti ch-ātra puṇya-ślōkāḥ || Bhūmim yaḥ pratigrihṇā(hṇā)ti yas-tu
bhūmim prayachchhati | ubhau tau puṇya-karmāṇau niyatau(tam) [sva]rgga-gāminau
|| [10*] Śaṁkham bhadr-āsanam chchha(chha)-

¹ Dr. Kielhorn doubtfully read this word (above, Vol. IV, p. 111) as 'Maḍatula (?)'. But there is a trace of *ta* (rather weakly engraved) between *va* and *la*. Compare this *ta* with the same sign in *pattalāyām*.

² This word was hesitatingly read by Dr. Kielhorn (above, Vol. IV, p. 111) as 'Rāri (?)'. Unfortunately the two letters have been engraved in a slovenly manner and in a smaller size. It seems, however, possible to read the second letter as *nī*. As regards the first it may well be a disjointed *pā*, or as I have surmised, *bhā*.

³ For a note on the terms *jala-ethala*, etc., see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LI (1922), pp. 73 ff.

⁴ "This word is explained to denote persons who or whose ancestors have performed a great sacrificial ceremony, such as a *śyētiśāṅgma*." (Above, Vol. IV, p. 98, f. n. 7.)

⁵ He is also called *Purāsa*. (Above, Vol. IV, p. 103, text l. 21; p. 107, text l. 18; p. 109, text l. 19, etc.)

⁶ He is otherwise known as *Vīlhāka* (above, Vol. II, p. 360, text l. 13) and *Vēdaśarman* (above, Vol. IV, p. 121, text l. 26).

⁷ He is apparently the same as *Purūṣita Jāguka* who served under Govindachandra's father Madanapāla (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 101 ff.) No less than ten copper-plate inscriptions from Kamauli record grants made in favour of this high priest. He is variously called *Mahādīkshita Mahāpurūṣita Jāgū* (above, Vol. IV, p. 117, l. 18 and p. 120, No. P.), *Jāguka* (*ibid.*, p. 103, l. 21) and *Jāguka* (*ibid.*, p. 107, l. 19). He is also once (*ibid.*, p. 126, No. T.) referred to as *Yājñavalkya* in an inscription of Jayachandra.

- 22 traṣṭh var-āśvā vara- vāhaṇā(nā)ḥ | bhūmi-dānasya chihṇāni phalam-ētat-Purandara || [11*]
Sarvān-ētān-bhāvinaḥ pāṭhivēndrā[n*] bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ || (|)
sāmānyō-
- 23 yaṣṭ dharmasētur'-nṛipāpāḥ kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbbhiḥ || [12*] Va(Ba)kubhir-
vasadhā dattā rājabbhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā !²
- 24 phalam || [13*] Sva-dattāḥ para-dattāḥ vā yō harēta vasudharām | sa viśṭhāyāḥ
kṛimir-bhūtvā pīṭhibhiḥ saha majjati || [14*] Gām-ēkācā hiragyaṁ-ēkācā cha³ bhū-
mi(mā)r-āpy-ēkam-aṅgulāḥ |
- 25 haraṇ-narakam-āpnōti yāvad-āha(hū)ta-saṁplavaṁ(vam) || [15*] Ṭhakkura-śrī- Viśva-
rūpēṇa tāmra(mra)paṭṭō-yaṣṭ likhitam-idaṁ⁴ nṛip-ājñay-ēti | Maṅgalāḥ mahā-śrīḥ ||⁵
- 26 ||
.. .. . | ||

NO. 7.—BARIPADA MUSEUM PLATE OF DEVANANDADEVA.

By KRISHNA CHANDRA PANIGRAHI, M.A.

This copper-plate was in possession of the Raja and Ruling Chief of the Dhenkanal State, Orissa. In 1930 the late Pandit Tarakeswar Ganguly of Calcutta got it from him and deposited it in the Archaeological Museum at Baripada in the Mayurbhanj State. I am thankful to Mr. P. Acharya, the State Archaeologist of Mayurbhanj, for kindly allowing me to edit it.

It is a single plate inscribed on both sides; the first side containing seventeen lines and the second eighteen lines of writing. When handed over to me, it was found to have been covered with a thin coat of verdigris and consequently some portions of the writing were quite illegible. Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, who had the opportunity to examine the plate, very kindly arranged its cleaning by chemical treatment and also sent me an excellent set of inked impressions. To Dr. Chhabra I also owe a number of useful suggestions in preparing this article. The transcript given by me is based on the original as well as on the inked impressions. The inscription is, on the whole, in good preservation except that the first and the last lines of the first side and the first four and the last two lines of the second side have been very much corroded. The letters are deep-cut and well-formed. The plate measures 11"×6". It has a seal attached to its left-hand side, which measures 2½" in diameter, resembles in form a full-blown lotus exhibiting two rows of petals and contains a medallion superimposed on the inner row of the same. Inside the medallion, the inner diameter of which is about 1½", occur in relief the figures of a couchant humped bull, of a crescent with a star almost touching its hump and of a club-shaped object below its mouth, while underneath the bull there runs in one line the legend *śrī-Dēvānandadeva* underlined with two parallel straight lines, and at the bottom there occurs, also in relief, the figure of an expanded lotus flower. The plate together with the seal weighs about 143 tolas.

¹ The technical word *dharmasētu* occurs for the first time in some of the inscriptions of Śatavāhana kings from Nasik (cf. above, Vol. VIII, p. 60, l. 11; p. 65, l. 12, etc.). According to Dr. E. Smart (*ibid.*, p. 64), "*Dharmasētu*, in religious phraseology, especially that of inscriptions till a rather recent period, denotes figuratively a foundation as 'a bridge, a dam of merit', which enables its author to get over the 'ocean of saṁsāra'".

² This *danda* is unnecessary.

³ This line of the verse has one syllable in excess. Read *gām-ēkācā hiragyaṁ-ēkācā cha* as elsewhere.

⁴ Read either *tāmrapaṭṭō-yaṣṭ likhitō* or *tāmrapaṭṭē likhitām-idaṁ*.

⁵ Here follows what appears to be a trisyllabic mystic formula, cited thrice, the reading and meaning of which I am unable to offer.

The characters belong to the northern type of alphabet and closely resemble in form those of the Ganjām plate of Daṇḍimahādēvi of the year 180¹. We have here examples of the initial vowels *ā* in *Archeḥanānaśa*, l. 29; *i* in *ūti*, l. 9; and *ai* in *Airāvatta*, l. 24; as well as of the consonants *jh* in *-jhaṅkāriṇi*, l. 4; *dh* in *gḍdhā*, l. 22. The letter *n* shows two different forms, as in *n-aiva*, l. 3; and in *vaṇē*, l. 4. No distinction has been made in the form of medial *u* and *ū*, as may be exemplified by the words *sphurita-* and *sūra-*, l. 5, while the medial *u* is represented by two different signs as is seen in *suvisuddha-*, l. 6. In many instances the superscript *r* is not clearly marked.

The language is Sanskrit. The record is composed partly in verse and partly in prose. The text contains some mistakes of spelling as well as of grammar, which have been pointed out in their proper places. As regards orthography, the following peculiarities deserve notice: (1) A consonant after *r* is usually reduplicated; (2) *s* has been used for *ś* in many places, e.g. in *suvisuddha-*, l. 6 and *-rochanais-chandr-*, l. 15; (3) *n* has been employed for *anusvāra* in *tīrāṇsumālī*, l. 11; (4) *b* is represented by the sign for *v*; (5) in some cases *sandhi* has not been observed, e.g. *śrīmān-Jayānanda*, ll. 2-3, (6) sign of *avagraha* has been used in *yō-'bhūt*, l. 8.

The record does not contain any date, but the Talmul plate of Dhruvānandadēva², having the introductory portion identical with that of the present one, records a date at the end of the inscription. Mr. A. Banerji-Sastri, the editor of this grant, has not been able to give the correct reading of the text. His reading of the date is also erroneous. The record has been re-edited and further commented upon by Mr. N. Tripathi³, but he has also failed to interpret the date. He first explained the symbols for the date as representing $200+80+3(-283)$, and later as $200+80+1(-281)$. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has given this date as the year 293 and has suggested to refer it to the Harsha era⁴. If this view is accepted, and there is no reason to reject it, the date in question would correspond to A.D. 899, which would roughly be the date of the present inscription as well.

The inscription opens with a description of the place of issue of the grant, the name of which has inadvertently been omitted by the scribe but may be ascertained from the Talmul plate of Dhruvānandadēva as being Jayapūra. Then the lines 2-24, mostly composed in verse, give a genealogical account, beginning with Jayānanda and ending with Dēvānanda, in course of which the qualities and the achievements of the rulers have been poetically described. The object of the inscription has, then, been set forth, which was to record the grant by the king Dēvānanda of the village Lambēva⁵, situated in the *visaya* of *Pūṭṭā* in the *Airāvatta maṇḍala*, to one *Bhaṭṭa* Brahmadhara, son of Śaktidhara, son of Ādityadhara, who belonged to the *Kāṇva-sākhā* of the White Yajurveda, and to the *Kṛishṇātrēya gōtra*, and was a member of the *Bhaṭṭa* community of Jambama-Nārāyaṇapura, originally hailing from Puṇḍravarddhana.

As to the family of the donor, it is called Nandōdbhava⁶ or simply Nanda, as may be inferred from the terms *Nand-ōdbhava-varṇa*, and *Nanda-kula* occurring in l. 2 and l. 17 respectively.

¹ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 137 ff.

² *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XV, pp. 87 ff. and plates; Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 2043.

³ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 457 ff. and Vol. XVII, pp. 196-7.

⁴ Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 2043.

⁵ [See below p. 79, n. 5.—Ed.]

⁶ A similar instance is found in the name Śailōdbhava.

Mr. Tripathi concludes from these expressions (also occurring in Dhruvānanda's plate) that the family of Jayānanda was an offshoot of the Imperial Nandas of Magadha¹. But this conclusion does not seem to have been based on sufficient data. What seems to be probable is that the suffix *ānanda* was peculiar to the names of this family as *tuṅga*, *kara*, *stambha* and the like were peculiar to the names of some other royal families of Orissa. And, as these suffixes gave distinct names to these families, the suffix *ānanda* did the same in the case of the royal family of Jayānanda. The confusion between *nanda* and *ānanda* seems to have been one as between *kara* and *ākara*, illustrated in the case of the Kara family of Orissa, in which the second component part of some names is not *kara*, but *ākara*, e.g. Śubhākara. This Nanda family of Orissa is not known from any other source except from the Talmul plate of Dhruvānandadēva referred to above, and the present record. With the help of the genealogies given in these two charters, we can construct the following genealogical table of this family :—

Jayānanda
|
Parānanda
|
Śivānanda
|
Dēvānanda, surnamed Vilāstuṅga.
|
Dhruvānanda, surnamed Vilāstuṅga.

It should be noted in this connection that though the relation between the first four members has been specifically mentioned as that of father and son, the same between Dēvānanda and Dhruvānanda is not clear from their records. At any rate, that Dhruvānanda was a successor of Dēvānanda is evident from his plate which mentions his name after that of Dēvānanda².

As has been said above, the name of **Jayapura**, the description of which occurs in the opening part of the inscription, has probably been omitted through the carelessness of the scribe.

¹ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 469.

² [Mr. Panigrahi seems to have mixed up the genealogies given in the two records. Moreover, the present inscription apparently mentions two Dēvānandas, while Mr. Panigrahi obviously takes these two as referring to one and the same person. Below are given, for the sake of comparison, the genealogical lists as supplied by the Talmul plate and the present inscription.]

Talmul Plate

Jayānanda
|
Parānanda
|
Śivānanda
|
Dēvānanda
|
Vilāstuṅga-Dhruvānanda.

Baripada Museum Plate

Jayānanda
|
Parānanda
|
Śivānanda
|
Dēvānanda (I)
|
Vilāstuṅga-Dēvānanda (II).

While Dhruvānanda is said to be *Paramanugata*, Dēvānanda (II) is stated to be *Paramamūlaka*; otherwise their descriptions agree word for word. The apparent relation between Dhruvānanda and Dēvānanda (II) is that of brothers, one professing the Buddhist faith, the other adhering to the Śaiva creed, though the seals of both of them bear a *Nandī* emblem. In this case, we will have to admit that Dēvānanda (II) is called after his father's name, which is improbable though not impossible, considering the case of five Maṭraka kings of the name of Śūlāditya (III—VII), of whom each succeeding one was a son of the preceding one: see Bhandarkar's *List*, p. 394.—B. C. C.]

This place, presumably the capital of the Nanda family of Orissa, has been identified with Jajpur¹ of the Cuttack district by Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri and with Jeypur or Jeypore², the headquarters of a big estate of the same name in the newly constituted Koraput district of Orissa, by Mr. N. Tripathi. Both of these identifications are open to serious objections. As *Jajpur* cannot be regarded as a corruption of *Jayapura*, and as it was known as *Virajā*³ in the eighth or ninth century A. D., when it was held as capital by the Bhauma kings of Orissa, the identification proposed by Dr. Banerji-Sastri should be ruled out of consideration. As regards Mr. Tripathi's proposed identification, though no objection can be taken to it from phonetic point of view, several considerations prevent us from taking it as conclusive. On an examination of the place-names mentioned in this grant and others, it is revealed that *Airāvatta maṇḍala* which included the *viśaya* of *Pōtōḍā* has been mentioned in the Talmul plate of Dhruvānandadeva and also in the Balijhari plates of Uddyōtakēśari Mahābhavagupta⁴. This *maṇḍala* must be taken to have comprised a tract of land along the Mahānadi river in view of the fact that the gift village *Kōntalaṇḍā*, mentioned in the last-named charter, has pointedly been spoken of as situated on the bank of that river. So, if *Jayapura* is to be taken identical with Jeypur of the Koraput District, we have to suppose that the territories ruled over by Dēvānanda and Dhruvānanda extended far to the south-west of the Mahānadi river on the north. But their dominion over such vast territories is not warranted by their records which do not even give the title of *mahārāja* before their names, nor mention a single conquest to their credit. They must have been feudatories of some paramount power in Orissa as is indicated by their titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Samadhiḡatapañchamahāsabla Mahāsāmāntādhipati*. Besides, Jayānanda, the first known ruler of the family, probably the founder of the dynasty, has been credited with the conquest of the whole of *Gōndrama*, which, as will be shown below, meant the hilly tracts now ruled over by the feudatory chiefs of Orissa, but never any tract along the Bay of Bengal. The last but not the least important is the fact that if these plates of the Nanda family were issued from Jeypur of the Koraput district, it is rather strange that the southern influence so conspicuous on the copper-plates issued from Kaliṅganagara and Śvētaka should have been completely absent from the palaeography of their records. I should, therefore, suggest the identification of *Jayapura* of our records with Jaipur, a village situated in the Dhenkanal State from which and from the adjoining Narasinghpur State all the three copper-plate grants mentioning the name of *Airāvatta maṇḍala* are reported to have hailed. *Jayapura*, as its name suggests, was possibly founded by Jayānanda, the first ruler of the Nanda family.

Among the other geographical names occurring in the inscription, *Gōndrama*, which is also mentioned in four other copper-plate inscriptions of Orissa⁵, is always found in conjunction with *sakala* 'all', and in one plate with *aṣṭādaśa* 'eighteen'. It is thus clear that it was a geographical expression meaning a group of eighteen tracts of land and seems to be the same as *aṣṭādaśa-ṭhavi-rājya* (eighteen forest chiefdoms) of the Betul plates of Saṁkshōbha.⁶ The name *aṣṭādaśa Gōndrama* applied to these tracts was probably due to the predominance of the Gond tribe over other aboriginal tribes inhabiting these parts and seems to have survived in the geographical expression *aṭhara gaḍhājāt* still applied to all the feudatory states of Orissa by the people, though as a matter of fact their number at present is not eighteen but twenty-four. It should be

¹ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XV, p. 89.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 437 ff.

³ Pt. B. Mitra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 80.

⁴ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVII, p. 17, text l. 33, Bhattacharya's *List*, No. 2076.

⁵ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 402 (text l. 18), 406 (text l. 9) and 418 (text ll. 1-) and Vol. VI, p. 239 (text l. 13).

⁶ Above Vol. VIII, p. 287 (text l. 9) and discussion on p. 288.

noted in this connection that the credit of having conquered the whole of Gôndrama given to Jayananda in this record may just be an exaggeration. *Airavātta*, after which the *viskaya* of that name was called, has been identified with Raṭāgarh in the Banki Police Station of the Cuttack district¹. *Pōtōḍā* and *Lambēva* may provisionally be identified with Pōtal in the Hindol State and Limbu in the Narasinghpur State respectively. Puṇḍravarddhana is the well-known ancient name for North Bengal. I cannot suggest any identification for Jambama-Nārdyanapura.

TEXT.*

Obverse.

- 1 Ōm² svasty-akalita-kali-kāla-kalmaṣa-pravēś-āvakāśād-vijit-śēśh-Ōjjiyāni-guṇa-nikarāt
[Jayapurāt]³ ||
- 2 Va(Ba)bhūva Nand-ōdbhava-va(vam)śa-sambhavaḥ sva-vikram-ākrānta-samasta-
Gôndramah || (l) dharādhipō dhamme(rmma)dharah sudhimān-śrīmān-Ja-
- 3 yānanda itī pravīrah || [1*]⁴ Yasmin-rājani dinam-akshara-yugan-dēh-iti n-aiva śrutam
n-ātākō[h*]⁵ kusrit⁶ kutō na cha
- 4 mṛishā dvandvan-na ch-āśin-nṛipāḥ(pām) || (l) śa(rvvaryyā)m-ava(ba)lā sahāya-vikal-
ālakāra-jhaṅkāriṇi kshivā yāty-ajanō vanō ya-
- 5 di puna-vvā(r-vvō)(rttā) Dilipō nripō || [2*]⁷ Kanaka-ruchira-kāntiḥ prōnnataḥ pūrīt-śāḥ
sphurita-vimāla-ratnaḥ āura-dulla(rlla)ṅghya-mūrti(rtti)ḥ || [3*]⁸
- 6 vu(bu)dḥa-jana-nūta-pādō Māru-vat-tasya sākshāt-priyatama-tanayō-bhūch-chhi(ch=chhri)-
Parānanda-nāma(mā) || [3*]⁹ Tasya(ay=ā)pi ch-āśit-suyisu(śu)dḥa-
- 7 pakshō vasaṇ-janānām khalu mānasō cha [4*]¹⁰ hanoḥ(hanoḥ) yathā hansa(hansa)-[samā*]-
na-kirtti[r*]¹¹-nnāmā Śivānanda iti prasiddha-
- 8 ḥ || [4*]¹² Tasy-ābhūt-tanayas-triṇikṛita-ripu-vrāta-jvalat-pāvako vā(bā)l-aiṇāka iv=ānvay-
āmva(mba)ra-gatō yō-bhūtsri(t-pri)-
- 9 ya[h*]¹³ prāṇināḥ(nām) || (l) tāra(ru)gyē taruṇi-vilōchana-putair-āpita-rūp-āmṛitō Dēvā-
nanda iti prasiddhim-aga-
- 10 mad-yaḥ svair-guṇair-nai(r)mmalaiḥ || [5*]¹⁴ Durvvār-āri-kar-indra-kumbha-dalanō sphūjja-
(rjja)t-karāḥ kōsari śaśvan-māna-
- 11 vatī-mukh-āvja(bja)-jayakṛit-tivrāṇu(vrāṇu)mālī sadā || (l) tasmād-ēva Vilā(sa*)tuṅ-
ga-nripatibhū(r-bhū)tas-satām-agraṇī-
- 12 ya(r-ya)śy-ōchchaiḥ sa(śa)rad-indu-dhāma-dhavalam nityam yasō(śō) varddhatē || [6*]¹⁵
Nakshatr-āvali-bāra-dāmakavati nitya(tyath)
- 13 nabhō-mandirē jōnā(jyōtsnā)-chandana-lē(pa)n-ātiddhavalā śānd(ndr)-āndhakār-āmva(mba)-
rā || [6*]¹⁶ [ya*]¹⁷ sy-ōtu(ttu)ṅga-sudhā-gri-
- 14 hē-tidhavalē dig-yōchitān-darppaṇē sva(svaḥ) rūpamva(rū va)ra-kāmin-iva rajanī chandr-
āmanā pasya(śya)ti || [7*]¹⁸ Yaay=ō-

* J. B. O. E. S., Vol. XVII, p. 4.

* From the original and inked impressions.

² Represented by a symbol.

³ This name has been supplied here from Dhruvānanda's plate, J. B. O. E. S., Vol. XV, p. 90.

⁴ Metre : Upajati.

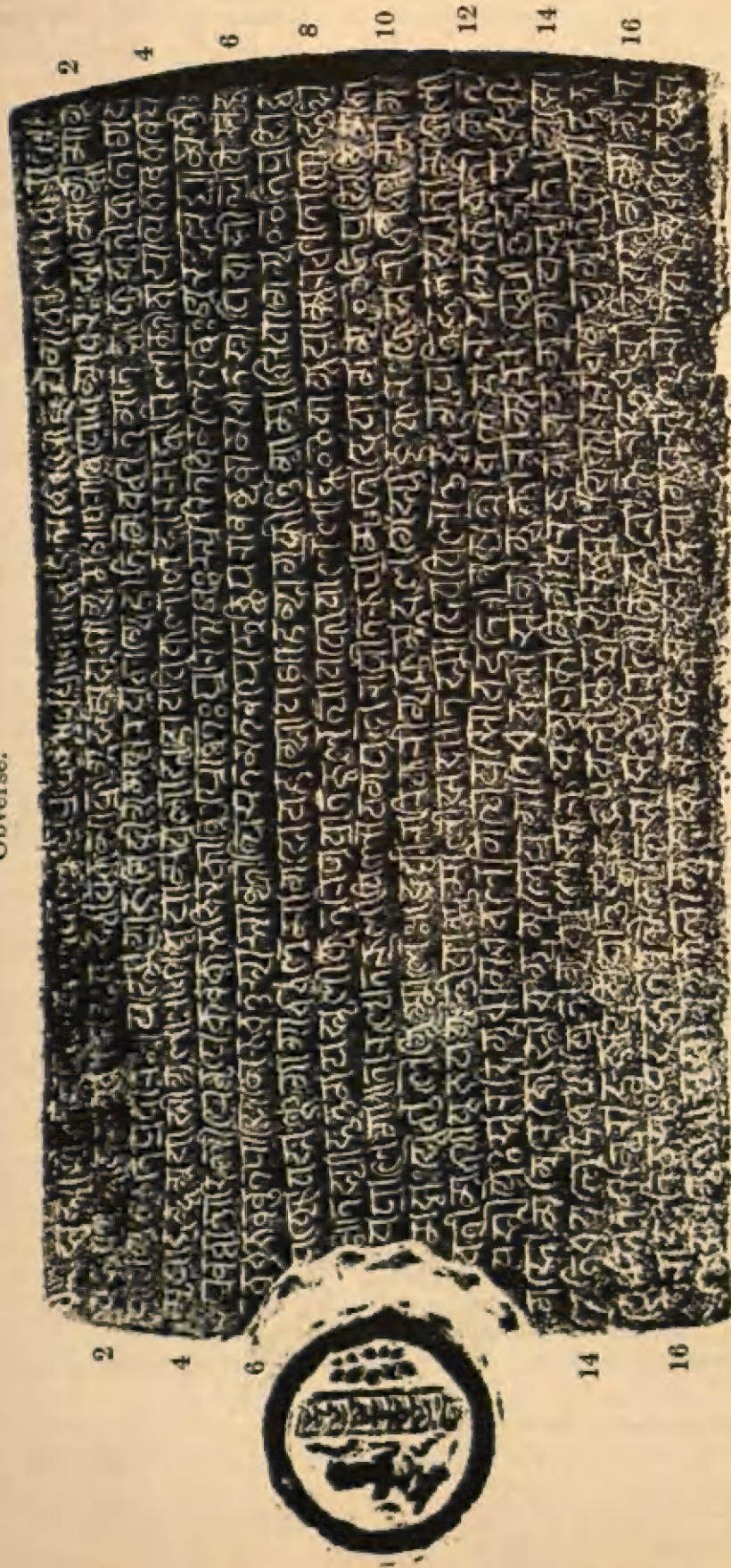
⁵ Read kusritā or kusritāḥ.

⁶ Metre : Śārdūlanikāḥita.

⁷ Metre : Mālinī.

⁸ Metre : Upajati.

Obverse.



Reverse.

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- 15 chohaiḥ sita-mandirā[d-dhva]ja-disi(śi) prōtu(ttu)ṅga-haṭṭ-āvali su(su)bhrā chāru-sudhā-
vikāra-rachanaś(ś)-chandr-āṭapa-sparddhinī |
- 16 dūrād=bhāti dṛiṣaḥ(śaḥ) padaś-gatavatī lōkasya sa[nchā]riṇō ni(nl)hārōtkarabhūdharād-
iva sa(śa)nair-Mmandāki-
- 17 [nī syandati]¹ || [8*]² Sa sri(śrī)-Nanda-kul-āmvu(mbu)j-ākara-raviḥ sad-vaiṣa(śa)-
dipā(dīpō) nṛipaś(ś)-chaṇḍ-ārāti(tī)-vadhū-mukh-āvja(bja)-sasa(śasa)-

Reverse.

- 18 [bhṛid-rakt-ānta-dīrgh-ēkshaṇaḥ] — — — — — pulakikurvvan-jana[n-ohō]shṛitaiḥ
satya-tyāga-ka(ku)lābhi-
- 19 [māna-vi]ṇayā yasy=āṅgajāḥ sad-guṇāḥ || [9*]³ Dīpyat-pratāp-ā[na]la-[plusht-ārā]ti-mūrttiś-
chatur-ambhōdadhi⁴-paryanta-bhrūta-
- 20 [sat-kīrtti]ya(r-ya)th-ō[chi]ta-[paryyavasthā]pita-varaṇa-cha(tu*)shṭayaḥ pūrit-āśēśha-
praṇayi-jana-manōrathaḥ sajjana-jan-ā-
- 21 [na]nda-dōyī rakt-āmvu(mba)ra-pramaṇḍita-kaladhautā-dōllikā-chāmara-pralamvi(mbi)ta-
prānta-krōḍa-dēśa-vinyasta-mayūra-cha-
- 22 adrikā-nikara-sita-chchhatr-āvabhāsamāna-sita-dhātumaya-gōdhā-si(sī)kharikṛita- lōhita-
lōchan-āmvu(mba)ra-dhvaja[h*] pa-
- 23 ramamāhēśvara- matā-pitri-pād-ānudhyāta-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-sa m a d h i g a t a - p a ṇ c h a -
mahāśavda(bda)-mahāśama-
- 24 ntādhipati-śrī-Dēvānandaśōvaḥ kuśali Airāvatta-maṇḍala-samva(mba)ddha-Pōtōḍā-
vishayē bhavishyad-yathā-
- 25 kāla-bhāviṇō rājakāna⁵ rāja-putrā[n*] Vra(bṛā)hma[ṇa*]-purōgān-sāmantān-nivāsi-janapa-
dān=adhikāriṇaḥ sa-ka-
- 26 raṇān=anyā[rū]ś=cha chāṭa-bhaṭa-vallabha-jāti(tī)yān-rāja-pād-ōpajīvinaḥ sarvvān=yath-
ārharū mānayati vō(bō)dhayati kuśa-
- 27 layaty=āśisati ch-ānyata(t)[i*] Viditam=astu bhavatām=ētaḍ-vishaya-samva(mba)[ddha*]
Lamvō(mbō)va⁶-grām-ōdaya⁷ sa-jala-stha[laḥ*]
- 28 sa-gartt-āvaskara[h*] prajñāyamāna-chata[h*]-sīmā-paya(rya)ntaḥ Puṇḍa(ṇḍra)varddhana-
vinirggata-Jamvu(mba)ma-Nārāyaṇapura-Bhaṭa[ṭṭa]-
- 29 sāmānya-Kāṇva-kāḥa-Yajurvēdi(di)-Kṛishṇātrē[yā-gōtrāya*] Ārchchanānasa-Śā v ā ś ē t i -
hōtā⁸ richavāvasa-vat dityadhvaya⁹
- 30 Ādityaddh(dha)ara-sutas=cha Śaktiddha(dha)ra-suta-Vasma(Brahma?)ddhara-bhāṭaḥ¹⁰ ||¹¹
mātā-pitrōr-ātmanāś=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivri-

¹ This reading is clear in Dhruvānanda's plate. The correct form of the last word is *syandamānā*.

² Metre: *Śārdūlavikṛitita*.

³ Read *ambhōdhi*.

⁴ Read *rājanakāna* as in the Talmul plate.

⁵ [The reading seems to be *Lamvō(bō)da*.—B. C. C.]

⁶ [Possibly the intended reading is *-grāmā-yam*.—B. C. C.]

⁷ [This evidently refers to the *tryārahya* *Prayāsa* of the dance, and is to be corrected as *Ārty-ārch-
chanānasa-Śyāndiv-ēti hōtrā*. Compare *Gōtrayavaranibandhakudamba*, p. 57.—B. C. C.]

⁸ The sense after *hōtā* is not clear.

⁹ We have probably to amend the reading as *Ādityadāra-sutasya Śaktiddharasya sutasya Brahmedhara-chaṭṭya*.

¹⁰ This sign of punctuation is not needed.

- 31 dḍhayē tāmvrā¹-āsanaēna pradattō-smābhīḥ[||*] yatas-tāmiva¹-āsana-darśanād-asmakā(t-kā)ry-ā[nu*]rōdhāja(d=ya)thā-kāla-
- 32 [phala]-niyam-ōpabhujyamānā(na)[sya*] na kēn-āsya pata(ni)panthi(nthi)nā bhā(bha)vītavya-
[dh] [||*] Mā[bhū*]d-aphala-sam(śam)kā vaḥ para-da-
- 33 tt-ēti pārthiva(vāḥ) [||*] sva-datā(ttā)[t*] pha[la]m=āna[ntyam] para-datt-{ānupālānē} [||*]
Sva-dattā[m=para-dattā*]m=vā yō harēta vasundharātū [||*] sa vi(vi)śhṭhā[yām*] [kpi]-
- 34 [mir-bhūtvā pitṛibhīḥ saha pachyatō] [||*] [Va(Ba)hubhir-vasudhā dattā rāja][bhīḥ Sagar-
ādibhīḥ*] yasya yasya [yadā*] [bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalaḥ] [||*] [Iti]
- 35 [kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlām]

TRANSLATION.

(L. 1) Ōm. Hail! From [Jayapura] which is exempted from the ingress of vices of the Kali Age and has surpassed all the qualities of Ujjayani.

(Verse 1) There was born in the Nandōdbhava family a virtuous, extremely intelligent and surpassingly heroic king named Jayānanda, who, by dint of his own valour, subjugated the whole of Gōndrama.

(V. 2) It was during his kingship that the poor twin letters *dḍhi* (i.e. 'give') were never heard; no diseases, no fraud from anywhere and no false quarrel ever occurred among the people, (so much so that even) a drunken woman, with her ornaments jingling, could pass through a desolate forest at night unescorted (*without being molested by any robber on the way*), whereas such (*a state of perfectly good rule*) is ascribed to king Dīlpa.²

(V. 3) He had a son, most beloved to him, the illustrious Parānanda by name, who, being of splendid golden complexion, dignified, having his ambitions fulfilled, bedecked with glittering flawless jewels, his person being unassailable by warriors, (and) deeply honoured by the learned, evidently resembled the Mēru (*mountain*) which is (*likewise*) endowed with pleasing brilliance on account of its gold, is very lofty, has occupied large space, is possessed of sparkling pure gems, with its bulk unscalable by adventurers (and) its foot frequented by the gods.

¹ Read *tāmra*.

² Only some traces of the rest of the verse are to be seen on the plate; it may be supplied as *śriyam-anu-chintya manuṣhya-jīvitān-cha | sakalam-idam-udāhṛitān-cha buddhā nahi parushaiḥ para-kīrtayō vilōpyāḥ ||*

³ Every word in the passage *śaravaryām*, etc., has a special significance. Thus *śaravaryām* = at night, an opportune time for committing robbery; *abālā* = woman, literally 'powerless one' whom it is easy to assail or overpower; *sahāya-vikalā* = without any escort or companion, so that the crime can be perpetrated without any fear of immediate detection; *alākṣara-jhaṭṭāriṇī* = her ornaments making a jingling noise, thereby assuring a handsome booty; *bhūtā* = drunken, thus too senseless to offer any resistance; *afanē vanē* = in a jungle where there is no human being near by, so that there is no rescuing even if the victim shouts for help.

The author of the inscription indulges in poetic fancy, asserting that Jayānanda's virtues have mistakenly been attributed to Dīlpa. The description of Dīlpa alluded to is echoed in the following verses:

Yasmin mahātī kṣatī vāsiniṇām nidrām vāḥ-ārdha-pāthē gatānām |

Vāḥ-pi n-ārahanyād-ahūkīnī lō lambayd-āharapāya hastam ||

(*Raghuvamśa*, VI, 75).

Na kil-ānuyagya-tasya rājānō rakṣātūr-yatāḥ |

Vgāpīlā yat-para-vēḥhyāḥ śrutau taskarātā nīlā ||

(*Ibid.*, I, 27).

Trayaḥ labdā na jīyanti Dīlpasya nicānāḥ |

Śrādhyāya-ghṛhṇō jyā-ghṛhṇō dīyatām- itī vai trayaḥ ||

(*Mahābhārata*, XIII (*Śāntiparvan*), 29, 70).

The last verse rather presents a contrast: with Dīlpa a request never passed unfulfilled, while in Jayānanda's reign it never came to utter a request.

metal, that floats on the white umbrella held over the golden litter covered with red cloth, inlaid with peacock feathers in its inner side and with *chouries* hanging down (*from it*),¹ who is a devout worshipper of Śiva, who has acquired (*title to*) the five *mahāśabdas* (*and*), who meditates on the feet of his father and mother, being in good health ;

(Ll. 24-32) duly honours, intimates to, enquires after the health of and commands all those that will in course of time be, (*viz.*) chiefs, princes, all the inhabitants of the country headed by Brāhmaṇas, feudatories, functionaries along with the *karakas*, and others of the class of *Chōṭa*, *Bhaja* and *Vallabha*, dependent on the king, in the Pōtōḍā *viśaya* included in the Airāvatta *maṇḍala*: "Be it known to you that the income² of the village *Lambēva*³, along with its land and water, along with its pits and their contents, included in this *viśaya* (*of Pōtōḍā*), up to the four well-known boundaries, has been granted by Us, by means of a copper-plate charter, for the increase of the glory and religious merit of Our parents and of Ourselves, to *Bhaṭṭa* Brahmadhara, son of Śaktidhara, son of Ādityadhara, hailing from Puṇḍravardhana, a member of the Bhaṭṭa community of Jambama-Nārāyaṇapura, a student of the Kaṇva *sākhā* of the Yajurvēda, belonging to the Kṛishṇātrēya *gōtra*, a *hōṭri* having (*the triple pravara of*) [*Ātrēya*]-Ārchanaśasa-Śyāvāśva, Wherefore, seeing this copper charter and having regard for our deed, nobody should cause any obstruction to him while he is regularly enjoying the seasonal yields (*of the gift*)."

(Ll. 32-35) [Here follow four of the customary verses.]

NO. 8.—A NOTE ON THE DATE OF CHOLA GANDARADITYA.

By A. S. RAMAKATHA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

In the short interval of about 32 years between Parāntaka who ruled from A.D. 907 to at least A.D. 953,⁴ and Rājārāja I whose date of accession was A.D. 985, five members, *viz.*, Rājākēśarin Gaṇḍarāditya, Parakēśarin Ariṇjaya, Rājākēśarin Sundara-Chōḷa, Parakēśarin Āditya II and Parakēśarin Uttama-Chōḷa, have to be accounted for. As they are usually designated in inscriptions, by their dynastic titles of Parakēśarin or Rājākēśarin, their identity has to be determined only by the internal evidence in the records, if any. The exact periods when these kings ruled are also not specified, except in the case of Parakēśarin Uttama-Chōḷa whose date of accession has been fixed to be A.D. 969-70⁵.

With the help of three records belonging to a Rājakesarivarman copied from the Trichinopoly District, all of which are paleographically attributable to the 10th century A.D. and

¹ [This epithet, I think, is to be split up into two, one ending with *arabhaśamēna* and the other beginning with *śiṇḍhāta*. Their construction is rather clumsy, but the first evidently describes the king's sedan (*dollikā*) and the second the royal banner over the palace. They may be translated as follows: "whose gold sedan is decorated with a red cloth, is flanked by suspended *chouries*, has its interior furnished with the feathers of the peacock's tail (*their eyes being seen prominently*), (*and*) shines forth with a white umbrella (*spread over*); whose banner with a snake (*emblem*) is surmounted by an alligator made of white metal (*śiṇḍhāta*)".—B. C. C.]

² [This seems to be the translation of *grām-śāyga*. The word *śāyga* does also mean 'income' but its adjuncts *sa-jala-sthalak*, etc., do not justify the reading *śāyga* in the text. The intended reading as suggested above (p. 79, n. 3) is probably *grāmāś-yam*, in which case the gift consists of the village itself.—B. C. C.]

³ [See above p. 79, n. 5.—Ed.]

⁴ There is a solitary record dated in the 48th year of the king at Vanamaladiene in the Chittoor District (No. 300 of 1931-32 of the Madras Epigraphical collection).

⁵ No. 456 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

evidently relate to one and the same king of that title, an attempt is made herein to fix the initial date of Rājākēśarin Gaṇḍarāditya. The records under reference are:

Place.	Details of date.	Remarks.
1. Allūr ¹ . . .	5th year, Kanni, lunar eclipse ² . . .	Mentions the son of Virāśōja-Irukkuvēl.
2. Pālūr ² . . .	Ditto	Mentions Mahimālaya-Irukkuvēl <i>alias</i> Parāntaka-Virāśōja.
3. Do. ³ . . .	Ditto	Ditto.

From the surnames Parāntaka and Virāchōja of the Irukkuvēl chief named Mahimālaya figuring in the two Pālūr inscriptions (Nos. 2 and 3), it can be inferred that this chief had been a contemporary of Parāntaka *alias* Virā-Chōja, and that the Rājākēśarivarman, in whose records also he figures, was evidently one who came after this Chōja king.

The occurrence of a lunar eclipse in the Kanyā month cited in the records is, however, an important astronomical detail, which is helpful in fixing the date. In the period of fifty years from A.D. 940 to 990, there were only three years in which such an eclipse occurred, viz.⁴—

1. A.D. 954, September 15, Friday; śu.15 (.35); Uttirattādi (Uttara-Bhādrapadā) (.15);
2. A.D. 955, September 4, Tuesday; śu.15 (.92); Pūrattādi (Pūrva-Bhādrapadā) (.50) and Uttirattādi (f. d. n. .49); and
3. A.D. 973, September 15, Monday; śu.15 (.25); Uttirattādi (.03).

Of these, the last date may be left out of account as it would definitely fall in the 4th year of the reign of Parakēśarivarman Uttama-Chōja. The remaining two dates which are fortunately contiguous to each other and are removed by a period of one year only, would yield either A.D. 949-50 or A.D. 950-51 as the initial date of this Rājākēśarivarman.

However, a record from Nirppalāṇi⁵ in the Pudukkōṭṭai State said to be dated in the 10th year of a Rājākēśarivarman states that Mahimālaya-Irukkuvēl *alias* Parāntaka-Virāśōja, who is identical with the chief figuring in the Pālūr inscriptions noted above, made a gift to the temple at Nirppalāṇi, while he visited the temple at Tiruppālatturai during a lunar eclipse, which occurred in the Uttirattādi-nakshatra in the month of Kanyā. As the other details are identical, the regnal year read as 10 appears to be a mistake for 5; and Uttirattādi-nakshatra must have also been the star quoted in the portion lost in the Allūr inscription. It is quite possible also that the king had bestowed gifts to the four temples at Allūr, Pālūr, Nirppalāṇi and Tiruppālatturai, all situated near to each other, on the same religious occasion of a lunar eclipse, while staying at the last-mentioned temple. A.D. 954 September 15, Friday, with Uttirattādi-nakshatra may therefore be selected as the date of these three records, in preference to the other date in A.D. 955. As this day fell in the 5th year of this king Rājākēśarivarman, the date of his accession would lie between A.D. 949, September 16 and A.D. 950, September 15.

¹ No. 366 of the same collection for 1903.

² No. 346 of the same collection for 1918.

³ No. 348 of the same collection for 1918.

⁴ In this record the portion containing the name of the *nakshatra* during which the eclipse occurred is built in, and the expression *paṇṇa* is alone visible. The missing words were probably *Uttirattādi-nakshatratu paṇṇa* as in the Nirppalāṇi inscription.

⁵ According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, some other years in which such an eclipse occurred were A.D. 871, 889, 890, in the reign of Āditya I, a Rājākēśarin; but the records cannot palaeographically be attributed to that king.

⁶ *Inscriptions in the Pudukkōṭṭai State*, No. 30.

Who was this Rājākṣarivarman, whose date of accession was A.D. 949-50 ? We know from the Ātakūr record¹ that the combined armies of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III and the Gaṅga Būṭuga had defeated the Chōḷa army led by prince Rājāditya at Takkōlam in the North Arcot District and that this Chōḷa prince had also lost his life in the encounter. This record is dated simply in Śaka 872, current, Saumya, corresponding to A.D. 949-50 ; but in the absence of other details, its exact date cannot be calculated. From the foregoing facts it can, however, be inferred that soon after the death of the eldest prince Rājāditya in the end of A.D. 949, Parāntaka had nominated his second son Gaṇḍarāditya as the heir-apparent² in the beginning of A.D. 950, and that the latter began to count his own regnal years from this year onwards.

As some records³ dated in the 8th year are definitely assignable to Gaṇḍarāditya, his reign may have extended from A.D. 950 to 957 at least.⁴ His end is cryptically described in the expression ' *Mēṛkeḷundaruḷiṇa-Dēcar* ' i.e., ' he who was pleased to proceed west ', but its significance is not quite clear. It is possible that he had lost his life in one of the skirmishes with Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III's army in occupation that may have occurred in the western frontier, and that this event was sought to be euphemistically expressed as ' a journey to the west ', from which, however, the king probably never returned alive.

No. 9.—BIJHOLI ROCK INSCRIPTION OF CHAHAMANA SOMESVARA : V. S. 1226.

By SAMSKRITI PT. AKSHAYA KEERTY VYĀS, M.A., UDAIPUR.

The rock inscription under description was at first published by Kavirāja Śyāmaladās of Udaipur in 1886, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LV, part I (pp. 14-15, 28-32 and 40-46) together with some other epigraphs. Since then it has been dealt with by many scholars in connection with the genealogy of the Imperial Chāhamāna dynasty of Śākambhari. But the transcript of the record as published by the Kavirāja was far from satisfactory⁵ and the necessity for re-editing it properly has frequently been felt by scholars.⁶ Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, it appears, was to re-edit it⁷, but as he has not been able to undertake the work so far, I have taken up the task at the instance of Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India.

Bijholi is a small fortified picturesque town situated in 25° 10' N. and 75° 20' E., about 112 miles north-east of Udaipur. Its position is in the midst of what is known as the *āparamāla* or the uppermost table-land called Pathār, in the Aravalli Hills. This table-land extends from Bāroli and Bhainsarorgarh in the south to Jahāzpur in the north through Menāl, Bijholi and Māṇḍalgarh, once forming an important portion of the Imperial Chāhamāna dominions of Sāmbhar and

¹ *Asiatic*, Vol. VI, p. 51.

² The statement in verse 21 of the Larger Leiden plates of Rājārāja I that after Rājāditya, Gaṇḍarāditya succeeded to the throne, has to be taken to refer to this heir-apparency only (*op. cit.*, Vol. XXII, p. 256).

³ No. 176 of 1907 and No. 574 of 1908 which are records of a Rājākṣarivarman refer to Piḷḷaiyār (Prince) Arikulakṣarin, who was the younger brother of Gaṇḍarāditya.

⁴ It may be mentioned that the same dates have been suggested by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in his *Cōlas*, Vol. I, p. 186. The facts noted above support his chronological scheme for this period.

⁵ The transcript of the record which the Kavirāja later on published in the *Vira-vinoda* (Part I, pp. 383-89) is far better than the one under reference.

⁶ Above, Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 22, n. 3 ; H. C. Ray's *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 1082, n. 1.

⁷ Above, Vol. XII, p. 222.

Ajmer. It now forms a part of the State of Udaipur. It is very rich in archaeological remains, being possessed of numerous ancient monuments now mostly in ruins, of superb architectural and sculptural beauty, such as the temples at Bāroli and Menāl which Col. Tod¹ and James Fergusson² have so highly eulogised. The localities of Jahāzpur, Māṇḍalgarh, Bijholi, Menāl, etc., comprised in this tract, are also the find-spots of a number of epigraphs important for the chronology of the Imperial Chāhamāna dynasty. In fact, every nook and corner of this picturesque table-land has to narrate a story about itself through either sculptures, epigraphs or architectural remains. Princes of the Hūṇa tribe, it is said, were the first founders of towns like Bijholi here, and were the paramount lords of the whole country extending from near the Koṭā border to the precincts of Būndi.³ This Hūṇa possession, in course of time, came under the Imperial Chāhamāna control through conquest and subsequently passed into the hands of the Guhilots of Mewār⁴ and is still in their possession.

Thus, Bijholi⁵ is an important archaeological site with certain ancient temples of unique design and elaborate sculptures, still surviving. The place is at present held by one of the sixteen first-class *Umarāvas* or vassals of the Rājās of Udaipur, who is called the Rāo of Bijholi. He is an offshoot of the Paramāra family, whose ancestors had come to Mewār from Jagner between Agra and Baiāna in about A.D. 1610.

The first antiquarian who visited this place was Col. James Tod who has described it in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, Vol. III, pp. 1797-1800 (W. Crooke's ed.). Later on, Mr. Carlleyle, assistant to Major-General Alexander Cunningham of the Archaeological Survey of India, paid a visit to the place and described it and its antiquities in the *A. S. R.*, Vol. VI, pp. 234-52. Subsequently some other scholars, such as Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, also had occasion to visit the place. Mr. Carlleyle stayed at Bijholi for about five days during which period he examined all that was of archaeological interest and importance there, minutely describing them in his *Report*; but unfortunately due to heavy rains which prevented him from further exploration, he could not find the rock inscription under description the existence of which he knew from Tod only⁶. He has, therefore, not been able to tell anything about the present record.

The inscription is engraved on a flat undulating rock under a Mahuvā (*Bassia latifolia*) tree, within the encircling wall, towards the north of the big reservoir of water attached to the shrine of Pārśvanātha situated about three-quarters of a mile to the south-east of the town of Bijholi. Tod has described this site in his "Personal Narrative", but his account is somewhat vague and confused, for, he here speaks of 'no less than five temples to Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third of the Jain pontiffs, all of considerable magnitude and elaborate architectural details'. But in reality, there is only one large Jain temple dedicated to Pārśvanātha with four small shrines on its four corners, as Mr. Carlleyle rightly observes⁷. Moreover, the architectural details of the temple of Pārśvanātha which Tod mentions as elaborate are really anything but elaborate. The whole style and execution of the temple is, as a matter of fact, so commonplace that there is hardly

¹ Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, Vol. III, pp. 1752-59 and 1796-1805 (W. Crooke's ed.).

² Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, pp. 448-451.

³ Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. VI, p. 234.

⁴ For the various spellings of this geographical place as used by various scholars, see Ray's *Dy. Hist.*, Vol. II, p. 1081, n. 7.

⁵ Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. VI, p. 242.

anything of artistic interest. This temple of Pārśvanātha with the reservoir and the orchard attached is, at present, a Digambara Jain property and is under the supervision of Paṭavārī Hirālāl Kāmdār¹, a devout Digambara Jain and a lover of antiquity.

The surface of the rock containing the inscription is not smooth but rough and undulating, and hence it is very difficult to take impressions of the record. The rock has suffered for centuries from exposure and it was only very recently that Rāo Savāi Krishna Singh, the grandfather of the present Rāo Savāi Kesari Singh of Bijholi, erected² a small roof over the rock for protection. Wherever the rock was originally defective, it has been left blank; but now the portion of the rock used for engraving has also peeled off at places, and thus some of the important portions of the text have totally been destroyed. As regards **measurement**, the first line of writing on the rock is 5' 3" long and the last complete line is 12' in length, the intervening lines gradually increasing in length both ways as we proceed downwards. The height of the inscription between the first and the last line is 3' 6". There are in all thirty lines of writing on the rock, of which the last one is even less than half.

Regarding **paleography** there is practically nothing remarkable. The initial vowel *i* which is used three or four times in the whole inscription, however, appears in its ancient form made up of two dots and a comma below, the modern form of the letter being totally absent. The consonant *ṣh* which occurs twice in two different geographical names, viz., *Mōrāṣharī* (l. 11) and *Laghu-Vijhālī* (l. 29) is somewhat confusing, having been so formed as to appear like *kr*. The form of *n* is throughout similar to that of *t* except for a small notch on the lowest extremity of the left-hand side loop which is often imperceptible. *G* in its reduplicated form is throughout represented as *gn*.

In respect of **orthography** the most conspicuous point to be noted is the indiscriminate use of the sibilants, particularly the dental and the palatal, throughout the inscription, e.g., *Nāśā-svāsēna* (l. 2), *Pārśvanāthaḥ* (l. 4), *subhā-tatiḥ* and *chaturvimsatiḥ* (l. 5), *sauryēṣa* (l. 10), etc., of which the use of *s* in place of *ṣ* is more frequent than *vice versa*. Almost the same is the case with regard to the use of *v* and *b*, for examples, cf. *-nītamivini-*, *vibhrati* and *nirvādha-vōdh°* (l. 5), *vabhūca* (l. 12), *śad-ruddhi-vamdhura* (l. 13), etc., and *-baryaḥ* (l. 8), *-ballim* (l. 18) and *banom* (l. 20). *J* is used in lieu of *y* in *jan na(yan=na)* (l. 8) and *bhārjajayōr=* (l. 14). The sound of *kḥ* is sometimes represented by its proper sign, while in some cases the sign for *śh* is employed in its stead. Consonants following a superscript *r* are often reduplicated, e.g., in *nishṭh-ārppitam* (l. 1), *karm-ḍamūlana-* (l. 5), *nirgataḥ* (l. 12), and so on; sometimes they are left single, as in *gāmbhīry-audārya-ba(va)ryaḥ* (l. 8), *[da]śayāmi* (l. 19), etc. Nasals are throughout represented by *anuvāra*, the only exception being *Gaṅga(ṅā)nātha* (l. 21). The sign for *avagraha* is employed about ten times.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and except for a few grammatical inaccuracies, the composition is free from errors. The clerical and engraving mistakes are, however, considerable. Thus, *sandhi* is not observed in some cases, while in others it is wrong. The transitive root *sū*, 'to beget, to produce' is used intransitively in *kri-Jāsaṭṭh-sūta* (l. 13). The verbal noun *śaṁśanātrī* in *śaṁśanātrī kṣṇi-līṅgānām* (l. 21) is used for its causative form *śaṁśanāpayitrī*. Some of the verses contain paronymous words and thus convey double meanings. The whole epigraph is in verse except adoration to Vitarāga in the beginning and a portion after the last verse in l. 29, commencing with the date in numerals and terminating with the last line, recording various donations of land made by different persons for the maintenance of the Pārśvanātha temple, which are in prose.

¹ I am indebted to this gentleman as well as to Śādhū Śārāmdās, both residents of Bijholi, for the kind help they extended to me when I was there in connection with the preparation of a transcript of the record under edition.

² *Ojā, Rājaputane kṣ Itihāsa*, Vol. II, p. 1198.

The inscription is indeed 'difficult' as admitted by scholars like Professor F. Kielhorn¹. This difficulty is, to some extent, due to careless engraving, but it chiefly lies in the ambiguous phraseology of certain verses of historical importance. Consequently their contents are open to more than one explanation. Some other historically important verses add to this difficulty by being overloaded with metaphors.

It is a Digambara Jaina record inasmuch as its main object is to record the erection of a temple to Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Jain pontiff, by a pious Digambara Jain named Lōlāka². But its importance lies in the long list it supplies of the princes of the Imperial Chāhamāna dynasty of Sāmbhar and Ajmer. The authentic and complete history of this ruling family is still not known. Till before A.D. 1875 the only source of information regarding the history of this dynasty was the well-known *Prithvirāja-rāsō*, an epic poem written in the old Rājasthānī dialect, supposed to be the work of the famous bard Chanda who was a contemporary and the court-poet of the Chauhān Prithvirāja. But the authenticity and the antiquity of the said work have been seriously doubted³. In the words of Mr. Vincent A. Smith we find that "the Chanda's *Rāsa*, as we now have it, is misleading, and all but worthless for the purposes of the historian"⁴. It was in the year 1875 that a birch-bark manuscript copy of an historical poem in Sanskrit called the *Prithvirāja-vijaya*, written in Śāradā characters, was discovered by Dr. Bühler in Kashmir in course of his tour in search of Sanskrit manuscripts. The discovery of this fragmentary manuscript threw fresh light on the history and chronology of the Imperial Chāhamāna dynasty. A short account of this poem was first brought to the notice of scholars by Mr. J. Morison in his article entitled "Some Account of the Genealogies in the *Prithvirāja-vijaya*", published in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. VII, pp. 188-192. This work is proved to have been composed during the lifetime of Prithvirāja, the great Chauhān Emperor, from the fact that the poet Jayaratha, who flourished about A.D. 1260⁵, has quoted certain verses in his work, the *Vimarsigī*⁶, from this poem, and as such, the historical information it contains is genuine. The antiquity of this poem and therefore its historical accuracy is also vouched for by the fact that a commentary on it was written as early as about the middle of the fifteenth century by the well-known historian Jōnarāja, the author of the 'second' *Rājatarangīnī* and the commentary on the *Kirātārjunīya* written in A.D. 1448. The order of chronology of the Chāhamāna princes as given in this poem also found full support from the Harsha stone inscription⁷ of Chāhamāna Vighararāja dated in V. S. 1030, which mentions seven successive princes from Gūvaka (I) to Vighararāja (II). But as the list supplied by this inscription was shorter than that given in the poem, some inscription of this period with a long list of these princes, exactly corresponding to that found in the poem, was a requisite so as to leave no room for suspicion. This desideratum has been supplied by the present rock inscription and therein lies its importance. The chronology of the Imperial Chāhamāna dynasty as given in the *Prithvirāja-vijaya* and as verified from the Bijholi rock inscription is, thus, to be accepted as authentic.

To take up now the contents of the record, we find that it opens with a salutation to Vitarāga in a small prose sentence. In v. 1 adoration is paid to that divine light produced in the (supreme) soul which has manifested itself in the form of the formula 'syāt'. V. 2 describes Rishabhadeva,

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 62.

² This name is variously spelt in the inscription as Lōlāka (v. 49), Lōllaka (v. 51), Lōlika (v. 58) and Lōlaka (v. 63).

³ J. A. S. B., 1886, part I, no. I, pp. 5-65.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1881, p. 29.

⁵ Duff's *Chronology of India*, p. 171.

⁶ Bombay edition, p. 64.

⁷ Above, Vol. II, pp. 116 ff. and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, pp. 57-64.

the first Jaina Tirthaṅkara. Then is described Śāntinātha, the sixteenth pontiff, in v. 3. In v. 4 are mentioned the marvellous activities of Nēminātha, the twenty-first Tirthaṅkara, who is said to have blown the Pāñchajanya conch of Lord Kṛishṇa by means of the breath of his nose, pulled his bow Śārṅga with his thumb and shook Halabhrīt with his finger. Then Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third apostle is described in v. 5. V. 6 is devoted to the description of Varddhamāna (Mahāvira), the last Jaina Tirthaṅkara. In v. 7 is adored the goddess of speech under two of her appellations, Śārādā and Bhārati. Vv. 8-9 mention other divinities in a general way.

Then begins the **genealogical portion** covering vv. 10-28. V. 10, the first couplet of this portion, poetically describes the Chāhamāna-*vāṇśa* where the expression *Śrī-Chāhamāna-kṣhitrāja-vaṇśaḥ* comprising its first quarter is open to two different explanations. Almost all scholars appear to have taken this compound to mean *Śrī-Chāhamāna-eva kṣhitrāja-vaṇśaḥ* 'the royal or princely dynasty known as Chāhamāna', for they regard the genealogy contained in this inscription to begin from Sāmanta¹; but the compound expression as well means *Śrī-Chāhamāna-kṣhitrājarya-vaṇśaḥ* 'the family of the illustrious prince Chāhamāna', in which case the present genealogy suggests itself to start from Chāhamāna, the eponymous prince born from the *Sūrya-maṇḍala*² to whom the *Prithvirāja-vijaya* and the *Hammira-mahākāvya*³ of Nayachandra Sūri trace the origin of the tribe. Nothing, however, is said of him here as also in the two poems referred to above. It hardly needs any mention that the birth of this prince of great antiquity from the Sun, as recorded in ancient works like the *Prithvirāja-vijaya*, clearly indicates the relation of the Chāhamāna princes to the race of Kshatriyas emanated from the Sun, and that the theory of their origin from the fire-pit of Vasishṭha on Mt. Abu as first propounded by Chanda, the author of the *Rāsō*, is merely a misleading fabrication.

In the next verse (v. 11) is given the description of Śākambharā (Śākambharī), the guardian deity of the Chāhamāna race, born as the wife of Viṣṇu. Most interesting to note in the present verse is the mention of the second prince of the *Prithvirāja-vijaya* and the *Hammira-mahākāvya* lists, named Vāsudēva, as carving out his principality round the lake Śākambharā (Sāmbhār) which region is here said to have become his mother or mother-country (*jan-īva*, l. 6). The author has evidently referred to Vāsudēva by the variant Viṣṇu—a fact which has totally escaped the attention of scholars. Our author, it will be seen as we proceed further, is fond of employing variants in case of proper names, both geographical and genealogical. The word *tatō-pi* towards the end of this verse also indicates that the verse mentions some prince in descent from the one mentioned in the previous verse, who is undoubtedly Viṣṇu or Vāsudēva; and it thus also proves that Chāhamāna in the foregoing verse is used as the name of a prince and not as a mere family title. It is, thus, gratifying to find the genealogical lists of the Chāhamāna princes of Sāmbhar as given in the present rock inscription and the two historical poems referred to above, corresponding from the very starting point.

V. 12 is undoubtedly one of the difficult verses found in this portion for which scholars have offered more than one explanation. The verse describes a prince named Sāmānta who has been regarded as the very first prince mentioned in the present inscription. But taking Chāhamāna as the first prince on this list as already discussed above, this prince is the third in order of description. He, of course, seems to be the first prince of this line who had established himself with some

¹ J. R. A. S., 1913, p. 270; above, Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 22, no. 154; Ray, *Dy. Hīs.*, Vol. II, pp. 1062 and 1081-82; Ojha, *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 363.

² J. R. A. S., 1913, p. 263.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 55-73.

stability in his ancestral land and maintained his position as a ruler. Neither the present inscription nor the said historical poems throw any light on the relation in which this prince stood to his predecessor; but as all these three records appear to be unanimous in placing *Sāmarāta* after *Vishṇu* or *Vāsudēva*, it seems reasonable to believe the former as the son of the latter. As to the various explanations offered for this verse, we find scholars like C. V. Vaidya inclined to accept the first half of it as quite independent of the second half taking it to mean that "There was a Brāhmin of *Śrivatsa-gōtra* formerly in *Ahichchhatrapura*"; and the second half of it according to them means that "From him was (descended or born) king *Sāmanta* of many *sāmantas*¹". In this explanation the text *Pūrṇatallē(ḥ)* finds no meaning. Dr. H. C. Ray, however, accepts *Pūrṇatalla* as a proper name of the prince who succeeded *Sāmanta*, but his explanation of the third quarter of the verse *Sāmarāta-nanāta-sāmantak* seems to be quite different. He appears to take *Sāmarāta-nanāta* as meaning 'Sāmanta who was also known as *Ananta*'; and the other *sāmantak* at the end of the quarter means 'a feudatory prince' according to him. He, thus, takes the verse to mean that in *Vishṇu* or *Vāsudēva*'s lineage 'was born *Sāmanta* also known as *Ananta*, who was a feudatory prince and a *vipra*, in the *Vatsa-gōtra* at *Ahichchhatrapura*. From him was born *Pūrṇatalla*². The above explanation is certainly based on the meaning, as first given by professor Kielhorn³ and later on, having been a little modified⁴ by himself, now generally accepted by scholars, of the second quarter of v. 13 of the *Harsha* stone inscription that 'Gūvaka (from whom starts the genealogy in that inscription) attained pre-eminence as a hero in the assembly of prince *Nāgavalōka*', and also on the fact that in vv. 16 and 28 of that very epigraph, the country which the princes of this dynasty governed has been called 'Ananta or *Ananta-gōchāra*'. He, thus, seems to have tried to explain the name *Ananta-gōchāra* by assuming that it was called as such after the other name⁵ of *Sāmanta*, which, as found in the present epigraph was *Ananta*. And as *Gūvaka* (I) is regarded a feudatory prince, Dr. Ray is inclined to accept *sāmantak* at the end of the third quarter of the present verse as meaning 'a feudatory prince', thereby making prince *Sāmarāta* also a feudatory. But the generally accepted explanation of the *Harsha* stone inscription text is itself not final. Kielhorn had himself to change the theory he first propounded regarding this chiefship of the *Chāhamāna* princes⁶.

The plain meaning of the present verse of our record seems to be that 'formerly a *vipra* named *Sāmarāta* having numerous feudatory princes was born or descended in the *Vatsa-gōtra* at *Ahichchhatrapura*. After him came the prince *Pūrṇatalla*' (v. 12).

The use of the term *vipra* in connection with a ruling prince decidedly of the *Kshatriya* stock is found not only in this inscription but also in many others of various ruling dynasties where the princes are sometimes called *vipra* and sometimes *mahidēva*. A correct explanation of the use of such terms has not yet come forth. In my article on the 'first and third slabs of *Kumbhalgarh* inscription', I have tried to show that such usage has nothing to do with the origin or blood of the princes and seems to have some bearing on their divine habits which they might have acquired⁷. I am, now, farther inclined to think that the word *mahidēva* must have originated

¹ C. V. Vaidya, *History of Medieval Hindu India*, Vol. II, p. 93.

² Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, pp. 1061-62.

³ Above, Vol. II, p. 117.

⁴ Above, Vol. IX, p. 62, n. 1.

⁵ Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1064.

⁶ Above Vol. IX, p. 62, n. 1.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 308.

itself in connection with ruling princes as its very formation shows. Having then been applied to *vīpras* or Brāhmins, most divine and venerable as they stood in the social rank of the age, it seems to have become a synonym of *vīpra* in course of time, so much so that thereafter the latter came in use to denote royalty in place of the former. Even to-day the application of the term *mahārāja*, undoubtedly a princely title, to a Brahmin is not unfrequent; and the terms *Brāhmaṇa*, *Vīpra*, *Mahārāja*, *Mahidēva*, etc., appear to have become almost synonymous. Thus, *vīpra* may have been used here for *Mahidēva* 'a ruling prince' who, in the present case, as we know from other sources, was a Kshatriya of the solar race.

The theory of Kshatriyas having *gōtras* like Vatsa, Vasishṭha, etc., has been sufficiently discussed by scholars and it is unnecessary to dilate on it here.

The identification of Ahichchhatrapura which is here stated to have been Sāmanta's original seat of government has also been a subject of much discussion. As the original home of the Chāhamānas is also called Sapādalakṣha in many other inscriptions, some scholars like Bhagvānlāl Indrajī¹ and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar are inclined to regard this name as the original Sanskrit form of the modern name Siwālik which is a range of hills below Dehra Dun in the Sahāranpur District, U. P., and thus, according to them, this Ahichchhatra must have been a town in that region in the Upper Ganges-Jumna Valley, from where the dynasty migrated southwards. But the testimony of the two literary works referred to above, viz., the *Prithvirāja-vijaya* and the *Hamīra-mahākāvya*, as also the evidence and the provenance of the earliest inscriptions of the tribe so far discovered, and the identification of most of the places mentioned therein, would suggest the Śākambhari region to have been the cradle of this race. The epigraphic as well as the literary tradition regarding the capture of Delhi, the capital of the Tōmaras, by the Chāhamānas as supported by references to occasional conflicts between some of the earlier princes of both the tribes would also indicate the movement of the latter to have been northwards from Sāmbhar and not towards Sāmbhar from the north. This Ahichchhatrapura, therefore, has to be identified with some place in the Śākambhari-*pradēśa* itself where Vishṇu (Vāsudēva), the predecessor of Sāmanta, had carved out his principality. Rāi Bahadur Ojhā has identified it with Nāgapura, modern Nāgaur in the Jodhpur State².

After Pūrpatalla came the princes Jayarāja, Vighrahanripa, Chandra, Gōpēndraka, Durllabha, Gūvaka, Śaśinripa, Gūvāka, Chandana, Vappayarāja, Virūdhyanripati, Sīmbharāṭṭ, Vighraha, Durllabha (II), Guṇḍu, Vākpati and his younger brother Vīryarāma (v. 13).

Except a bare enumeration of these princes, even the relation in which each succeeding prince stood to his immediate predecessor is not known from this verse for which we may resort to the *Prithvirāja-vijaya* and the Harsha stone inscription. Thus, the former states that Jayarāja was the son of Sāmanta, Vighrahanripa and Chandra were respectively the son and grandson of Jayarāja, Gōpēndraka was the brother of Chandra, and Durllabha was Chandra's son, i.e., Gōpēndraka's nephew. We have no other information from any source regarding these first five princes. Only vague praise is assigned to them in certain literary works due to which some scholars regard them as insignificant³. The last prince of this category, viz., Durllabha or Durlabharāja is stated in the *Prith. vij.* to have been succeeded by his son Gōvindarāja, but the present record places Gūvaka after Durllabha. According to Rāi Bahadur H. B. Śārdā, Gūvaka and Gōvindarāja are

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part I, p. 157 and p. 158, n. 1.

² *Nāgarī-Prachārīṭi Pūtrikā*, Vol. II, part III, see also *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLIII (1922), p. 289.

³ *Ray, Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1062.

both identical¹; and the Harsha stone inscription of V. S. 1030 referred to above, gives the genealogy of the Chāhamāna princes up to Vighraharāja II (Vighraha of the present verse) from Gūvaka who has been unanimously identified with Gūvaka of the present inscription. Thus, Gūvaka of the inscription of V. S. 1030, Gōvindarāja of the said historical poem and Gūvaka of this record is one and the same prince. According to the explanation of the second quarter of verse 13 of the Harsha stone inscription as first given by Prof. Kielhorn, this Gūvaka was a feudatory prince attaining pre-eminence as a hero in the court of Nāgavalōka, who has been identified with the Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II (A. D. 815).² Regarding the above explanation Prof. Kielhorn himself had, later on, felt some doubt as already alluded to by me above, and the verse can be explained in a different way also³. It is, however, strange to note that Major Erskine has omitted⁴ this name in his list of princes of this dynasty, though the name is found in all the records including the one under description.

According to the *Prith. vij.*, Gūvaka was succeeded by Chandrarāja (II) whom our author calls Śaśinripa. His fondness for using synonyms in proper names is here again displayed as in the case of Viśṇu (Vāsudēva).

Gūvaka, the next prince mentioned here, styled Gūvaka (II) in both the *Prith. vij.* and the Harsha stone inscription, was the son of Chandrarāja. He was succeeded by his son Chandana to whom is attributed by the latter record the slaying in battle of a Tōmara prince whose name according to Kielhorn is Rudrēna⁵ which he equates with Rudrapāla. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar takes this name to be Rudra⁶. His son and successor was Vappayarāja called Vākpatirāja in the *Prith. vij.* who is said in the Harsha inscription to have put to flight one Tantrapāla. The same inscription gives him the title *Mahārāja*. He had three sons of whom the youngest named Lakshmaṇa established himself at Nāḍol and was the founder of the Mārwar branches of the Chāhamānas. His successor was Viṇḍhyānripati whom scholars like Śārdā⁷ and Ray⁸ do not regard a prince at all, evidently being misled by the text *Vappayarāja-Viṇḍhyānripatīḥ* of Kavirāja Śyāmalādās's faulty transcript. But the text on the rock is *Vappayarāja-Viṇḍhyānripatī*, a dual form, evidently containing the names of two princes; and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar is right when he takes him as the successor of Vappayarāja⁹. It may be noted in this connection that excepting the names *Saśinripa* and *Virgarāma*, this verse mentions all other names either in a combination of two or three. Nothing, however, is known of Viṇḍhyānripati from any source. He was succeeded by Siṃharāt, the son of Vappayarāja, who is stated in the Harsha inscription to have subdued a Tōmara *Nāyaka* or chief Salavaṇa¹⁰, and built a Śiva temple which the *Prith. vij.* locates at Pushkar. His title was *Mahārājādhirāja*. Next prince was Vighraha (Vighraharāja II), the son of Siṃharāt. The Harsha stone inscription of V. S. 1030, which is the oldest record of the dynasty so far discovered, belongs to the reign of this prince. The *Prith. vij.* assigns to him the conquest of the country as far south as the Narmadā and the defeat of the

¹ *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, pp. 265-66.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 239-40 and Vol. XLII, p. 58.

³ *Vaidya, His. Med. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 95.

⁴ *Rajputana Gazetteers*, Vol. III-B, p. 65.

⁵ Above, Vol. II, p. 121, v. 14 and p. 117 and n. 3.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 58, n. 2.

⁷ *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 270.

⁸ *Ray, Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1063.

⁹ Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, pp. 51 and 381.

¹⁰ Some scholars have taken 'Salavaṇa' to mean 'together with Lavaṇa'. In that case the name of the Tōmara *Nāyaka* remains unknown.

Gurjara prince Mūlarāja who fled to the fort of Kanthādurga in Cutch. He is also stated to have built a temple to the goddess Āśāpuri, one of his family guardians, at Bhṛigukachebha (Broach) in Gujarāt. After him came Durlabha, his younger brother, regarding whom we have no information except that his minister's name was Mādhava. The Kinsariyā inscription¹, however, states that he earned the epithet *Durlaighyamēru* and conquered the country called Āśōṣittana (Rāsōṣittana). His successor was his son Guṇḍa, whom the *Prith. vij.* calls Gōvindarāja (II). According to the *Prabandhakōśa*², he won a victory over Sulṭān Mahmūd. If this Sulṭān is identified with Mahmūd of Ghazni, the event will be one that took place in A.D. 1025³ when he was on his way to Sōmanātha through Jaisalmer and Mallani. But as the event does not find mention in an authentic work like the *Prith. vij.*, some scholars are doubtful regarding the reliability of this statement of the *Prabandhakōśa*⁴. Gōvindarāja was succeeded by his son Vākpatiṅga (Vākpatirāja II), who, according to the *Prith. vij.*, rent asunder with his dagger the mouth of Ambāprasāda, the lord of Āghāṭa (mod. Āhaḍ near the Udaipur Railway station) and thus sent him to the abode of Yama. This Ambāprasāda is the same as Āmrāprasāda of the Chitor inscription of V. S. 1331⁵, who was the son of the Guhila prince Śaktikumāra. The last prince mentioned in this verse is Viryarāma whose name is followed by the word *anujaḥ* showing that he was the younger brother of Vākpatiṅga and therefore one of the sons of Guṇḍa as accepted by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar⁶. Dr. Ray, however, calls him the son of Vākpati. He was killed by the Paramāra prince Bhōja (A.D. 1010-1055), according to the *Prith. vij.* The word *anujaḥ* with which ends this verse has also to be construed with the first prince mentioned in the next verse viz., Chāmūṇḍa, who is definitely stated in the said poem to be the brother of Viryarāma.

After [Chāmūṇḍa] whose epithet was *Rāḡaka-vara*, came Śiṅghaṭa, his brother Dūsala and Visala. After him (Visala) came his son Pṛithivīrāja, and thereafter his son Ajayadēva (v. 14).

Chāmūṇḍa, as has already been noticed, was the younger brother of Viryarāma whom he succeeded. The *Prith. vij.* calls him Chāmūṇḍarāja and attributes to him the building of a temple dedicated to Viṣṇu at Narapura (mod. Narwar in the Kishengarh territory) situated at a distance of about 15 miles from Ajmer⁷.

He is stated here to have been succeeded by Śiṅghaṭa whose name is missing elsewhere. His relation with his predecessor is also not known but he is accepted as the prince who succeeded Chāmūṇḍa both by Kielhorn⁸ and by Bhandarkar⁹.

After him came his brother Dūsala called Durlabha or Durlabharāja (III) in the *Prith. vij.* He was also called Virasiṅha. As to whose son he was, there is no clue in the present epigraph. The *Prith. vij.* calls him the son of Viryarāma¹⁰, but Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar regards him as the son of Chāmūṇḍa¹¹. He is here stated to be the brother of Śiṅghaṭa and if he was the son of Chāmūṇḍa as Dr. Bhandarkar believes, then Śiṅghaṭa, whose relation with his predecessor is not yet known, was also an elder son of Chāmūṇḍa. He is stated in the said historical poem to have been killed in a battle with the *Mūṭaṅgas* (*Mūṭchakḡas* or Musalmāns).

¹ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 56-61.

² *Gaṇḍavaho* (ed. B. S. S.), Introduction, p. cxxxvi, note.

³ Duff's *Chronology of India*, p. 113.

⁴ Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1069.

⁵ *Bhāvnagar Sanskrit and Prakrit Inscriptions*, pp. 74-78.

⁶ *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 272, n. 1.

⁷ Above, Vol. VIII, Appendix I, p. 14.

⁸ Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, pp. 51 and 381.

⁹ Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1069, and *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 270.

His successor was Visala, Vighararāja (III) of the *Prith. vij.* and Viśala of the *Hamīra-mahā-līya*. The former poem states that he gave to Udayāditya of Mālwa (A.D. 1059-1087) a horse named Sāraṅga with the aid of which he vanquished Karṇa, the Gurjara prince. The present inscription gives **Rājadēvi** as the name of his queen.

His successor was his son Prithvirāja (I) whose queen's name as found here is **Rāsalladēvi**. The *Prith. vij.* attributes to him the killing of a body of 700 Chaulukyas who had come to rob the Brāhmaṇas of Pushkara-tirtha. Only one inscription of his reign, viz., the Rēvasā stone inscription¹ dated in V.S. 1162 (A.D. 1105) has been found. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar takes him to be the son of Durlabha² and not that of Visala as recorded in both the *Prith. vij.* and the present epigraph.

The next prince was Ajayadēva, the son of Prithvirāja (I), called Ajayarāja *alias* Salhaṇa in the *Prith. vij.* His queen's name as recorded in this verse is **Sōmalladēvi**, called Sōmalēkhā in the said poem according to which she used to coin fresh *rūpakas* every day. The same poem attributes to the reign of this prince the foundation of the city of Ajayamēru, modern Ajmer. Dr. Bhandarkar regards him as the son of Visala.³

Verse 15, which contains the achievements of Ajayadēva, is another important verse in the present record as whatever historical information is derived from this and the following verses is not found elsewhere. Ajayadēva is stated here to have killed three heroes **Chachchiga**, **Sindhala** and **Yaśōrāja** towards the identification of whom no scholar seems to have yet made any attempt. Perhaps a clue to their identity is to be found in the expression *Śrīmārgga-Durdd-āvitāṣ* at the end of the first half of this verse. *Āvitāṣ* appears to mean 'connected or associated with', and the first two words seem to be the names of two geographical places with which the heroes mentioned were connected. Thus, it is evident that these heroes were associated with the localities of **Śrīmārgga** and **Durdda**. The word *cīm* shows that probably they did not belong to any of the principal ruling families, but may have been feudatories of an inferior rank of some one of them. **Śrīmārgga** as it stands, appears to have been used as a variant of Śrīpathā or Śrīpatha which has been identified by J. F. Fleet⁴ with modern Bayānā in the Bharatpur State. The tendency of our author's mind towards the use of synonyms is here again discernible. We, thus, find that it was Ajayadēva who took the first step towards conquering the northern plains of India and extending the boundary of his ancestral territory which attained its culminating point in the reign of his grandson Vighararāja (IV) as we shall presently see. This northward expansion seems to have begun in two different directions—one through Bayānā in direct north and the other through Durdda which on phonetic grounds may be identified with modern Duddai or Dūdhai in central India in the neighbourhood of the Chāhamāna domain in an easterly direction. The latter place seems to have been important in the ancient country of Jōjākabhukti governed by the Chandrā-trēyas. This country itself, as known from one of the stone inscriptions found at Madanpur, a little way to the south-east of Dūdhai, was completely conquered in V. S. 1239 by Prithvirāja, the great Chāhamāna ruler, who was the son of Sōmēśvara and grandson of Arpōrāja⁵. Ajayadēva was, thus, the first powerful king of this lineage who took the initiative in enlarging his kingdom and carving out a path for his descendants for further expansion. That he actually brought the country as far as Bayānā under his own control is also evidenced by the discovery of certain silver and copper coins bearing his name which are frequently found in Rājputāna and Mathurā⁶. The latter half of the verse mentions his other exploit which was the tying of one **Sōllapa**, a commander-in-chief (*Damḍanāyaka-varaḥ*), to a camel in the field of battle. This fact is also corroborated from

¹ P. R. A. S., Western circle, 1900-10, p. 52.

² Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, pp. 51 and 381.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 239.

⁴ Ray, *Dyn. Hist.*, Vol. II, p. 1084.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1071.

the *Prith. vij.* which states that he defeated Sulhaṇa, the king of Mālwa. But as there was no king of this name ruling over Mālwa during that period, it seems to have been the name of a general as mentioned here, of the then Paramāra prince, possibly Naravarman, ruling over Mālwa.

V. 16 mentions *Arṣṭrāja* as the son and successor of Ajayadēva. The next verse (v. 17), the interpretation of which is rather difficult, appears to contain some important historical fact under the veil of metaphor. The first half of it seems to mention the retaliation this prince had on the kingdoms of Kuśa and Vāraṇa¹. We already know that his father Ajayadēva had extended his dominion both towards the north up to Bayānā and towards the east up to Dūdhai; and the kingdoms lying beyond these localities must have naturally cherished hostility for Arṣṭrāja who was now a formidable neighbour. They might have even attacked him, but he seems not only to have repulsed the attack but also to have added fresh territories to his father's dominion. He, thus, took the second step towards the paramount sovereignty of Āryāvarta lying between the Himālaya and the Vindhya, which his son Vigharāja (IV) was destined to enjoy for the first time, having himself taken the third step by way of capturing Delhi and Hānsi, as we shall just see. Kuśa, as the name of a kingdom, may denote Kuśasthala or Kanauj² where the route may have been northwards from Dūdhai already in possession. The kingdom of Kanauj had been fast fading in importance at this time due to the increasing influence of the Chāhamūnas. Vāraṇa is the well-known ancient name of Bulandshahar³ near Delhi which was, during this period, under the control of Dōḍas or Dōḍiyas, one of the thirty-six royal races of the Rājputs mentioned by Tod. An inscription dated in V. S. 1233 found at Bulandshahar mentions sixteen generations of this dynasty which ruled there⁴. Arṣṭrāja might have made further progress by proceeding to this place from Bayānā making the ruling prince there his tributary. He, thus, seems to have still further enlarged his kingdom northwards up to Bulandshahar and Kanauj. The next half of the verse appears to contain an account of his relation with the Paramāra kingdom of Mālwa. We know from a stone inscription found in the *Aḍhai-din-kū-ḥōṣṭādā* at Ajmer and now preserved in the Rājputāna Museum, that Arṣṭrāja's father Ajayadēva had conquered the country up to Ujjain, the capital of Mālwa. This clearly shows the hostility existing between the two kingdoms. Ajayadēva is also stated in the previous verse to have barbarously treated Sōllaṇa, the *Damḍanāyaka* of the Mālwa prince. Arṣṭrāja is here stated to have shown disrespect to one called *Nirvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa* and thus brought him to humiliation. *Nirvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa*, as we already know, was the epithet of the Paramāra prince Naravarman⁵ who was a contemporary of both Ajayadēva and Arṣṭrāja, and what is mentioned here plainly refers to him. The text *bhaṇḡa-karaṇam śrī Dēvarājaṁ prati*, the concluding portion of the verse, also seems to refer to Naravarman, who, having been called *Nirvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa* is looked upon as *Dēvarāja*, the lord of gods. The employment of the term *Dēvarāja* is evidently for the sake of suiting the other sense of the verse relating to the ocean (*Arṣṭrāja*). This prince might have thus attacked the Mālwa country and subdued its ruler either independently or he may have assisted his father-in-law, the Chaulukya prince Jayasīkha (*Siddharāja*) who waged war against Naravarman, continuing for full twelve years in order to avenge himself of the latter's attack on his capital in his absence when on a pilgrimage to Sōmanātha⁶. The *Prith. vij.* states that he also completely vanquished the Musalmāns (*Mātāṅgas*) who came across the desert (*Marusthali*)⁷.

¹ [From the context *Kuśasthala* seems to comprise only one kingdom.—Ed.]

² N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 111.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 23 s.v. Baraṇa; Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. II, p. 458.

⁴ Ojha, *Raj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 239.

⁵ Bhandarkar's *List*, p. 397.

⁶ Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, pp. 969-70.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1073 and *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 273.

His son was **Vigraharāja** (v. 18). **Sajjana**, 'the only wicked person on earth, took his way towards (the home of) **Kṛitānta**' ; and **Kuntapāla**, 'the keeper of lance, came to a state of utter lancelessness' (v. 20). He, due to resentment made **Jāvālipura**, a city of flames ; **Pallikā**, an insignificant village ; and **Nad(dd)ūla**, like a bed of reeds (v. 21). He is stated to have 'made his fame take rest on each street of towns and on each roof of dwellings, which was fatigued due to the capture of **Phillikā** and was lagging behind owing to the acquisition of **Āśikā**' (v. 22).

This **Vigraharāja**, the son of **Arṣṭorāja**, was the monarch in whose reign the **Chāhamāna** power attained its climax. He may rightly be called the first **Chāhamāna** Emperor of India, justifying what has been spoken of him in the small Delhi Siwālik Pillar inscription¹ dated in V. S. 1220 (A.D. 1164). The identification of **Sajjana** mentioned in v. 20 is somewhat difficult. This name may refer itself to the *Damādādhīpati* whom Chaulukya Jayasimha had appointed to superintend the affairs of **Surāshṭra** which he conquered having defeated and killed in battle the **Ābhīra** ruler **Navaghana**². If this identification is correct, then the southward extension of the **Chāhamāna** domain as far as **Vindhya** as recorded in the inscription of V. S. 1220 referred to above, becomes justified to some extent. **Kumārapāla**, the contemporary Chaulukya prince, was indeed a formidable monarch and the country of **Surāshṭra** was a part of his dominion. But **Vigraharāja** was no less powerful, and hostilities between these two neighbouring powers had already broken out afresh with the accession of **Kumārapāla** who had twice attacked his father **Arṣṭorāja**³. It is thus possible that this **Chāhamāna** prince extended his arms against **Surāshṭra** in order to avenge himself, and, having killed its governor **Sajjana** who might have grown very old by this time, took that land in his possession. Dr. Bhagvānlāl Indrajī has already drawn the attention of scholars⁴ to an inscription of **Sajjana** dated in V. S. 1176 (A.D. 1120) located in the temple of **Nēminātha** at **Girnār**.

As regards the identification of **Kuntapāla** who had to throw away his weapons (v. 20) in presence of **Vigraharāja**, we have no difficulty. **Muhaṇṭa** **Naiṇasi** informs us that when **Kitū** or **Kirtipāla**, the founder of the **Sōnagarā** branch of the **Chāhamānas**, took possession of **Jālor**, the ruling prince there was **Paramāra Kuntapāla**⁵. **Vigraharāja**, as we already know, was a contemporary of Chaulukya **Kumārapāla** and so was **Alhapaḍēva**⁶, the father of **Kitū**. Thus, **Vigraha** and **Alhapa** were both contemporaries ; and as **Kuntapāla** of **Jālor** was living when attacked by **Kitū**, it goes without saying that he was a contemporary of **Alhapa** and also of **Vigraha**. Thus, our prince seems to have invaded the **Paramāra** territory of **Kuntapāla** and even set fire to his capital town **Jāvālipura**, i.e., **Jālor** (v. 21), the reason for which is, however, not known. This hard stroke at the hands of this powerful monarch must have rendered **Kuntapāla** very weak, and this is why **Kirtipāla** took no time in turning him out of **Jālor** soon after, and establishing himself there as the founder of the **Sōnagarā** branch. He also reduced **Pallikā** (modern **Pālī** in **Jodhpur State**), a flourishing town in ancient times, to a state of utter insignificance (v. 21). He is also mentioned to have turned the town of **Naddūla** (mod. **Nāḍol**) into a bed of reeds (v. 21). **Nāḍol**, at this time, was invaded and ultimately annexed to the Chaulukya Empire by **Kumārapāla** due to a predecessor of **Alhapa** ruling there, siding with **Arṣṭorāja**, his enemy, in the fight that took place between the two princes in V. S. 1207, and was put in charge of a *Dāmdanūyaka* named **Vaijāka**⁷. It was **Alhapaḍēva** who regained his ancestral dominion of **Nāḍol** through constant assistance to **Kumārapāla** which secured him the favour of the Chaulukya ruler who ultimately

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 218 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 1073.

³ *Ris Khyāta*, part I, p. 152 ; *Ojha, Śirohi-rājya ka Itihāsa*, p. 179.

⁴ *Above*, Vol. IX, p. 83, n. 8.

⁵ *Ray, Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 909.

⁶ *Dom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part I, pp. 176-77.

⁷ *Above*, Vol. XI, p. 70.

restored him his territory. This allegiance of Alhaja to Kumārapāla must have caused the indignation of Vīgraharāja who devastated Nāḍol as mentioned here and avenged the breach of faith¹.

His last exploit mentioned was the capture of Dhillikā (Delhi) and the acquisition of Āsikā (Hānei) (v. 22) from the Tōmara prince Anāgapāla III². This, as I have already mentioned, was the third and the last step taken by this prince towards completion of the task set afoot by his grandfather Ajayadēva and successfully carried out by his father Arṇorāja, etc., the extension of Empire. Arṇorāja had already reached Bulandshahr and Kanauj, and his son, the present prince, proceeding still further towards the north, brought the entire Āryāvarta under his control. Hitherto we certainly knew from other records that he was a paramount sovereign ruling over the whole of Hindustān lying between the Himālaya and the Vindhya, but it looked rather abrupt as to how he could make so vast an acquisition in course of a single generation. Our epigraph now clearly shows that the acquisition was not abrupt but gradual and was the result of constant activities covering three successive generations. By this extension he naturally came into contact and conflict with the Yāminis of Ghasni and the Punjab, whom he totally exterminated as stated in the Siwālik Pillar inscription. The portraiture of this prince will be partial if we fail to note that he was not only a distinguished warrior but also a distinguished man of letters. As the author of the *Harakṣhi-nāṭaka*³, he ranks among the best dramatists of India. His court-poet Sōmadēva was the author of the *Lalitā-Vīgraharāja-nāṭaka*⁴. He was so great a patron of learning that with his death the name "the friend of poets" disappeared⁵.

After him came Prithvirāja (II), the son of Vīgraharāja's elder brother (v. 23). It is indeed strange to note that the latter had an elder brother whose name is not recorded in the present genealogy. A clue to this mystery is found in the *Prith. vij.* which, though omitting his name, states that the eldest son of Arṇorāja or the elder brother of Vīgraharāja "rendered to him (his father) the same service as Bhṛigu's son (i.e., Paraśurāma) had rendered to his mother⁶." This statement shows that he murdered his father. The name of this parricide is, however, mentioned in the *Hamīra-mahākāvya* as Jagadēva, who is there also stated to have succeeded his father. It is quite possible that after murdering his father he might have ascended and held the throne for some time; but as a parricide he must have naturally lost all support from his subjects, and before he could consolidate his position on the throne, he seems to have been ousted easily by his younger brother Vīgraharāja. It is due to this dark character that he has been passed over in silence by our author. He is, however, not ignorant of him as he mentions the present prince Prithvirāja, as his son. The *Prith. vij.* mentions a son of Vīgraharāja named Aparagāṅgēya⁷ who was his rightful successor, but it also states that he died very young and unmarried. Thus the throne passed on to Prithvirāja. This prince is here stated to have been very charitable, donating a village named Mōrājharī to Pāravanātha (v. 24) the erection of whose temple the present inscription records. It may be noted that Col. Tod and Mr. Carleyle have read the name of this village as Mōrakara⁸ and Mōrakūrō⁹ respectively, the former regarding it as an independent village situated just where the Pāravanātha temple now stands, and the latter as another name of Vindhyaavallī (Bijholi). But though the third constituent syllable of the name of this village looks like *kra* or *ku*, it has to be understood as *jha*. This sign occurs in a slightly altered form in

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

² Cunningham, *A. S. E.*, Vol. I, p. 155.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 201-212.

⁴ *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 276.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

⁶ *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 276.

⁷ Tod, *Rājasthān*, Vol. III, p. 1790 (W. Crooke's ed.).

⁸ Cunningham, *A. S. E.*, Vol. VI, p. 234.

Correction Slip.

The facsimile plate of RAJIM STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE NALA KING VILASATUNGA is to be inserted opposite p. 56, E. I., XXVI. In this connection Prof. V. V. Mirashi suggested the following corrections and additions to be made :

- Page 56, text l. 3.—For *kakshayā* — — — read *kāntayā k-āsu yā*
 " " " 4.—For *hi(tē?) vāgbhir-na[tu]* read *kih vāgbhir-nanu.*
 " " " 5.—For *-pratapō(paḥ)* read *-pratāpī.*
 " 57, " 10.—For *[rvvu(rbhu)]thaḥ* read *r-ggu-naiḥ.*
 " " " 11.—After *Vilāsatuṅgaḥ* read *prathitaḥ.*
 " " " 12.—For *vijay-ādhī[śam?]* read *vijayī dhīraḥ.*
 " " " 15.—For *[ni]tṛya-na[vy?]* read *janman-ēv-ē.*
 " " " " —For *vām-ādhar-ābhām* read *vām-ādhar-ābham.*
 " 58, " 16.—For *drishṭīr-asyām* read *drishṭī-ramyam.*
 " " " 20.—For *si[ktha?]* read *sindhu.*

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the name of another village mentioned towards the end of l. 29, *viz.*, Laghu-Vijhōli, the reading of which is certain. It is, therefore, reasonable to read the name of this village as Mōrājharī, *i.e.*, 'a stream of pea-cocks'. No village of this name is, however, now known near about Bijhōli. Mōrakarā as the name of a village occurs in the Nāḍol plates¹ of the Rājaputra Kīrtipāla of V. S. 1218, as being one of the twelve villages appertaining to Naddūlāi which Alhaṇadēva and his heir-apparent Kēlhaṇa were pleased to give to Kīrtipāla. Thus, Mōrakarā or Mōrakara was a part of Kīrtipāla's possession in Mārwar at that time, and our prince could not legally donate it. This Prīthvirāja is also mentioned to have attacked a prince named Vastapāla whose handsome elephant, Manasiddhi by name, he took away (v. 25). Vastapāla is difficult of identification. He may, on phonetic grounds be identified with Vasantapāla of the *Lalita-Vigraharāja-nāṭaka*, with whose daughter prince Vighraharāja is represented to be in love. Although no prince of this name living at this period has yet been known, he surely seems to have been one contemporary of Vighraharāja as also of his successor Prīthvirāja. The name, according to Prof. Kielhorn, looks as if belonging to the Tōmaras of Delhi².

Prīthvirāja was succeeded by Sōmēśvara (v. 26). We know from other sources that the latter was the third son of Arjōrāja from his Chaulukya queen Kāñchanadēvī, the daughter of Jayasinhha Siddharāja, and thus was one of the uncles of Prīthvirāja. According to the *Prīth. vij.*, he passed the prime of his youth in the court of his maternal grandfather Jayasinhha and uncle Kumārapāla. He is also stated to have assisted the latter in his campaign against Kōṅkaṇ. Our epigraph appears to suggest the fact of passing his youth in the Chaulukya court by saying that he obtained his paternal kingdom through the grace of Sōmēśvara (*Sōmēśvarād-ladhva(bdha)-rājyas=*, v. 26), the famous god in Surāshtra, who must have been a tutelary deity of the Chaulukya princes. It does not mention any historical event of his reign except that he earned through valour the *biruda* of *Pratāpalaṅkēśvara* (v. 27) and that he, with a desire to gain heaven, endowed Pārśvanātha on the bank of the Rēvā with a village named Rēvaṇā in *śāsana*, *i.e.*, in absolute charity (v. 28). It is worth noticing that this prince as well as his predecessor, both donated a village each, to this god. It is evident that the inscription was engraved on the rock when the erection of the temple was finished in V. S. 1226, the first year of the reign of Sōmēśvara. Thus, Prīthvirāja's donation must have been made when the image was already installed, and his successor Sōmēśvara made his donation when the deity was enshrined in the temple. It may also be mentioned here that this installation earned for the spot a very wide reputation and within a decade the spot became so holy to the Digambaras that a mythological treatise called the *Uttama-śikhara-purāṇa* was composed and engraved on a larger rock nearby. Some scholars have called this treatise, the *Ummata-śikhara-purāṇa*³, but it is a mistake. It remains unpublished.

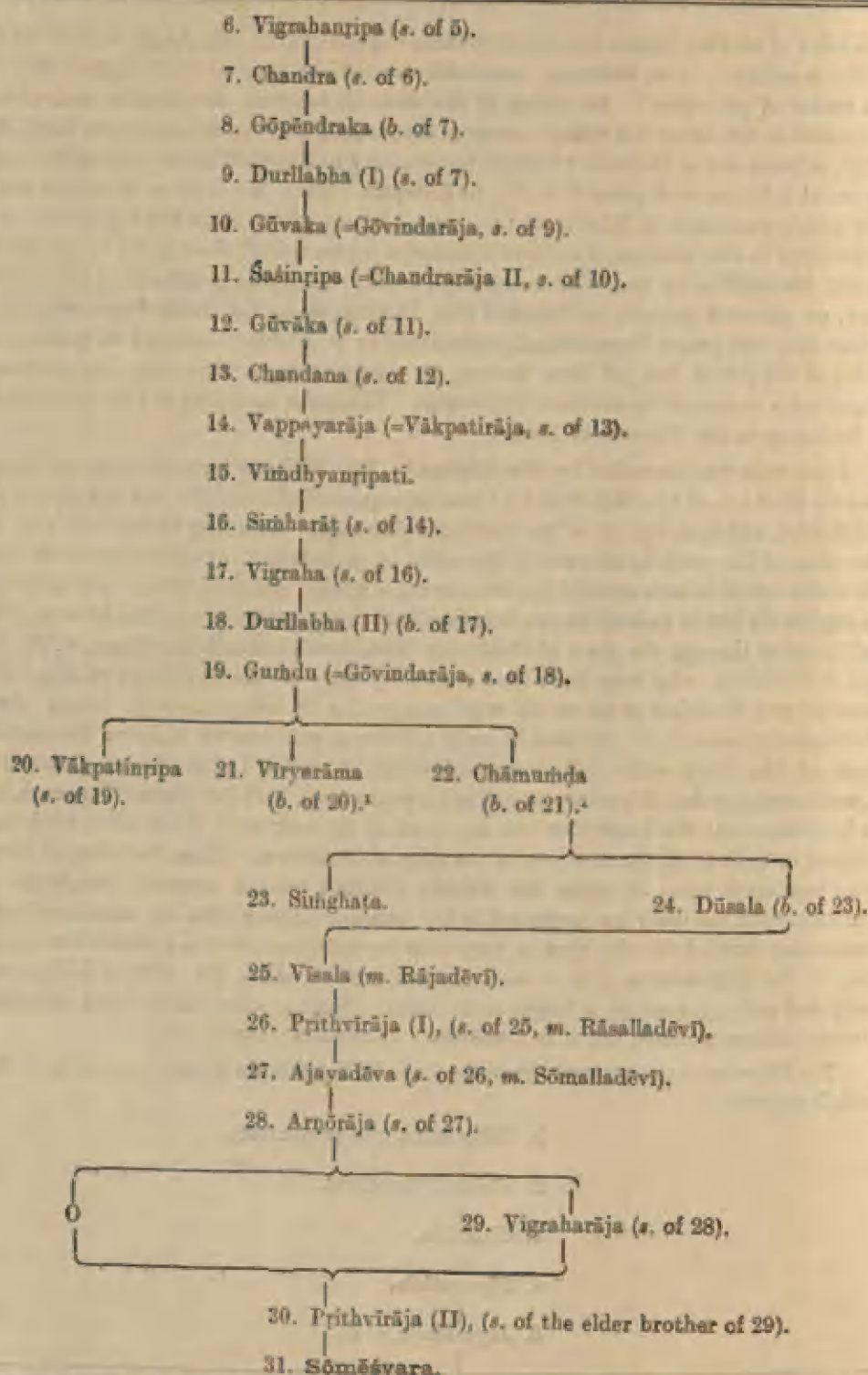
The following is the **genealogy** of the Imperial Chāhamāna dynasty according to the present rock inscription :—

1. Chāhamāna (the progenitor).
- |
2. Vishṇu (Vāsudēva).
- |
3. Sāmanta.
- |
4. Pūṃpatalla.
- |
5. Jayarāja (s. of 3).

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 67.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 202, n. 1.

³ *Ojha, Raj. Itiha.*, Fasc. I, p. 304; *Erskine, Raj. Gaz.*, Vol. II-A, p. 100.

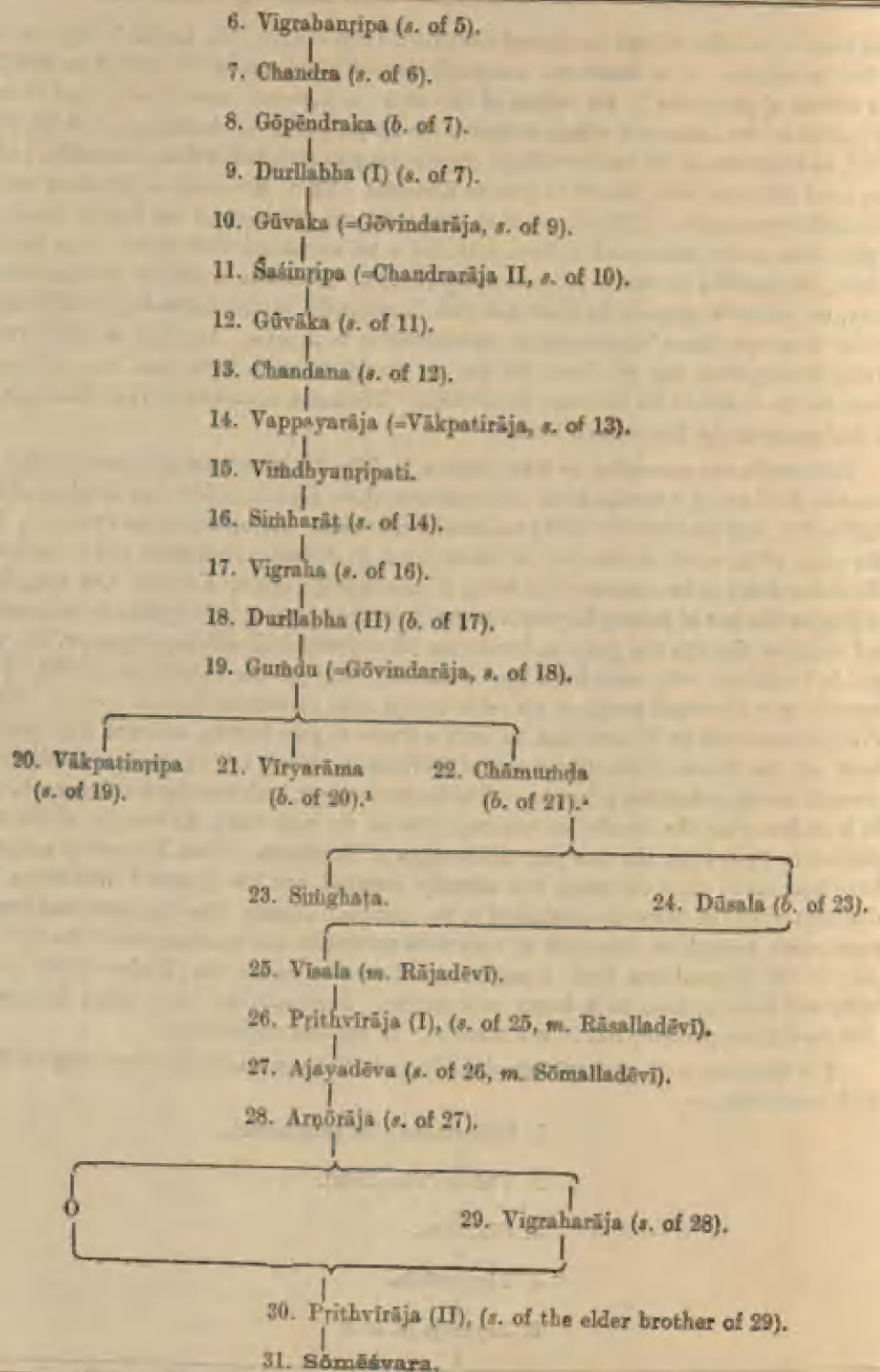


¹ Taking the word *asujal* at the end of v. 12 to refer to both 21 and 22.

From v. 29 the inscription describes the genealogy of the person who constructed the temple to Pārśvanātha. This portion opens with a fresh title, viz., *Atha Kārāpaka-vaṃś-ānukramaṇ* (l. 12), where the word *kārāpaka*, although regarded by some to be a family name¹ of the Vaiśyas like Prāgvāṭa, etc., is decidedly a grammatical formation from the root *kṛi*. It does not appear to be the proper name of his family, for he is said in v. 31 to have descended in the Prāgvāṭa-vaṃśa.

When the gods and the demons churned the ocean in the reign of Nārāyaṇa, at the site holy to Nēminātha (v. 29), a distinguished family, taken recourse to by the group of gods, was produced, which was located by Śatamanyu (i.e., Indra) at Śrīmāla-pattana (v. 30). It was the Prāgvāṭa-vaṃśa wherein was born one Vaiśravaṇa (v. 31). He built a temple to Jina at Taḍāga-pattana and also many a temple at Vyāghrāraka and other places (vv. 32-33). He begot a son named Chachchula (v. 34). His son was Śubhāṃkara; from him was born Jāsaṭa whose son was Puṇyārāśi (v. 35). The temple of Varddhamāna situated at Nārāṇaka was built by the last named (v. 36). He had two wives who gave birth to four sons. Āmvaṭa and Padmaṭa were born of one wife while Lakshmaṭa and Dēsala of the other (vv. 37-38). They seem to have constructed temples to Vira (i.e., Mahāvira), at Naravara (v. 39). Lakshmaṭa had two sons, Munimdu and Rāmēṇdu by name, while Dēsala had six sons named Duddakanātha, Mōsala, Vigāḍi, Dēvasparśa, Siyaka and Rāhaka, in order of birth (vv. 40-42). They erected a temple to Varddhamāna at Ajayamēru (v. 43). Of them Siyaka, an ornament to Śrēṣṭhins, beautified the great fort of Maṃḍalakara (v. 44). He built (probably at Maṃḍalakara) a beautiful temple of Nēminātha (v. 46). He had two wives, Nāgaśrī and Māmaṭā by name, of whom the former gave birth to three sons and the latter to two (v. 47). Thus Siyaka had five devout sons (v. 48). Nāgaḍēva, Lōlāka and Ujjvala, in order of birth, were born of the former wife, and Mahidhara and Dēvadhara of the latter (v. 49). Ujjvala had two sons, Durilabha and Lakshmaṇa by name (v. 50). Lōlāka was a special creation of god in whom were combined certain unique virtues (v. 51). He, the abode of celebrity, once came to the flourishing town of Viṃ[dhyava]ḷli and there [saw] some person standing before him [in dream] (v. 52). He asked as to who he was, what was the reason of his coming there and from where he came, to which the latter replied that he was Phaṇḍīvara (the holy serpent) and said that Pārśvanātha would come over there himself from the nether world for enlightening him (v. 53). Having got up in the morning, he did not utter anything, for, the mind is not free from corruption in a state of dream (v. 54). Lōlāka had three wives, Lalitā, Kamalaśrī and Lakshmī by name, resembling the very goddess of fortune (v. 55). The holy serpent, then (being ignored by Lōlāka) went to his devout wife Lalitā sleeping at night and said. "O blessed one! hear me. I am Dharapa, the holy serpent; come, I [show you] the illustrious [Pārśvanātha]" (v. 56). She then replied that what he [said regarding the deliverance and worship of the deity by herself] was not proper (*satya*), and that it was her husband who was the right person to lift up, worship and erect a temple for the god (v. 57). The serpent again approached Lōlāka and observed, "O you devout, virtuous and wealthy! Pārśva (the Tirthaṅkara) has come over up to the bank of the river Rēvatī. Lift him up and have the virtue of erecting a *chaitya-gēha* (temple) for the Jina, whereby you will obtain all worldly prosperity" (vv. 58-59). The serpent then describes the glory of the Bhīma-vaṇa where Pārśvanātha meant to manifest himself mentioning the natural rocks of stone with which the vaṇa is strewn over, as the blocks hurled down from the sky by the foolish Kamāṭha to obstruct his penance (v. 60). It is in the Bhīma-vaṇa that the Uttamādrisīkhara is situated like an elevated stage, where lie the holy *ūrtas* and temples of Varalāika, Atimukta, Ghaṭṭēsvara, Kumārēsvara, Saubhāgyēsvara, Dakṣiṇēsvara, Mārkaṇḍa (Mārkaṇḍēya), Rimchohhēsvara, Ūmbarēsvara, Brahman, Mahyēsvara, Kuṭilēs, Karkkarṭā, Kapilēsvara, Mahānāla, Mahākāla,

¹ Vaidya, *Hist. of Med. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 391.



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¹ Vaidya, *His. of Med. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 391.

[Bha]-rathēśvara, Ka(K)rttinātha, Kēdāra, Sathgamēśa, Puṭṭā, Mukh^{śvara}, Vapēśvara, Nityapramōdita, Siddhēśvara, Gayēśvara, Gaṅgābhēda, Sōmēśa, Gaṅgānātha, Purāṇ-taka, Kuṭilā, Svapṇajālēśvara and Kapiladhārā (vv. 61-66)¹. Neither untimely death, nor disease, nor famine, nor want of rains is here visible (v. 67). The *tīrtha* of Kōṭīśvara cannot be adequately described where the manifestation of a phallus of Śiva takes place every six months (v. 68). It is here that Pāravanātha will now reside and enlighten the living beings (v. 69). Having heard these words of the lord of serpents, as Lōlāka woke up in the morning and dug the earth himself, he at once saw the illustrious *Vīḥu* in the proximity of the reservoir (v. 70). The place, where there had been no worship of Jina and other acts of piety had now become an abode of [Jaina worship] (v. 71). Due to Siyaka coming there, Padmā, Kshētrapāla, Āmbikā, Jvālīnī and the serpent Dharapa also came out from inside the reservoir (v. 72). Owing to the advent of Pāravanātha here, the column holy to the attendant deity Yaksha, situated on a hill (at the former residence of the god) fell in the Nāga-hrada, the pond of serpents (v. 73). The Yaksha also appeared before the chaste Lakshmapa in dream, saying that he would also go where his lord Pārēva was (v. 74). Vv. 75-85 describe the sanctity of the Rēvatī-kūṇḍa and the merits derivable from a bath therein. A poetical description of the temple as well as of the piety of Lōlāka is also given. From v. 83 we learn that Lōlāka's religious preceptor was one Jinachandra Sūri in accordance with whose injunctions the former brought into being this holy site. Vv. 86-87 describe the surroundings of the temple: the river Rēvatī to the east as also the *para* (abode) of the deity; *maṭha-sāhāna* or monastery to the south; the reservoir of water to the north; and from north to south, an orchard adorned with multifarious plantation. All these constructions including the seven *āyatanas*, i.e., temples (big and small), were caused to be made by Lōlāka.

The author of the inscription was one Guṇabhadra, a *maḥā-muni*, who belonged to the Mā[thū*]ra *Samgha* (v. 88). This *Samgha* is a sub-division of the well-known Kāshyā-Samgha².

The record was written by Kās(ś)ava, the son of Chhītiga belonging to the Naigama lineage of the Kāyastha caste (v. 89).

The chief masons who constructed the temple to Pāravanātha were *sūtradhāra* Harasiga (Harasirṇha), his son Pālhaṇa and grandson Āhaḍa (v. 90).

The record was engraved by Gōvinda, the son of Nāniga, and Dēlhaṇa, the son of Pālhaṇa.

(The temple to) the deity was completed on Thursday, the third day of the dark fortnight of the month of Phālguna in the year 1226 of the Vikrama era, when it was Haste *vaḥshatra*, Dhṛiti *yōga* and Taitilā *karana*, corresponding to A.D. 1170, Thursday the 5th February, taking the month to be *pūrṇimānta* as also expired³ (vv. 92-93).

The rest of the epigraph is in prose beginning with the date in numerals. It records various donations made to the temple by certain persons. Thus *Guhila-putra* Rāval Dādhaṇa and *Mahattama* Ghaṇasi(sir)ha donated one *kshētra-dōhalī*⁴ lying midway between the villages of Kāṁhvā and Rēvaṇā. Gauḍa Sōniga and Vāsudēva, residents of the village Khadumvarā gave one *dōhalikā*. *Mahattama* Lūmvaḍi and Pōpali of the village Rāyatā in the Āmtari sub-division (*pratigaṇaka*) gave one *kshētra-dōhalikā*. *Pārigrahi* Ālhaṇa, residing in the village of Vaḍanvā, donated one *kshētra-dōhalikā*. *Guhila-putra* Rāval Vyāharū and *Mahattama* Māhava, associated with the village of Laghu-Vijhōli, gave one *kshētra-dōhalikā*.

¹ I have noticed below that some of these gods and sites can be identified.

² This I came to know from a learned Digambara Jain ascetic, Mahāvīrakṛti by name.

³ *Jad. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 133, n. 21.

⁴ *Dōhalī* or *dōhalikā* is a local term applied to a piece of land of any size given for charitable purpose, free of rent.

An attempt may now be made towards identification of some of the geographical places mentioned in the latter part of the inscription. *Śrīmāla-pattana* (v. 30) is the well-known Bhīnmāl, the capital city of the ancient province of Gurjaratrā, situated about 50 miles west of Mt. Abu.¹ *Tadāga-pattana* (v. 32) I am unable to identify. *Vyāghrēraka* (v. 33) is the same as Vavvā- (ghē)raa where Vigharāja is represented to be, in the fourth Act of the *Lalita-Vigharāja-nāṭaka*.² It is to be identified with modern Bāghēra³ about 47 miles to the south-east of Ajmer. *Nārāṇaka* (v. 36) may be identified with Narain in the Sāmbhar *nizāmat* in the State of Jaipur, on the Rajputana-Malwa Railway, 41 miles west of Jaipur city and 43 miles north-east of Ajmer⁴. *Naravara* (v. 39) is the ancient Narapura situated in the Kishengarh territory at a distance of about 15 miles from Ajmer⁵. *Ajayamēru* (v. 43) is evidently the modern Ajmer founded by the Chāhamāna prince Ajayadēva or Ajayarāja between A.D. 1100 and 1125⁶. *Maṇḍalakara* (v. 44) is the modern Māṇḍalgarh in the State of Udaipur.

Vindhyaavallī (v. 52) is the ancient Sanskrit name of Vijholī or Bijholī. It is also popularly known as Bijoliā or Bijoliyā which is derivable from the Skt. form Vindhyaavallikā.

Bhīma-vana (v. 60) seems to be the ancient name of the extensive forest round about the range of hills containing the great table-land called the Pathār. *Uttamādriśikhara* (v. 61) appears to be the ancient name of the uppermost table-land popularly called the Ūparamāla, extending from Bārollī and Bhainsaror in the south to Jahāspur in the north. The *tirtha* of *Varalāṅka* is a tank near Bijholī whose embankment is strewn over with ancient temples now in ruins. *Mahānāla* (v. 63) refers itself to Menāl vividly described by Tod⁷. The temple of *Mahākāla* (v. 63), is situated well preserved outside Bijholī itself as also that of *Svarṇajālōśvara* (v. 66), now called *Hazārēśvara*⁸. *Kapiladhārā* (v. 66) appears to be another name of Mandākinī, the holy reservoir existing at Bijholī near the Mahākāla temple. *Gaṅgābhēda* (v. 65) is evidently the Gaṅgābhēva at Bārollī mentioned by Tod⁹. The god *Nityapramōdita* (v. 65) obviously belongs to Dhōḍ in the Jahāspur District of Mewār, where an inscription dated in V. S. 1225 has been found recording the erection of the temple by Kumārapāla, a feudatory of Prithvidēva, the Chāhamāna lord of Śākambhari.¹⁰

Rēvatī (v. 86) is a small river flowing by the side of the Pārśvanātha temple from which the *Rēvatī-kunḍa* reservoir (v. 75), in front of the temple, has derived its name.

Kāmavā (l. 29) is the modern Kāmā about two miles east of Bijholī. *Rēvaṇā* (l. 29) seems to be the ancient name of modern Randhōlapurā about four miles north-east of Bijholī. This is the same village which was donated to Pārśvanātha by prince Sōmēśvara. *Khadunvarā* (l. 29) appears to be the modern Khaḍipura about 6 miles south-east of Bijholī. *Rāyatā* (l. 29) is the village of the same name in the estate of Begūn, about 11 miles south-east of Bijholī. The *Āntarī* sub-division (*pratigaṇaka*) as mentioned here is quite identical with *Upamavāla Antarī* of which

¹ Dey, *Geogr. Dic.*, p. 192.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 202 and *ibid.*, n. 1.

³ Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. VI, p. 136.

⁴ *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (new edition), p. 370.

⁵ *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 272, n. 2.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 163.

⁷ Tod, *Rājasthān*, Vol. III, pp. 1800-05 (W. Crooke's ed.).

⁸ Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. VI, pp. 243-49.

⁹ Tod, *Rājasthān*, Vol. III, pp. 1766-68 (W. Crooke's ed.).

¹⁰ Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1079.

the feudatory Kumārāpāla is stated in the inscription of V. S. 1225 referred to above, to be the chief. It is even now the name of the tract which comprises the estate of Begūn, Singoli, Kadvasa, Ratangarh Khedi, etc. *Vaḍaṇvā* (l. 29) is the modern Baḍaṇvā about 3 miles south of Bijholi. Laghu *Vijholi* (l. 29) is called Chhōṭi Bijoliā at present, and is about 3 miles west of Bijholi.

Lastly it may be mentioned that this site is regarded by the Digambara Jains to be holy exclusively to their religion, but v. 71 of the present epigraph clearly indicates that it had become as such only after the manifestation of Pārśvanātha taking place in the beginning of the thirteenth century of the Vikrama era. That the whole table-land had been a Brahmanic *tīrtha* centuries before this period, and is even now no less so, hardly needs any mention.

TEXT.¹

- 1 सिद्धम्² ॥ ॐ नमो वीतरागाय ॥ चिद्रूपं सहजोदितं निरवधिं³ ज्ञानैकनिष्ठा-
प्यितं⁴ ।⁵ नित्योन्मीलितमुज्जसत्परकलं स्वात्कारविस्फारितं(तम्) [।*] सुव्यक्तं पर-
माद्भुतं शिवसुखानंदास्पदं शास्त्र(श्रु)तं ।⁶ नौमि स्तौमि जपामि यामि शरणं
तज्ज्योतिराको[त्य]ितं(तम्) ॥१॥⁷ नास्तं गतः कुपहसंयहो न ।⁸ नो तीव्र-
तेजा
- 2 ॐ — ॐ — [वोः । — ॐ — नैव सुदृष्टदेहोऽपूर्वो रवि स्तात्स
सुदेवयो⁹ वः ॥२॥¹⁰ [स*] भूयाच्छीर्षातिः शुभविभवर्भगीभवभृतां ।¹¹ विभोर्य-
स्याभाति स्फुरितनखरोचिः करयुगं(गम्) । विनम्राणामिधामखिलकृतिनां मंगल-
मयीं ।¹² स्थिरौकर्तुं लक्ष्मीमुपरचितरज्जुव्रजमिव ॥३॥¹³ नाया(सा)स्त्रा(शा)सेन
येन प्रवलवलभ्यता पूरितः पांचजन्यः ।¹⁴
- 3 — — — ॐ — — वरदलमलि[नी]¹⁵ पाद]पद्मापदेशैः । हस्तांगुष्ठेन शङ्गे-
(शार्ङ्गे) घ(घ)नुरतुलव(व)लं कृष्टमारोप्य विष्णो ।¹⁶ रंगुल्यादोलितोयं हल¹⁷सुदव-
नतिं तस्य नेमिस्तनोमि ॥४॥¹⁸ प्रांशुप्राकारकांता¹⁹ चिदशपरिहृतव्यूह[र]दावकाशां ।²⁰

¹ Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1079.

² Transcribed from the original rock at Bijholi.

³ Indicated by a symbol.

⁴ Read *airavadi*.

⁵ This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

⁶ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁷ The word *Vyāsa* indicates the name of the first Tirthaṅkara Rishabhadeva, who (by breaking the euphonic combination) is to be regarded as *avṛṣṭa*, i.e., not having to ascend the second sign of the zodiac, in contrast to the Sun.

⁸ Metre: *Indrasajrā*.

⁹ Metre: *Sikhariat*.

¹⁰ The word *alini* means 'a swarm of bees'. It may also mean 'female Jaina devotees'. But it here means something else which was vanquished by the toes of his feet.

¹¹ There is an *anuvāsa* over *hāri*, which is redundant.

¹² Metre: *Śrāṅgharā*.

¹³ Read *prākāra-kāntā*.

वाचालां केतुकोटि[क्त]णदनणमणौकिंकिणौभिः समंतात् । यस्य व्याख्यानभूमौ-
महद्द किमिदमित्याकुलाः कौतुकेन प्रेक्षन्ते प्राणभाजः

4 [स भु*][वि] विजयतां तीर्थकृत्यास्व(र्य)नाथः¹ ॥५॥² वर्हतां वर्हमानस्य³ वर्हमान-
महोदयः । वर्हतां वर्हमानस्य⁴ वर्हमान[मह]ोदयः ॥६॥⁵ सारदां सारदां
स्तौमि सारदानविसारदां(दाम्) । भारतीं भारतीं भक्तभुक्तिभुक्तिविशारदां(दाम्)⁷
॥७॥⁸ निःप्रत्युह⁹मुपास्महे जिनपतीनन्यानपि स्वामिनः ।¹⁰ श्रीनाभयपुरस्सरान् पर-
कपापीयूषपायोनिधीन् । ये ज्यो(ज्यो)तिःपरभागभाज-

5 नतया मुक्तात्मतामा[त्रि]ताः श्रीमभुक्तिनितंवि(वि)नौस्तनतटे हारत्रियं वि(वि)भ्रति
॥८॥¹¹ भव्यानां हृदयाभिरामवसतिः सदस्य[म][र्म*]स्थितिः कर्मोन्मूलनसंगतिः
सु(शु)भ्रततिः¹² निर्व्वा(र्व्वा)घवो(वो)धोदृतिः [।*] जीवानामुपकारकारणरतिः श्रेयः-
त्रियां संसृतिः¹³ दयान्ते भवसंसृतिः शिव[म]तिं जैने¹⁴ चतुर्विंश(श)तिः
॥९॥¹⁵ श्रीचाहमानचितिराजवंशः पौर्व्वोप्यपूर्व्वो नि(न) जडावनदः । भिन्नो
न¹⁶ चां-

6 [गो*] [न च] रंभयुक्तो नो निःफलः¹⁷ सारयुतो नतो नो ॥१०॥¹⁸ लावण्यनिर्म-
लमहोज्ज्व(ज्ज)लितंगयष्टिरच्छोच्छलच्छुचिपयःपरिधानधा[त्री][। उत्तु*]गपर्व्वत-
पयोधरभारमुन्ना¹⁹ शाकंभ[रा]जनि जनीव ततोपि विष्णोः ॥११॥²⁰ विप्रः श्री-
वत्सगोचेभूदहिच्छ[च*]पुरे पुरा । सामंतोनंतसामंतः पूर्णतज्ञे(ज्ञो) नृपस्ततः ॥१२॥²¹
तस्माच्छ्रीजयराजविमहदृपो श्रीचंद्रगोपेन्द्रकौ तस्माद्[ज्ञं]भगूवकौ शशि-

¹ The word *tirthakrit* is used as a variant for *Tirthankara*.

² Metre : *Shagdhārā*.

³ Of *Varddhamaṇa*, i.e., Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth apostle.

⁴ Of the town of *Varddhamaṇa* with which is associated the birth of Mahāvīra.

⁵ Metre : *Anuakṣubhā*.

⁶ There is an *anustupa* over *śā*, which is superfluous.

⁷ The verse apparently aims at adoring the goddess of eloquence under two of her names, viz., *Sārada* and *Bhārati*. The author appears to adore her as the latter in the form of the *śrīṣṭī* called *Bhārati* defined as 'भारती' *सख्यप्रायो बान्ध्यापारी गटाश्रयः* : (*Sāhitya-darpana*, ch. VI, v. 29).

⁸ Metre : *Anuakṣubhā*.

⁹ Read *Nishpratyūṣam*.

¹⁰ This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

¹¹ Metre : *Sārāḍavikṛidika*.

¹² Read *-tatir=ni*.

¹³ Read *anushritir=dāyān*.

¹⁴ Read *Jaini*.

¹⁵ This *na* is to be construed with both *śhīmanś* and *-ām(gō*)* according to the *kāt-śākhī-gāthā* maxim.

¹⁶ Read *nishphalaś*.

¹⁷ Metre : *Indrasajrā*.

¹⁸ Strictly speaking, the form should have been *Sāhaṁbhārī*, but the addition of *īp* for the feminine form here suggests that the author has regarded the word *Sāhaṁbhārī* as belonging to *ajādi-gaṇa*.

¹⁹ Metre : *Vasantatilakā*.

- 7 नृपो गूवाक'सचंदनौ [1*] श्रीमहष्यराजविंध्यनृपती श्रीभिंहराज्जि(ङ्गि)पही ।¹
 श्रीमहर्षभगुंदुवाक्पतिनृपाः श्रीवीर्यरामोऽनुजः ॥१३॥² [चामुंड]ोऽवनिपे(पो)ऽति(य)
 च³ राणकवरः श्रीसिंवटो दूसलस्तुद्राताय ततोपि वीसलनृपः श्रीराजदेवोप्रियः
 [1*] पृथ्वीराजनृपोय तत्तनुभू(भ)वो रासजदेवोविभुस्तपुचोजयदेव इत्यवनिपः
 सोमजदेवोपतिः ॥१४॥⁴ इत्वा⁵ चचिगसिंधनाभिधयसो(शो)राजादिवीरचयं ।⁶
- 8 चिप्रं क्रूरकृतांतवक्तकुहरं श्रीमार्गदुर्दा(ही)न्वितं(तम्) । श्रीमत्तो[ज्ञ]णदंडनायकवरः
 संयामरंगांगणे जीवने(वन्ने)व नियंचितः करभके येन ८ — — [चि]सात्
 ॥१५॥⁷ चर्षोराजोस्य सुतुर्दुतद्वयहरिः सत्ववांशि(वाञ्छि)ष्टसौमो गांभीर्यौदार्यव-
 (व)र्यः समभवद[चि]रालध्व(ज्ज्व)मध्यो न दोनः । तच्चिचं वन(यन्न) जाद्य(द्य)-
 स्थितिरवृतमहापंकहेतुर्ब मथा न श्रीमुत्तो न दोषाकरचितरतिर्ब द्विजिज्ञाधि-
 सेव्यः ॥१६॥⁸ यद्रान्यं
- 9 यद्रान्यं⁹ कुशवारणं प्रतिकृतं राजाकुशेन स्वयं ।¹⁰ येनाचैव नु¹¹ चिचनेतत्पुन¹²र्मन्या-
 महे तं प्रति । तच्चिचं प्रतिभासते सुकृतिना निर्वाणनारायणन्यकाराचरणेन
 भंगकरणं श्रीदेवराजं प्रति¹³ ॥१७॥⁷ कुवलयविकासकर्ता विप्रहराजोजनि(नी)-
 [स्तु(ति)] नो चिचं(चम्) । तत्तनयस्तच्चिचं य[व] जडचीणसकलंकः ॥१८॥¹⁴
 भादानत्वं¹⁵ चक्रे भादानपतेः¹⁶ परस्य भादानः¹⁷ [1*] यस्य दधत्करवालः
 करालतां

¹ The syllable *la*, having been first left by mistake, was later on engraved above the line.

² This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

³ Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁴ This is a superfluous syllable.

⁵ There is a superfluous *vīrdma* stroke below *ita*.

⁶ Better read *Dulṭā* or *kṣiptā*.

⁷ Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁸ Metre : *Śṛṅgadhara*.

⁹ These three syllables are repeated by mistake.

¹⁰ This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

¹¹ The medial *u* sign here resembles the *vīrdma* stroke.

¹² Read *madad-apunar*-, taking *apunar* as meaning *na punar*.

¹³ This is one of the ambiguous verses in the record. It may be noted that what is mentioned in its first half as not appearing strange is to be construed both with the prince and with the ocean (*araṇḍarāja*); and what is mentioned in the second half, is to be taken as strange with reference to the ocean only. It would thus mean :— 'that the ocean whose director is the moon (*rāj-śambhūta*), handed over (*pratikṛitā*) the mad elephant (*kuśa-rāvaṇa*), i.e., Airāvata, to Indra (*Dēvarāja* of the second half); and that the prince who was a goad to kings (*rāj-śambhūta*), revenged (*pratikṛitā*), the kingdom of Kuśa and Vārāṇa (*Kuśa-Vārāṇa*), is not to be wondered at. But that he (the prince), having insulted Nirvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa, brought about the ruin of Dēvarāja (meaning god of gods, i.e., the same Nirvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa, the Paṇḍita prince Naravarman), is really strange with reference to the ocean which neither insulted Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) nor ruined Dēvarāja (Indra).'

¹⁴ Metre : *Āryā*.

¹⁵ Means 'the act of absorbing lustre,' with reference to *paraṇya*.

¹⁶ This word is adjectival to *paraṇya* in the third quarter. It means 'of him who was *śāśa-patiḥ* (the most illustrious) and *śāśa-patiḥ* (all acquiring).

¹⁷ Means 'emitting forth lustre'. It qualifies *karāḍāḥ*.

- 10 करतलाकान्तः ॥१८॥¹ कृतान्तपयसज्जोभूत्सज्जनोसज्जनो भुवः । वैकुण्ठं² कुंतपालो
गा[द्यत]ो वै कुं[त]पालकः ॥२०॥³ जावालिपुरं ज्वाला[पु]रं कृता पल्लिकापि
पल्लोव । नह(डु)लतुन्यं रोषावदू(डू)लं येन सौ(शौ)र्येण ॥२१॥⁴ प्रतोल्यां
च बलभ्यां च येन विश्रामितं यशः । दल्लिकापडणन्नातमाशिकालाभल-
मितं(तम्) ॥२२॥⁵ तज्ज्येष्ठभाटपुत्रोऽभूत्पृथ्वीराजः पृथूपमः । तस्मादर्जितहेमांगो⁶
हेमपर्वतदानतः ॥२३॥⁷ अतिधर्मरतेना-
- 11 पि पार्श्वनाथस्त्रयंभुवे । दत्तं⁸ मोराक्षरीग्रामं⁹ भुक्तिमुक्तिच⁷ हेतुना ॥२४॥⁸ स्वर्णादि-
दाननिवहैर्दशभिर्महद्विस्तोलानरैर्ब्र⁹गरदानचयैश्च विप्राः । येनाचिंताद्यतुरभूपति-
वस्तुपालमाक्रम्य चारुमनसिदिकरी गृहीतः ॥२५॥¹⁰ सोमेश्वराज्ञध्व(व्य)राज्यस्तुतः
सोमेश्व(स्व)रो नृपः [१*] सोमेश्व(स्व)र¹¹नतो यस्माज्जनः सोमेश्व(स्व)रो¹²भवत्
॥२६॥³ प्रतापलंकेस्व(स्व)र इत्यभिख्यां यः प्राप्तवान् प्रौढपृथुप्रतापः [१*]
यस्याभिमुख्ये वरवैरिमुखाः केचिन्मृता¹³ केचिदभिद्रुताश्च ॥२७॥¹⁴ येन श्री-
- 12 पार्श्वनाथाय रेवातीरे स्त्रयंभुवे । सा(शा)सने¹⁵ रेवणाग्रामं¹⁶ दत्तं¹⁶ स्वर्गाय कांचया
॥२८॥⁸ क ॥ अथ कारापक¹⁷वंशानुक्रमः ॥ तीर्थे श्रीनेमिनाथस्य राज्ञे नारा-
यणस्य च । अंभोधिमथनादेवव(व)लिभिर्व्व(व्व)¹⁸लशालिभिः ॥२९॥⁸ निर्गतः
प्रवरो वंशो ह्(दे)वह्(दे) समाश्रितः । श्रीमालपत्तने स्थाने स्थापितः शतम-
न्युना ॥३०॥⁸ श्रीमालशैलप्रवरावचूतः प(पू)र्व्वोत्तरः सत्वगुरुः सुव्रत(तः) ।
प्राग्वाटवंशोऽस्ति व(व)भूव तस्मिन्मुक्तोपमो वैश्रवणाभिधानः¹⁹ ॥३१॥²⁰ तडागपत्तने
येन कारितं

¹ Metre: *Argā*.² Read *vaikūṇṭhyam*, 'the state of lancelessness'. ⁷ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.⁴ *Hēmāṅga* here means the mountain Sumēru. That he (the prince) gave in charity gold in heaps shows that he had earned the said golden mountain itself.⁶ Read *daṭṭā*.⁸ Read *-grāmā*.⁷ Read *-muktyōś=cha*.⁹ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.¹⁰ *Tōḷānarair=*, i.e., 'in men's weight'. *Tōḷā ā samantāt narā gṛāhām, taiḥ*. [Possibly the reading is *sa-tōḷābhārair=* meaning *tulābhārair=*—Ed.]¹¹ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.¹² *Umāyā sahitaḥ sō=maḥ, ācambhātō ya* *īśvarah Śivaḥ, tasmai nataḥ*.¹³ *Sah Um-īśvarah Umāyāḥ īśvarah patih arthāt Śivaḥ abhavat*.¹⁴ Read *=mṛitāḥ*.¹⁵ Metre: *Upajāti*.¹⁶ *Śāśana*, with reference to land-grants, means in local circles 'absolute charity.'¹⁷ Read *daṭṭāḥ*.¹⁸ *Kārāpaka* does not seem to be the proper name of any Vaiśya family as some scholars have thought (C. V. Vaidya, *His. Med. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 391). It is a wrong form from the root *kṛi* in a double causative sense which is found also in other inscriptions. It refers to him who caused the erection of the Pāravanātha temple.¹⁹ The word *Va[ṣa]ṣikāḥ* conveys the idea of the whole demon class according to the maxim '*prādhānyēna vyatpadēś bhavanti*,' for, Bali was the chief of that class.²⁰ If we take *vai* as a particle of affirmation, the name of this person would be Śrāvaga.²¹ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

- 13 जिनमंदिरं(रम्) । [तीर्त्वा] भ्रांत्वा यम(श)स्तत्वमेकत्र स्थिरतां गतां(तम्) ॥३२॥¹
 योऽचौकरचंद्रसु(ग)रि(चि)प्रभाणि व्याघ्रेरकादौ जिनमंदिराणि । कौर्त्तिद्रुमारा-
 मसमृद्धिहेतोर्विभांति कंदा इव यान्यमंदाः² ॥३३॥³ कल्लोलमांसलितकौर्त्तिसुहा-
 (धा)समुद्रः ।⁴ सद्(हु)दिवं(वं)धुग्वधूधु(ध)रणे ध(री(रे)गः⁵ ।] [मृ*][त]ी-
 पकारकरणप्रगुणांतरात्मा श्रीचक्षुलस्त्रतनयः [८ ८ —]⁶ पदेऽभूत् ॥३४॥⁷
 शुभंकरस्तस्य सुतोर्जनित शिष्टैर्महिष्ठैः परिकीर्त्तयकौर्त्तिः ॥(१) श्रीजामदोसूत⁸
 तदंगजन्मा यदंगजन्मा खलु पुण्यरासि(शि)॥⁹ ॥३५॥¹⁰ मंदिरं वहे-
- 14 मानस्य श्रीनाराणकसंस्थितं(तम्) । भाति यत्कारितं स्त्रीयपुण्यस्कंधमिवोज्ज्व(ज्ज)लं-
 (लम्) ॥३६॥¹¹ चत्वारश्चतुराचाराः पुत्राः पात्रं शुभश्रियः । अमुष्यामुष्यधर्माणो
 र्ज्व(व)भुवुर्भार्ज्ज(व्य)योर्धयोः ॥३७॥¹² एकस्यां हावजायितां श्रीमदाम्बटपद्मटी ।
 अपरस्यां [सु][तौ जातो*] [श्रीमन्न]स्मटदेसलौ ॥३८॥¹³ पाकाणां¹⁴ नरवरं¹⁵ वीर-
 वेष्मकारणपाटवं(वम्) । प्रकटितं¹⁶ स्त्रीयवित्तेन घा(धा)नु(तु)नेव महौतलं(लम्)
 ॥३९॥¹⁷ पुत्रौ पवित्रौ गुणरत्नपात्रौ विशुद्धगात्रौ समसी(श्री)लसत्त्वौ(त्वौ) [१*]
 व(व)भूवतुल्यस्मटकस्य जैत्रौ मुनींदुर्गमंदमिहौ(धौ) प्रस(श)स्तौ(स्तौ) ॥४०॥¹⁸
- 15 ¹⁹षट्(ट्खं)डागमववसौहृदभराः¹⁶ षड्जौवरचेखराः¹⁷ षट्मे(ड्मे)र्देद्विष्टवस्य(श्व)तापरिकराः¹⁸
 षड्मूर्त्त(वल्)तादराः¹⁹ [१*] षट्षं(ट्खं)डावनिर्कौर्त्तिपालनपराः²⁰ ष(पा)ट्गु(ङ्ग)-

¹ Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

² The simile here is rhetorically a bit faulty inasmuch as the subject of comparison is in the neuter gender, while the standard of comparison is in the masculine.

³ Metre: *Upajit*.

⁴ This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

⁵ *Dhar-śekh* should be expounded as *Dharaśekh-śekh śekh-śekh* meaning 'lord Vishṇu in his *Karma* incarnation when he upheld the earth.'

⁶ Syllables within these brackets are wanting in the text. They have neither been engraved, nor due space has been left for them.

⁷ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁸ The transitive verb *śā* 'to beget or produce' is here used intransitively.

⁹ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

¹⁰ Metre: *Upajit*.

¹¹ Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

¹² Read *Prakīrṇam* as adverbial to the verb in the third quarter and also as predicate to the subject of the fourth quarter. [Reading of these three syllables is uncertain.—Ed.]

¹³ Better read *Nrivarā* to suit the metre.

¹⁴ Better change this verb to *prathitam* for the sake of the metre.

¹⁵ The religious and the philosophical principles finding mention in this as well as in verse 48, decidedly belong to the Digambara Jaina school of thought.

¹⁶ *षट्षंडागम* appears to refer to the *āgamas* or religious literature pertaining to the six divisions of the cosmos, called *dravyas* which are जीव, धर्म, अधर्म, आकाश, काल and पुद्गल.

¹⁷ *षट्षौर्व* are पूषी, अप, तेजस्, वायु, वनस्पति and त्वस् of which the former five are regarded as स्वार being possessed of one इन्द्रिय only, while the last is the name given to जीवस् possessed of more than one इन्द्रिय.

¹⁸ There are only five इन्द्रिय, viz., 'सुखंनरसनप्राणचक्षुर्दोषाणि' (*Umāsvāmī's Tattvārthasūtra*, Ch. II, śā. 19); but मनस् which is regarded as an संप्रदिन्द्रिय seems to have also been included here.

¹⁹ *षट्षमूर्त्त* of a शिवक are enumerated in the following couplet of the *Umāsvāmīśrīrāvakūchāra* :—

देवपूजा गुरुपाणिः स्वाभावः संवसत्तपः ।

दानं वेति गृहस्थानां षट्षमूर्त्ति दिने दिने ॥

²⁰ According to the Digambara Jaina doctrine, there are six खंड, of the earth of which one is the पार्वत्यंड between the Ganges and the Indus, and the rest are वैज्यखंड outside this region.

स्थचिंताकराः¹ घट्ट(डट्ट)ध्वं(वु)जभास्करा[ः*]² समभवः³ घट्टदे(डट्टे)श्लस्यंगजाः
॥४१॥⁴ श्रेष्टी(ष्टी) दुष्कनायकः प्रथमकः श्रीमोसलो वीगडिहैवस्य इतोपि
सीयकवरः श्रीराहको नामतः । एते तु क्रमतो जिनक्रमयुगांभोजैकभृंगोपमा
मान्या राजशतैर्वदान्यमतयोः⁵ राजन्ति जं(वु)सवाः⁶ ॥४२॥⁷ हस्यं श्रीवहमान-
स्वाजयमेरोर्विभूषणं(णम्) [1*] कारितं यैर्महाभागैर्वि-

16 मानमिव नाकिनां(नाम्) ॥४३॥⁸ तेषामंतः त्रियः पात्रं [सीय]कः श्रेष्टि(ष्टि)भूषणं-
(णम्) । मंडलकरमहादुर्गं भूषयामास भूतिना⁹ ॥४४॥¹⁰ यो न्यायां(वु)रसेचनैक-
जलदः कीर्त्ति(र्त्ते)र्विधानं परं ।¹¹ सौजन्धां(वु)जिनोविकासनरविः पापादि-
भेदे पविः [1*] कारुष्यामृतवारिधेर्विलसने राकाश[सं(शां)]को[प]मी नित्यं
साधुजनोपकारकरणव्यापारव(व)दादरः ॥४५॥¹² येनाकारि जितारिनेमिभवनं देव-
द्विशृंगोदरं चंचत्काचनचारुदंडकलसश्रेणिप्रभाभास्वरं(रम्) । खिलखेचरसंदरौचमभरं
भजहुजोहौजनैहेत्तेष्टापदशैलसं(श्रुं)गजिनश्रुओहामसद्मत्रियं(यम्) ॥४६॥¹³ श्रीसीयकस्य
भार्ये हे

17 सौ¹⁴ नागश्रीमामटाभिवे(वे) । आद्यायास्तु स्त्र(च)यः पुत्रा द्वितीयायाः सुतद्वयं(यम्)
॥४७॥¹⁵ पंचाचारपरायणात्ममतयः¹⁶ ।¹⁷ पंचांगमंचोज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)लाः¹⁸ ।¹⁹ पंचज्ञानविचारणा-
सुचतुराः²⁰ ।²¹ पंचेन्द्रियार्थोज्ञयाः²² । श्रीमत्पंचगुरुप्रणाममनसः²³ पंचाणुशुद्धव्रताः²⁴ पंचेते

¹ I do not know the exact conception of घट्टध्व. It is, perhaps identical with the sixfold political expedi-
ents, viz., संधि, विग्रह, दान, शासन, वैधीभाव and शायय.

² घट्टडट्ट here seems to have been used for घट्टदंशन, viz., लोकावर्तिक, सौमल, सांख्य, वीर्य, प्रामाण्य and जमिनीय.

³ Read samabhava.

⁴ Metro: Śāntālavikrīḍita.

⁵ Krama here means 'foot'.

⁶ Read -matayā.

⁷ Meaning 'joy of Jambū-dvīpa'.

⁸ Metro: Anuśubh.

⁹ The correct form of this word in the sense of 'splendour' should be bhātyā.

¹⁰ This danda is superfluous.

¹¹ This syllable seems to be superfluous.

¹² The five आचार are दर्शनआचार, ज्ञानआचार, वीर्याआचार, चारित्र्यआचार and तपआचार as given in the following
śāstra :-

दंशकआचारपहाले वीर्यव्यारितवरतवायारे ।

अथ परं च जुज्जइ सी आचारिणी मुनी ओषी ॥

(Nēmicandra's *Dravya-saṃgraha*, ch. III, p. 52).

¹³ पंचांगमंच appears to refer to mantras classified under five heads, viz., आधान, स्थापन, संनिधिकरण, पूजन
and विसर्जन, for the worship of the god.

¹⁴ पंचज्ञान are embodied in the śāstra 'मलियुतावचिननःपर्ययकेवलानि ज्ञानम् ।' (Umāsvāmī's *Tattvārthasūtra*,
ch. I, sū. 9).

¹⁵ The five इन्द्रिया are embodied in the śāstra 'अक्षरसंगवर्गशब्दाक्षरद्वयं ।' (Umāsvāmī's *Tattvārthasūtra*,
ch. II, sū. 20).

¹⁶ The five गुरु are चरितं, सिद्ध, आचार्य, उपाध्याय and सर्वसाधु as embodied in the well-known sacred
Jaina mantra,

शमी चरितार्थं शमी सिद्धार्थं शमी आचार्यार्थं ।

शमी उपाध्यायार्थं शमी शीघ्र सर्वसाधुर्थं ॥

¹⁷ These five व्रत are embodied in the following śāstra :-

'हिंसाऽनृतश्लेषाऽप्राणपरिवर्जनी चरितव्रतम् ।'

(Umāsvāmī's *Tattvārthasūtra*, ch. VII, sū. 1).

तनया गृह[तेवि]नयाः श्रीसीयकयेठिनः ॥४८॥¹ आद्य[*] श्रीनागदेवोऽभूजो-
लाकयोज्ज(ज्व)लस्तथा । महीधरो देवधरो द्वावेतावन्यमादृजौ ॥४९॥² उज्ज-
(ज्व)लस्यांगजानो श्रीम[ह]र्षभलक्ष्मणौ । अभूतां भुवनोद्भासयसो(शो)दुर्लभ-
लक्ष्मणौ ॥५०॥³ गांभोर्य जलधेः स्थिरत्वमचलात्तेज-

- 18 स्त्रिता(तां) भास्वतः ।⁴ सौम्यं चंद्रमसः सु(श)चित्त्वममरयो(सो)तस्त्रिनीतः परं(२म्)
[1*] एकैकं परिगृह्य विस्व(स्व)विदि[तो] यो वेधसा सादरं मन्ये वी(वी)ज-
कृते कृतः⁵ सुकृतिना सः⁶ लोक्ककयेष्टि(ठि)नः ॥५१॥⁷ अथागमन्[दिरमे]ष
कोर्त्तेः श्रीवि[ध्व]र्त्ती धनधान्यव(व)र्त्ती(र्त्तीम्) । तचालु[लोचे] ह्यभि[*][तल्प-
सुप्तः] कंचिकरसं(शं) पुरतः स्थितं सः ॥५२॥⁸ उवाच कस्व किमिहाभ्युपेतः
कुतः स तं प्राह फणीस्व(स्व)रोहं(हम्) । पातालमूलात्तव देशनाय [श्री*]-
पार्श्वनाथः स्वयमेष्टीह ॥५३॥⁹ प्रातस्तेन समुत्थाय न कं(किं)चन विवेचितं-
(तम्) । स्वप्नस्यांतर्मनोभावा यतो वातादिदूषिताः ॥५४॥¹⁰ लोला-

- 19 क[स्थ] प्रियास्तियो(सो) व(व)भूवुर्मनसः प्रियाः ॥(1) ललिता कमलश्रीश्च लक्ष्मी-
र्क्ष्मीसनाभयः ॥५५॥¹¹ ततः स भक्तां ललितां व(व)भाषे गत्वा प्रियां तस्य
निसि(शि) प्रसुप्तां(ताम्) [1*] शृणुव भद्रे धरणीहमेहि श्री[पार्श्वनाथ*] [खलु
दर्शयामि ॥५६॥¹² तथा स चोक्तो [म] — — — — — य-
[त्व(त्वं) व(न) हि] सत्यमेतत्¹³ । श्रीपार्श्वनाथस्य समुद्धृतिं स प्रासादमर्षां
च करिष्यतीह ॥५७॥¹⁴ गत्वा पुनर्लोकमेवमूचे भो भक्तशक्तानुगतातिरक्त ।¹⁵
देवे धने धर्मविधौ जिनेष्टौ श्रीरेवतीतौरमिहाप पार्श्वः ॥५८॥¹⁶ समुदरेन
कुर(रु) धर्मकार्यं त्वं कारय श्रीजिनचै-

- 20 त्यगेहं । येनास्मसि श्रीकुलकीर्त्तिपुत्रपौत्रोरुमंतानसुखादिर्वाहं(हम्) ॥५९॥¹⁷ त[दे]-
[तद्गो*]माख्यं व(व)नमिह निवासी जिनपतेस्त एते यावाणाः(णः) शठकमठ¹⁸मुक्ता
गगनतः । सधा(दा)रा[मः] [शश्वत्*]दुपचयतः कुंडभरित(तो)स्तदचैतत् स्वानं
— — — [नि]गमं प्राप परमं(मम्) ॥६०॥¹⁹ अत्रास्तुतममुत्तमादि(द्रि)सिध(शिख)रं

¹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

² Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

³ This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

⁴ Something like *samgrahaḥ* has to be understood here as object to *kṛtāḥ*. [The correct reading is *Lṣṭakāḥ* *irīṣṭī(śhī)naḥ* in which case *Lṣṭakāḥ* is the object of *kṛtāḥ*.—Ed.]

⁵ *Vīcarpa* is here ungrammatical. It seems to have been retained for the sake of the metre. Better read *sukṛtiṇ-āsan*.

⁶ Metre : Upajāti.

⁷ *Saṅgama* here seems to have been used in the sense of *uchitaṁ*, 'right or proper'.

⁸ The *virāma* sign here resembles that of medial ā.

⁹ This mark of punctuation is joined to the top line of the previous syllable.

¹⁰ Metre : Indravajrā.

¹¹ Kamathā, also called Kamathā-purusha, is a mythological figure in Jain religion who had disturbed the penance of Pārśvanātha by hurling down blocks of stone from the sky.

¹² Metre : Śikharīṣṭ.

साङ्गु(धि)ष्ठमंचोच्छ्रितं ।^१ तौर्यं श्रौवरलाङ्काच परमं देवोतिमुक्ताभिधः । सत्य-
श्चाच घटेस्व(श्व)रः सुरगतो देवः कुमारस्व(श्व)रः सौभाग्यस्व(श्व)रदक्षिणस्व(श्व)-
रसुरो — मार्कण्डरिच्छेस्व(श्व)रो ॥६१॥^२ सतीवरेस्व(श्व)रो देवो ब्रह्ममहोस्व(श्व)रा-
वपि । कुटि-

- 21 लेखः कर्करणो यचास्ति कपिलेश्वरः ॥६२॥^१ महानालमहाका[लभ]रथेश्वरः रम-
न्नकाः । श्रीचिपुष्करतां प्राप्ताः संति चिभुवनार्चिताः ॥६३॥^२ क(कौ)र्त्तिना
थं(थ)च(थ) [किं]दारः*] मिस्वामिनः [१*] संगमौसः(मिश्रः)
पुटोस(श)थ मुखेश्वर[वटे]स्व(स्व)राः । ॥६४॥^३ नित्यप्रमोदितो देवो सिद्धे-
स्व(स्व)रगया^४(ये)वु(स्व)राः [१*] गंगामेद[थ*] सोमौ(मिश्रः)^५ गङ्गा[नाथचि]पुरांतकाः
॥६४(६५)॥^३ संज्ञाचो^७ कोटिलिंगानां यचास्ति कुटिला ना(न)दो । स्वर्णजा-
लेश्वर(स्व)रो देवः समं कपिलधारयाः^८ ॥६५(६६)॥^३ नात्यसृत्युर्च वा रोगा न
दुर्भिक्षमवर्षणं(णम्) । यत्र देवप्रभावेन^{१०} कलि-

- 22 पंकप्रधर्षणं(णम्) ॥६६(६७)॥^१ घस्मासे जायते यच्च शिवलिंगं स्वयंभुवं(वम्) ।
तच्च कोटीस्व(श्च)रे तीर्थे का द्यावा क्रियते मया ॥६७(६८)॥^२ इत्येवं ज
७ — ७ — ७ ७ ७ — — — ७ — — ७ — , — — — ७ ७ —
७ — ७ ७ ७ — : कृत्वावतारक्रियां(याम्) । कर्त्ता पार्श्वजिनेस्व(श्च)रोच
कृपया सोद्याद्य वासः पतेः^{११} शक्तेर्व्यं(व्यं)क्रियकः[*] त्रियस्त्रिभुवनप्राणिप्रबोधं
प्रभुः ॥६८(६९)॥^३ इत्याकण्ठ्यं वचो विभाव्य मनसा तस्योरगस्वामिनः स प्रातः
प्रतिबु(बु)ध्य पार्श्वं(श्च)मभितः क्षोणीं विदार्य घणात् । तावत्तच्च विभुं ददर्श
सहसा निःप्राकृताकारिणं^{१२} कुंडाभ्यर्णत एव धाम दधत्तं स्वार्थभुवं श्रीचि-
तं(तम्) ॥६९(७०)॥^४

¹ This phrase is superfluous.

* Metre : Sarsdalaribridita.

Figure 1: A simple graph.

* First gd was engraved which was afterwards made yd.

¹ Either omit *śāraṅga* and read *Soma(mē)śa-Gaṅgānātha*, or read *Soma(mē)śa*.

* Omit *Tri* for the sake of the metre.

* This verbal noun is here used for its causative form *sahandpaydīr*.

* Head "shaved".

* The syllable *du* has a superfluous medial *f* stroke.

10 Head - *gracilior*.

21 French part.

¹² Band nicht präpariert-klaripant.

- 29 [ढ]तौयायां तिथौ वारे गुरू(रौ) स्ता(ता)रे च हस्तके । छतिनामनि योगे च करणे तैतिले तथा ॥८[२](८३)॥^१ [सं]वत् १२२६ फाल्गुन वदि ३ [१*] कांवारिवणाग्रामयोरंतराले गुहिलपुं(पु)चरा^२दाधरमह^३घणसी(सिं)हाभ्यां दत्त(त्ता) चेचडोहली १ [१*] खदुंवगाग्रामवास्तव्यगौडसोनिगवासुदेवाभ्यां दत्त(त्ता) डोहलिका १ [१*] आंतरीप्रतिगणके रायताग्रामौयमहं(ह)तमलीवडिपोपलिभ्यां दत्त(त्ता) चेचडोहलिका १ [१*] वडीवाग्रामवास्तव्यपारिग्रही^४ आल्हणेन दत्त(त्ता) चेचडोहलिका १ [१*] लघुवीभोलीग्रामसं^५गुहिलपुचरा^६व्याहकूमहं(ह)तममाहवा-
- 30 [भ्यां द]त्त(त्ता) चे[च]डोहलिका १ [१*] व(व)हुभिर्वसुवा(धा) भुक्ता राजभिर्भरताद-
य(दिभिः) । यस्य यस्य [य]दा भूमी तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥^७ ॥छ॥

No. 10.—A NOTE ON THE BATTLE OF VALLALA : A.D. 911-2.

BY THE LATE MR. A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.*

A record¹ dated in the 6th year of a Chōla king Parakēsarivarman at Puḷḷamaṅgai in the Tanjore District reads as follows :—

Svasti Śrī [१*] Kō-pParakēsariparma[r*]kku yāṇḍu āṛāvaḍu Kilār-kūṛṛattu brahmadēyam Puḷḷamaṅgalattu Tiruvālandurāi-Mahādēva[r*]kku Śembiyaṇ-Mahābali-Vāṇarāyaṛ āṛukālai-sandikku īru-nāḷi arisiyālum arai-ppiḍi neyy-amirdālum niśadamum tiruvamiḍu sēvadaṛku vilaiḷkku viṛṇu-kkuḍutta nilam,.....

and it registers a gift of land by Śembiyaṇ-Mahābali-Vāṇarāya to the temple of Tiruvālandurāi-Mahādēva at Puḷḷamaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Kilār-kūṛṛam, in the 6th year of king Parakēsarivarman. The record can palaeographically be attributed to the 10th century A. D., and it must therefore belong either to Parāntaka I (A. D. 907-53) or to Uttama-Chōla (A. D. 970-986), the only two Parakēsarins who ruled for at least 6 years in this period.

Now from the Sholinghur record² dated in the 9th year of the Chōla king, specified only by the title of Parakēsarivarman and identified with Parāntaka I, it is learnt that the Gaṅga chieftain Pṛithivipati II was given the title of 'Bāṇādhirāja', while the Udayēndiram Plates³ of the 15th year of Maḍiraikoṇḍa Parakēsarivarman (Parāntaka I) state that this chieftain was

¹ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

² *Rā* probably stands for Rānta or Rāval.

³ *Mahān* stands for महान्, modern Mēhā.

⁴ The letter *kāḷi* is misshaped.

⁵ *Pāriṅrahi* seems to be an official title of a revenue collector.

⁶ *Saṁ* probably stands for *sahagata* or *sambaddha* 'associated or connected with'.

⁷ There are three indistinct signs after this pair of *daṇḍas*.

⁸ [I have to record here with deep regret that Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar breathed his last without seeing this article finally printed. By his death we have lost a sound scholar of South-Indian History.—Ed.]

⁹ No. 559 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1921.

¹⁰ *Asiatic*, Vol. IV, pp. 221-25. It may be noted that the king in this record is also specified by the title of Kō-pParakēsarivarman only, without the epithet of 'Maḍiraikoṇḍa'.

¹¹ *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, No. 76.

called 'Šembiyaṅ-Mahābali-Vāṇarāya'. As the latter title occurs also in this record of the 6th year of a Parakēsarivarman, it is reasonable to assume that this king is identical with Parāntaka I¹, though the title of 'Madiraikoṇḍa' which he had assumed from the 3rd year onwards is lacking.² The record cannot be attributed to the other Parakēsarīn, Uttama-Chōḷa, for the reason that Piritipatiyār (Prithivīpati II), son of Māramaraiyar (Mārasimha), who figures in an epigraph³ of the 24th year of Rājakēsarivarman (Āditya I), corresponding to A. D. 895, cannot possibly have been living so late as the 6th year of Uttama-Chōḷa, corresponding to A. D. 975. It may therefore be inferred that the title of 'Šembiyaṅ-Mahābali-Vāṇarāya' together with the chiefship over the Bāṇa territory, had been conferred on Prithivīpati II, before the 6th year of the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I, corresponding to A. D. 912-13.

Parāntaka I had assumed the title of 'Madiraikoṇḍa', i.e., 'he who took Madura' from the 3rd year⁴ of his reign, and so his first southern expedition against the Pāṇḍya king of Madura must have taken place in about A. D. 909-10.⁵ As Prithivīpati had been granted the title of 'Bāṇādhirāja' before A. D. 912-13, as noted above, the northern campaign in which this Gaṅga feudatory had helped his suzerain against a Bāṇa chieftain, success in which had evidently earned for him both the Bāṇa title and the Bāṇa territory, must have occurred between A. D. 910 and 912-13, i.e., in about A. D. 911-12. As the Sholinghur record particularly mentions that Prithivīpati had won distinction in a battle called Vallāḷa and thus vindicated 'his fitness for the possession of a particle of the sun',⁶ presumably his position as a feudatory of the Chōḷa king of the Solar race, it is possible that this battle was fought in this Bāṇa campaign only, in about A. D. 911-12.

The Udayēndiram Plates state that before his 15th year Parāntaka had defeated two Bāṇa chieftains and a Vaidumba chief⁷. It is not definitely stated who they were, and whether the two Bāṇas had been worsted in a single campaign or in two separate engagements. Three inscriptions of Māvali Bāṇarāja which are attributable to Vijayāditya-Prabhumēru are dated in Śaka 820, 827 and 832 (A. D. 898 to 910), without mentioning the names of any overlords⁸. It is evident from this that the Bāṇa chiefs who had been feudatories of the Pallava rulers of Kāñchī had declared their semi-independence, after the extinction of that dynasty by the Chōḷa king Āditya I⁹. In the absence of other similarly dated records of Bāṇa chiefs soon after A. D. 909-10, in this region, it may be inferred that they had met with reverses at the hands of the Chōḷa conqueror Parāntaka, who allying himself with the Gaṅga chieftain Prithivīpati II on his north-western frontier had probably defeated them in the battle of Vallāḷa in A. D. 911-12.

¹ It may be noticed that a record of Parāntaka, 11th year, engraved in the same temple (No. 558 of 1921) closely resembles the present inscription in point of palaeography.

² Several inscriptions attributable to Parāntaka I simply call him a Parakēsarivarman without the distinguishing titles—e.g., No. 376 of 1917, 443 of 1907, etc. So the absence of the title is no bar against the identification of the Parakēsarivarman of No. 559 of 1921 above with Parāntaka I.

³ *Aste*, Vol. XIX, p. 88.

⁴ No. 167 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1928, etc.

⁵ The date of accession of Parāntaka I fell between January and July, A. D. 907.

⁶ *Aste*, Vol. IV, p. 224, V-8. The Chōḷas belonged to the solar race, and as Prithivīpati also assumed the title of Vira-Chōḷa, the poet seems to suggest that he 'acquired a spark of the Sun' (*ibid.*, p. 225, l. n. 5).

⁷ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, No. 76.

⁸ *Aste*, Vol. XI, pp. 229-240 and No. 168 of 1921.

⁹ There is a record of a Bāṇarāja dated in Śaka 810, which may belong to Vijayāditya or his father Vikramāditya Bāṇavidyādharma (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 44). This date which is equivalent to A. D. 888 gives an indication as to when the Pallava power was destroyed and Āditya I overran Tondai-maṇḍalam.

The two Bāṇa opponents may have been Vijayāditya-Prabhukēru, whose dated records come up to A. D. 909-10 and who probably lost his life in this battle, and his son Vikramāditya who figures as the heir-apparent in the Guḍimallam Plates¹.

One other point of historical interest may be considered in this connection. The Kanyākumari inscription² of the 7th year of the Chōḷa king Virarājendradēva (A. D. 1069) states that Parāntaka had earned the title of 'Vira-Chōḷa' by his victory over the unconquered Kṛishṇarāja and narrates this event after his conquest of Madura. In verse 9 of the Sholinghur record³ noted above, which contains the *captatio benevolentiae*, Parāntaka is mentioned with this title of 'Vira-Chōḷa' and from the Tamil verse at the end of that inscription it is evident that his Gaṅga feudatory Pṛithivipati had also assumed the same title of his overlord. So if the Kanyākumari record's statement can be relied on, Parāntaka who had assumed the title of 'Vira-Chōḷa' before A. D. 916, must also have defeated a Kṛishṇarāja before that date.

Who was the powerful Kṛishṇarāja who lived in this period? The only king whom Parāntaka could have met in battle on his north-western frontier at this time was the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II who reigned from about A. D. 879 to 912; and the political situation in this period was such as to render plausible the Chōḷa and the Rāshtrakūṭa kings ranging themselves on opposite sides⁴. We may therefore have to suppose that Kṛishṇa II⁵ had come to the help of the Bāṇas, as against the Chōḷa Parāntaka I and the Gaṅga Pṛithivipati II, and had probably suffered defeat in the battle of Vallāja noted above. If specific references to this event are absent in records of Kṛishṇa II, it is only to be expected; for the king would not have mentioned his own reverses in his inscriptions, and further A. D. 912 fell almost in the end of his reign. It is, however, inexplicable why the other Chōḷa documents, such as the Anbil, Leiden and Tiruvālangādu copper-plate records are silent in regard to this achievement of Parāntaka I, while it is only the later Kanyākumari inscription that has made particular mention of it. This point has to be elucidated only by future discoveries.

Vallāja, the scene of the fight, may perhaps be identified with Tiruvallam in the Gudiyāttam taluk of the North Arcot District, which was an important place in the old Bāṇa territory, and which an invading army was likely to attack first. It was called Tikkāli-Vallam in the early times, and it is possible that the name of 'Valla' was transformed into 'Vallāja' by the encomiast of the Sholinghur record, to suit the metrical exigencies of the Sanskrit verse in which he has introduced this village-name.

¹ *Ante*, Vol. XVII, p. 3.

² *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. III, p. 143, v. 58.

³ *Ante*, Vol. IV, p. 224. The same verse occurs also in the Udayēndiram Plates (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 385) with the word *Ekavira* substituted for *Vira-Chōḷa*. Dr. Hultsch has wrongly identified the Vira-Chōḷa of this verse with Pṛithivipati, whereas it refers to the Chōḷa king Parāntaka only.

⁴ In this connection, the possibility of attributing a few records from the Punganur taluk of the Chittoor District to Kṛishṇa II, requires further investigation. (*Epig. Rept.* for 1933-34, Part II, para. 8.) The *Uttarapurāṇa*'s reference to Kṛishṇa's elephants having gone as far as Kumari may, however, be only conventional praise. (Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 97, f. n. 27.)

⁵ It is possible that Āditya I had married the daughter of the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II and had a son called Kannaradēva by her; and when Parāntaka succeeded to the Chōḷa throne, Kṛishṇa II may have felt some grudge against the Chōḷa king, resulting in his own joining the Bāṇa side.

No. 11.—TUMAIN INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA AND GHATOTKACHAGUPTA;
G. E. 116.

By M. B. GARDE, B.A., DIRECTOR OF ARCHEOLOGY, GWALIOR STATE.

This inscription was discovered by me in February 1919, in the course of an exploration tour, at Tumain, a large village in the Guna District of Gwalior State. It was mentioned in my *Annual Administration Report for Vikrama Sathvat 1975* (A. D. 1918-19) and a short note was published in the *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XLIX (1920), pp. 114-15. It is now edited with full text, translation and facsimile.

The stone on which it is inscribed was found stuck up in a wall of a small dilapidated mosque at Tumain. It is now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Gwalior. Unfortunately the left (proper right) part (probably more than one half) of the stone is broken off and missing, and consequently the first half of all the lines, lost. The inscribed surface of the stone measures about 24" broad by 7" high. The surviving part of the inscription contains only six lines of writing, but the missing part had a portion of one more line. The epigraph is written in Gupta characters of the Southern variety, the average size of letters being $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The recovered portion of the record is well preserved and the text can be read with certainty with the exception of a few letters. The language is Sanskrit, which is generally correct. It is noteworthy that the present tense is used in the sense of the historic past in two places: *vandyatē* and *jayatī* in line 1. There are a few mistakes of copying or engraving, e.g., *kamalam* *vandyatē* for *kamalam=achchham*, *vandyētē* for *vandyatē*, and *saṅghatī* for *saṅghatī* in line 1, *prithivyām* for *prūhivyām* and *virājāmānē* for *virājamānē* in line 4, *Saṅghadēva* for *Saṅghodēva* in line 5, and *śrīṅga* for *śrīṅga* in line 6.

The sign of punctuation at the end of the quarters and halves of verses, or at the end of complete verses, is expressed either by a single horizontal stroke as in lines 1 and 4, or by two upright strokes as in lines 3, 4 and 6. But where the verses or their halves end in a final *m* or in a *visarga*, the sign of punctuation is not expressed at all. The final *m* at the end of verses, their halves or quarters is never combined with the following consonant but is expressed, as is usual at this period, by reducing the size of the letter and placing a horizontal stroke over it (e.g. lines 1, 2 and 4).

As regards orthography, it is enough to note that a consonant is often doubled after *r*, e.g. *kīrttir-bhuj-ārjjitām* in line 3; *t* is doubled before *r* in *lōka-tray-ātē* in line 1; the sign of *jihvāmūliya* occurs in *tatak-kaniyān* in line 5.

As remarked above, this is a fragmentary inscription, having lost the first part of each line. The recovered text is wholly in verse. Line 1 gives us a portion of a verse in *Mālinī* metre and the first line of the following verse, a *Sragdharā*. Line 2 contains a complete *Upajāti*. Line 3 consists of the latter half of a *Vasantatilakā* followed by the first half of an *Upēndravajrā*. Line 4 has preserved an almost complete verse and the first quarter of another, both in *Upajāti* metre. In line 5 we have the last quarter of an *Indravajrā* or perhaps *Upajāti* verse followed by a complete *Upēndravajrā*. Parts of two verses in *Upēndravajrā* metre have survived in line 6. The existing portion of the epigraph thus comprises 11 verses, 3 of which have been completely recovered while 8, partially. From the calculation of the missing letters of the verses, and of the average space covered by each letter it would appear that the whole composition consisted of nearly sixteen verses.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple of a god (whose name is lost) by five brothers residing at Tumbavana. The names of the brothers in the order of seniority were Haridēva, Śrīdēva, Dhanyadēva, Bhadradēva and Saṅghadēva. The date is

recorded in words as **one hundred and sixteenth year** of the kings (of the Gupta dynasty), which is equivalent to A.D. 435. No season, month or day is specified. In the genealogical portion, the first existing verse seems to allude to Samudragupta. The next verse eulogises his (son and) successor **Chandragupta** as one who conquered the earth extending as far as the oceans. In line 2 **Kumāragupta** is described as Chandragupta's son, who protected the whole earth as his lawful wife. Line 3 follows with the name of **Ghaṭōtkachagupta** who is compared to the moon and is praised as having attained the fame of his ancestors.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Kumāragupta** who is described as shining (*i.e.* ruling) over the earth as the sun in winter, in the year 116 of the (Gupta) kings. Thus Chandragupta and Kumāragupta of our inscription are the same as Chandragupta II and his son Kumāragupta I of the Imperial Gupta dynasty.

The main historical importance of the inscription lies in the information it contains about **Ghaṭōtkachagupta**. That he was a member of the Imperial Gupta family is shown by the manner in which he is referred to in this inscription.¹ His mention immediately after Kumāragupta who was occupying the imperial throne at the time of the inscription is perhaps to be explained by the hypothesis that Ghaṭōtkachagupta was then holding the office of the governor of the province of Airikīṇa (Eran) which included Tumbavana (Tumain), the provenance of the inscription. Unfortunately the word expressing the exact relationship between Kumāragupta (the ruling Emperor) and Ghaṭōtkachagupta (the provincial governor) is lost in the missing portion of the inscription. Ghaṭōtkachagupta was probably a son or possibly a younger brother of Kumāragupta I.

So far, the name of Ghaṭōtkachagupta was known from two documents: (1) a clay seal² found at Basārh bearing the inscription *Śrī Ghaṭōtkachaguptasya*, and (2) a coin³ in the St. Petersburg collection which according to Mr. Allan bears on the obverse traces of a marginal legend ending in *Guptaḥ* and beneath the king's arm *Ghaṭō* with a crescent above, and on the reverse a legend which seems to read *Kumādityaḥ*.

The late Dr. Bloch⁴ was inclined to identify Ghaṭōtkachagupta of the Basārh seal with *Mahārāja* Ghaṭōtkacha, the father and predecessor of Chandragupta I and this view was accepted by the late Dr. V. A. Smith.⁵ But Mr. Allan⁶ pointed out the difficulties in the way of this identification and surmised that Ghaṭōtkachagupta was probably a member of the Imperial Gupta family, who held some office at the court of the *Yuearāja* at Vaiśālī (Basārh) during the reign of Chandragupta II. The Ghaṭōtkachagupta of the coin in the St. Petersburg collection is believed by Mr. Allan to be still another Ghaṭōtkachagupta on the ground that the style and weight of the coin place it about the end of the 5th century, and he says that it therefore cannot be referred either to Ghaṭōtkacha, the father of Chandragupta I, or to Ghaṭōtkachagupta of the Basārh⁷ seal. Mr. Allan's view is corroborated by our inscription. There is little doubt that the Ghaṭōtkachagupta of our inscription who, in G. E. 116, was probably the governor of Airikīṇa, during the reign of Kumāragupta I, is identical with the Ghaṭōtkachagupta of the Basārh seal.

Two place names occur in this inscription. These are **Vaṭōdaka** in line 4 and **Tumbavana** in line 6. Tumbavana which is mentioned in six of the votive inscriptions⁸ on

¹ See line 3 of the text.

² *A.R., A.S.I.*, for 1903-04, pp. 102 and 107.

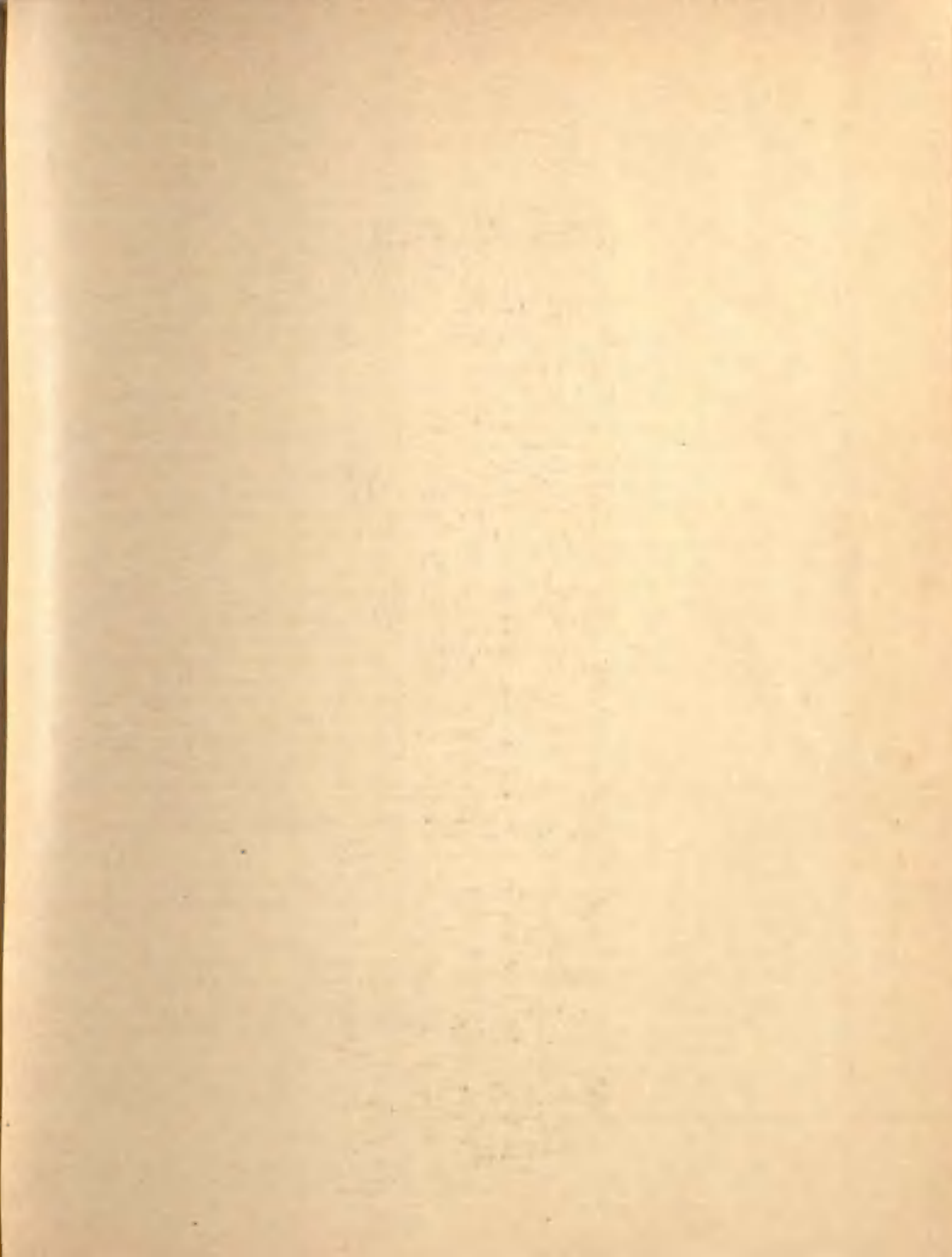
³ Allan's *Catalogue of the coins of the Gupta dynasties, etc.*, Introduction, p. liv, p. 149 and plate XXIV. 3.

⁴ *J. R. A. S.* for 1905, p. 153 and *Early History of India* (1914 ed., p. 280, Note 1).

⁵ Allan's *Catalogue*, Introduction, pp. xvi-xvii and liv.

⁶ Allan's *Catalogue*, Introduction, p. liv.

⁷ Nos. 10, 17a, 18, 20, 21, and 346 in *Monuments of Sāucī*, Vol. I, pp. 301, 302, and 335. Also above, Vol. X, Appendix, *Lādars' List*, Nos. 450, 201, 202, 449, and 520.



१. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ कुमारगुप्तः प्रहसितमनसः ॥
 २. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ कुमारगुप्तः प्रहसितमनसः ॥
 ३. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ कुमारगुप्तः प्रहसितमनसः ॥
 ४. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ कुमारगुप्तः प्रहसितमनसः ॥
 ५. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ कुमारगुप्तः प्रहसितमनसः ॥
 ६. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ कुमारगुप्तः प्रहसितमनसः ॥

the balustrade of the great *Stūpa* at Sānchi and also in *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (XIV, 15) of Varāhamihira, is no doubt to be identified with Tumain where our inscription was discovered. Tumain is an ancient site and some of its monumental and sculptural antiquities go back to the period to which our inscription belongs. It is six miles to the south of Tukneri Station on the Bina-Kotah branch line of the G. I. P. Railway, and about fifty miles to the north-west of Eran (ancient Airikīṇa).

Vaṭōdaka¹ is very probably modern Badoh which is a small village in the Bhilsa District of Gwalior State, about 10 miles to the south of Eran, and which is an old place having in its neighbourhood monumental relics of the late Gupta and a small rock inscription² of the early Gupta period.

TEXT.

- 1 [रि]थ्यस्य लोकक्षयान्ते । चरणकमलं(ल)मत्त्वं(च्छं) वन्द्यो(न्य)ते सिद्धसङ्घैः(ङ्घैः) [॥*]
राजा श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तदनुजयति यो मेदिनीं सागरान्ताम्
- 2 — श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य महेन्द्रकल्पः कुमारगुप्तस्तनयस्त्र[मग्राम्] [॥*] ररक्ष साञ्चौमिव
धर्मपत्नीम् वीर्यापहस्तैरुपगुञ्ज भूमिम् [॥*]
- 3 [—] गौरः चित्त्वम्बरे गुणसमूहमयस्वजालो नाम्नोदितस्त्र तु घटोत्कचगुप्तचन्द्रः
[॥*] स पूर्वजानां स्थिरसत्वकीर्त्तिर्भुजार्जितां कीर्त्तिमभिप्रपद्य ॥(१)
- 4 [गुप्तान्वया*]नां वसुधेश्वराणा[म] समाश्रिते षोडशवर्षयुक्ते । कुमारगुप्ते नृपतौ त्रि(ष्ट)-
धिव्याम् विराजा(ज)माने शरदौव सूर्य्ये ॥ वटोदके साधुजनाधिवासे
- 5 तन्मयीदेव इत्यर्जितनामधेयः [॥*] तदयजोभूदरिदेवसंज्ञस्ततोनुजो यस्तु स धन्य-
देवः [॥*] ततोवरो यस्य स भद्रदेवस्तत्कनीयानपि सङ्घ(ङ्घ)देवः[॥*]
- 6 — नसक्तचित्ताः समान[वृ]त्ताकृति[भावधैराः कृता]लया[स्तु]स्ववने व[भू]वुः ॥ अका-
रयंस्ते निरि[त्र](श्र)ङ्गुतुङ्गं शशि[प्रभं] देवनि[केतनं]—।

TRANSLATION.

L. 1. Whose lotus-like beautiful foot was adored by multitudes of Siddhas (sages) throughout the three worlds. After him king *Śrī Chandragupta* conquered the earth as far as the oceans.

L. 2. *Śrī Chandragupta's* son *Kumāragupta* who resembled the great Indra, embraced and protected the whole earth like a virtuous wife, with his mighty hands.

L. 3. The moon bearing the name *Ghaṭōtkachagupta*, fair and having a network of rays (in the form) of a multitude of virtues rose in the sky (in the form) of the earth. He whose goodness and fame were steady, having attained the glory won by his ancestors with (the prowess of their own) arms.

L. 4. In the year one hundred and sixteen of the lords of the earth (in the Gupta dynasty) when king *Kumāragupta* was shining (i.e. ruling) over the earth like the sun in the winter. At *Vaṭōdaka* which was the abode of good people,

¹ Compare Agodaka (Agrōdaka) on coins—Agroha; Prithūdaka—Paoha.

² This inscription is engraved on a tablet near a panel of sculptures representing the *Sapta Mātṛikā*, both carved in rock on a hill. It was dated but the portion giving the year and month, has peeled off, leaving behind only *śukla-dīvasi trayōdaśyam*. It mentions *Viśayānara Mahārāja Jayasāhna*. The record is badly damaged and is unpublished so far.

³ The portion within square brackets is conjecturally restored.

L. 5. (*there lived a person*) who bore the distinguished appellation Śrīdēva.¹ His elder brother was Haridēva by name. The brother born after him was Dhanyadēva. His younger brother was Bhadradēva and next (younger) to him was Saṅghadēva.

L. 6. Of minds attached to, of similar manners, of noble appearance and disposition, (*they had*) their home at Tumbavana (*where*) they built a (*temple*) of god (.....), shining like the moon and lofty like a mountain peak.

No. 12.—TWO YUPA INSCRIPTIONS FROM BARNALA: KRITA YEARS 284 AND 335.

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

The two *yūpa* inscriptions, that are being published here for the first time, were discovered by the late Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni at Barnāla in the Jaipur State with the assistance of Thakur Sheonath Singhji of Kānota. Barnāla is a small village, belonging to the Thakur Sahib of Barnāla, about eight miles from the Lalsote-Gangapur fair-weather road. The two stone *yūpas* or sacrificial pillars, on which these inscriptions have been inscribed, were discovered in a large tank, close to the village. Each of the *yūpas* had been broken into two pieces at a height of about 6 and 6½ feet respectively from the bottom. The Government Epigraphist for India kindly sent to me ink-impressions of these records with a request to edit them for the *Epigraphia Indica*; I am doing so accordingly.

The late Rai Bahadur Sahni has noticed these inscriptions in his report on *Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Sambhar* during Samvat years 1993 and 1994 (1936-37 and 1937-38 A. D.), pp. 3 ff. Therein he gives the following description of the *yūpas*: "The girdle or *pāśa* which is well executed round the two pillars at Mathura is absent in the Barnāla pillars as well as in those from Badvā. The projecting *chashāla* is square in one of the Barnāla *yūpas* and octagonal in the other. Like the Mathura pillars those under notice are square at the base but only up to a height of 3' 6" and 4' 5" respectively. The wreath is not represented. *Yūpa* No. 1 at Barnāla (Pl. XVII, a), which is 21' 2½" in height including the lower square portion is, as far as I am aware, the highest *yūpa* so far known to us." As to their present whereabouts, he says: "Both these *yūpa* pillars have been removed from Barnāla to the Hawa Mahal in the city of Jaipur, where portable antiquities unearthed during the excavations of last three seasons have been displayed for the benefit of the public."

In my paper on 'Three Maukhari Inscriptions on *Yūpas*, Kṛita Year 295', I have discussed in detail the general problems connected with the nature and significance of the *yūpas* or sacrificial pillars. I would refer the reader to that paper² for information on this point.

As on the *yūpas* at Badvā and Bijayyagadh, the inscriptions on both these *yūpas* have been engraved in long vertical lines to be read from top to bottom. The engraver has not followed the more convenient method of inscribing the record in short horizontal lines engraved one below the other, which is followed on the *yūpa* in the Allahabad Municipal Museum.³ The inscription on the pillar A is of one line only, while that on the pillar B is in two lines, inscribed on two adjacent facets of the octagonal shaft. The first line is 8' 5" and the second 9' long⁴. Both the inscriptions have been sadly mutilated; it is an irony of fate that the

¹ Śrīdēva seems to have been the most important or influential among the brothers, as his name is given precedence over that of his elder brother.

² *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 42 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 245 ff.

⁴ In the Report, above referred to, it has been stated that the first line is 9' and the second 8' 5". A glance at the plate will show that the first line is shorter than the second and not vice versa.

mutilations should have led to the disappearance of only the names of the sacrificers, who had taken so much trouble to enlighten the posterity about the sacrifices which they had performed.

As will be presently shown, the inscriptions belong to the 3rd century A. D. and their characters bear a general resemblance to those of other contemporary records from northern India, especially with those on the *yūpas* of Baḍvā and the Allahabad Municipal Museum. The characters on the *yūpa* A have been very neatly and carefully engraved, but those on the *yūpa* B have been inscribed in such a slipshod and careless manner that the task of deciphering them becomes very difficult. Subscripts of conjuncts and medial vowel signs are very often omitted or very badly executed; and in some cases it would appear that words have been wrongly spelt. We shall have to speak more about this point, when we discuss this inscription.

The language of the inscription A may be described as Sanskrit, with occasional influence of Prakrit, as when *sa-gōtrasya*¹ and *puṣya*² have been written for *sa-gōtrasya* and *puṣya* respectively. The inscription B may be described as being written in incorrect Prakrit, with occasional mixture of Sanskrit expressions like *buddhasya* in 1.1 and *dharmō varddhā[tām]* in 1.2.

The orthography of the records calls for no particular remarks.

Symbols for numerals for 200, 80 and 4 appear in the inscription A and for the numerals 300, 90, 30, and 5 appear in the inscription B. They are similar to those found in contemporary records in northern and western India. In the record B, the two small strokes that were necessary to be attached to the symbol for 100 in order to convert it into 300 have been joined together so as to form an angle with each other; usually the additional strokes are written horizontally one below the other.

INSCRIPTION ON THE YŪPA A.

The inscription opens with the auspicious word *siddham* and then proceeds to state its time. Its date is the 15th day of the bright half of the month of Chaitra of the Kṛita year 284. As is well known, the Kṛita era³ is the same as the Vikrama era, and so the date of the record would be 228 A. D. The earliest inscription in the Vikrama era so far discovered is that on the Nāndaśā *yūpa*, which is dated in the Kṛita year 282. Our inscription would then be the second earliest record of this era. It is 11 years earlier than the Baḍvā *yūpa* records, which are dated in the Kṛita year 295.

After stating its precise date, the record proceeds to inform us that on the date mentioned, seven *yūpas* were erected by a person whose *gōtra* was Sōhartṛi and whose name ended in *-varddhana*. The *gōtra* is spelt as Sōhartta, but it is obviously the same as Sōhartṛi, which occurs among the *gōtras* of the *Bhāradvājakaṇḍa*, having the option of three or five *pravaras*.⁴ It is very sad that the mutilation of the record should have occurred just on that part where the name and the parentage of the sacrificer were mentioned. His name ended in *varddhana*, as observed already. The two letters immediately preceding *varddhana* cannot be made out; but the two next preceding letters appear to have been *rājāś*, to judge from the traces they have left behind. It would therefore appear that the sacrificer was a king bearing a name of five letters, the last three of which were *varddhana*. We can also see the

¹[See below p. 120, n. 8.—Ed.]

²[See below p. 120, n. 11.—Ed.]

³See ante Vol. XXIII, pp. 48-52 for a discussion on the Kṛita era.

⁴वेङ्कटानिः सीहतां जारौ . . . इत्येते गतांसीवा पञ्चाप्येवम्याप्येवौ वा प्रवरो भवति। *Gōtropravaranibandhaśādamā* (Second edition), p. 56. [See below p. 120, n. 8.—Ed.]

traces of the letters *rājñō* after the word *sa-gōttasya*. Then follows space for two, or possibly three letters, which is now practically blank; but thereafter we can discern faint traces of the letters *pa* and *ita*. It would therefore appear that after giving the *gōtra* of the sacrificing king, the record had proceeded to give his parentage. His father was also a king and had a name of two or three letters. The restoration here suggested leaves no space for the letter *syā* coming after *putra*; probably that letter had been dropped. It is also possible that it may have been destroyed when the pillar was broken into two.

The concluding portion of the record reads, *yūpa-sattakō(ān) puṇṇava*¹. I do not know the extent of the damage to the *yūpa* subsequent to this portion; it however appears very probable that the record ended with the words *puṇṇava(rāhakō(ān) bhavatu)*, expressing the hope that the sacrificial performance may increase the merit of the performer. The reference to the group of seven *yūpas* may show that the king had performed seven sacrifices; they were very probably the seven *Sōma* sacrifices, technically known as *Sapta-Sōma-samsthā*. The sacrifices included in this group were *Agnishōma*, *Atyagnishōma*, *Ukthya*, *Shōḍaśin*, *Vājapēya*, *Atirātra* and *Āplōryāma*.² The Allahabad Municipal Museum *yūpa* commemorates the performance of these very sacrifices.

The inscription clearly refers to a group of seven *yūpas*. The *yūpa* of the record B does not belong to this group, as it commemorates a sacrifice performed 51 years later. It is therefore not unlikely that a diligent search in the locality may lead to the discovery of more sacrificial pillars.³

TEXT.⁴

Siddham⁵ [4 Kṛitēhi 200 80 4 Chaitra-śukla pakshasya pañ(ā)chadaśi [1*] Sōhartta⁶-sagōttasya⁷ [rājñō⁸]...p[u]tt[ra⁹]sya [rājñō⁸]..varddhanasya yūpa-sattakō¹⁰ puṇṇa¹¹-va[rddha-kam bhavatu *]

TRANSLATION.

Be it auspicious! The full-moon day of (the month of) Chaitra of the year 284 by the Kṛita (reckoning). May this group of seven sacrificial pillars of kingvarddhana, son of king... of Sōhartṛi *gōtra*, [increase] the merit (of the sacrificer)!

¹ [See below n. 10.—Ed.]

² *Kātyāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra*, X, 9, 27. ³ [But see below n. 10.—Ed.]

⁴ Edited from an ink-impression.

⁵ The stop *m* is indicated by a small letter *ma* written below the line.

⁶ The full-stop is indicated by the rather unusual device of two dots, written like a *visarga*.

⁷ Read *Sōhartṛi*. The medial *mātrā* for *ō* looks to some extent like the medial *i mātrā*; but since the *Gōtraprativartanibandhakadamba* gives Sōhartṛi as the name of the *gōtra*, we must read the first letter as *a* rather irregular *ō*.

⁸ [The reading appears to be correctly *Sōhartṛi-sagōttasya*. The curl representing the medial *ṛi* in the syllable *rtṛi* is partly discernible, and so is also the sign for the subscript *r* in the letter *tra*. Besides, otherwise the lengthening of the right-hand stroke of the second *t* in the syllables concerned is unaccountable.—B. C. C.]

⁹ There are faint traces of these letters.

¹⁰ Read *saptakam*. [The reading appears to be *yūpō sa(ttra)kō*, the sign of the medial *ō* in *pō* resembling that in *ō* of *Sōhartṛi*. The wrong *visarga* *sandhi* betrays the Prakrit influence. The reading of the second syllable is doubtful, inasmuch as it cannot be ascertained whether it is *tra* or correctly *trī* though it seems to be the former. In any case, the subscript *r* is pretty clear. We may correct the reading as *yūpāḥ sattrikāḥ*, meaning 'the pillar connected with a sacrifice'. The particular sacrifice is, however, not specified. According to this reading, thus, there is no mention of seven *yūpas*.—B. C. C.]

¹¹ Read *puṇṇa*. [I see traces of a subscript *ya* below the second *s*; thus the reading is *puṇṇya*, and according to my interpretation, we may restore this portion as *puṇṇyaḥ varddhanām* or *puṇṇyaḥ varddhatu* as is commonly found in similar inscriptions.—B. C. C.]

A

Left Half

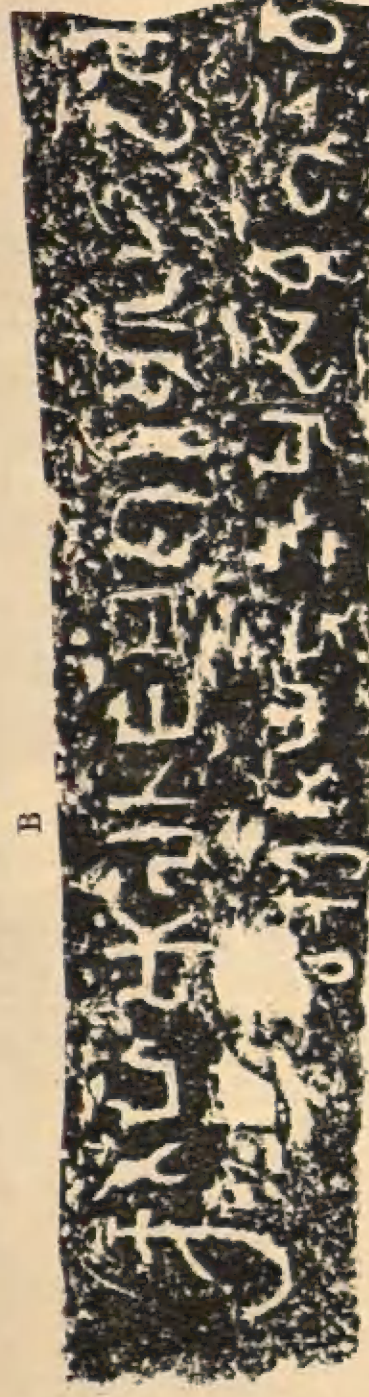


Right Half



B

Left Half



Right Half



Inscription on the Yūpa B.

This inscription does not begin with the auspicious word *siddham*, as does the inscription on the yūpa A; it straightway proceeds to give its date according to the Kṛita, i. e., Vikrama era. Its date is the fifteenth day, i. e., the full-moon day of the bright half of the month of Jyēṣṭha of the Kṛita year 335. The name of the month is spelt as *Jasha*; there can be, however, no doubt that the word is intended to stand for Jyēṣṭha. *Jasha* for *Jyēṣṭha* is but the first example of the carelessness of the engraver of this record. The date of the record is therefore 279 A. D.

It would be convenient to discuss the decipherment of the remaining portion of the record from its end; I therefore proceed to do so. The last four letters of the second line are very clear; they read *dharmṃ varddha*. It is clear that the last word is intended to be *varddhatām*; the record ends with the hope that religion may prosper. The word preceding *dharmṃ* is clearly *prīyatām*; the subscript *r* of *prī* is faintly visible and its medial *i* mātrā is slightly damaged. The next preceding word clearly reads *Vashṭa* and there is a dot after the last letter, which is clearly a remnant of a *visarga*. I think we have to correct this word into *Vishṇuḥ*. The subscript *ṭa* can also be taken as an ill-executed *ṇa*; the medial *i* mātrā was left out in the word *Jyēṣṭha* in l. 1, and a similar mistake seems to have been repeated here. The concluding expression *Vishṇuḥ prīyatām dharmṃ varddhatām* would remind us of the expressions *Prīyanti* [ā]m-*Agneyaḥ* and *punaḥ punaḥ prītiṃ-iyān-Mahēśvara īti*, which occur at the end of the inscriptions on the Isāpur and Allahabad Municipal Museum yūpas respectively. The royal sacrificer of the Allahabad Museum yūpa was a Śaiva advocate of the Vedic sacrificial religion; in the present case the sacrificer was a Vaishnava champion of the Vedic rites.

Immediately preceding the emended word *Vishṇu* there is a triangular symbol, which is almost identical with the symbol occurring at the end of the inscription on the yūpa of Balavardhana, found at Baḍvā¹. This form is therefore not a letter but a mere symbol, marking the end of the main announcement of the record.

Immediately before this concluding symbol, there is another, which clearly stands for 90. Out of the five letters preceding 90, the first is clearly *da*, the second looks like a damaged *kshi*, the third is a *ṇ* with a subscript, the fourth is a *dā* or *dā* and the fifth is a *ta*. When we recollect how the Baḍvā yūpa inscriptions end with the expression *Trirūtra-sānmitasya dakṣiṇyam(ṇā) gavāṃ sahasram*, it will be at once clear that these five letters are intended to stand for *dakṣiṇyam(ṇā) dāta(dattā)*. The reading of the third letter only is rather doubtful here; the subscript looks like that of a *r*; but the main letter is a *ṇ* or *n*, and so the context as well as the use in the Baḍvā records would show that it was intended to be *ṇya* for an original *ṇā*.

These five letters therefore refer to the *dakṣiṇā* given to the priests on the occasion of the sacrifice and the symbol for 90 describes its amount. What then were the ninety objects that were given at the end of the sacrifice?

The name and the description of the 90 things donated to the Brāhmaṇas is given in the preceding seven letters; for the four letters preceding this group of seven clearly read *yajña ishṭa* to be corrected into *yajñā ishṭāḥ*. The first of these seven letters is a *sā* or *sa*; the second one is *eva* or *eri*; the third is a conjunct of which the second letter is *ta* and the first very probably *r*; the fourth is clearly an initial *i*; the fifth is certainly a *va*; the sixth is a *vā*; and the seventh a *ga*. But *savasta īva vāgā* as the description of the ninety articles given in *dakṣiṇā* gives no

¹ See ante, Vol. XXIII, Plate facing p. 52.

meaning whatsoever. We shall have to emend the text rather drastically, remembering all the while that the engraver was a person who was capable of writing *Jasha* for *Jyēshtha* and *Vasha* for *Vishnu*.

I would suggest, not without very great diffidence, that *savasta* *isa* *vāḡā* should be emended into *savatsā* *isa* *gāvō*. The *dakṣiṇā* given at the sacrifices commemorated on the Baḍvā *yūpas* consisted of kine. The same was probably the case here. *Vāḡā* should therefore be changed into *gāvō*; an engraver who writes *Vasha* for *Vishnu* is certainly capable of writing *vāḡā* for *gāvō*. *Savasta* does not give any sense, and since it is an adjective of *gāvō*, it is but reasonable to emend it into *savatsā*. The context now shows that *isa* should be changed into *śva*. The record therefore states that a *dakṣiṇā* of 90 cows, not alone but each accompanied with its calf, was given on the occasion.

And what was the occasion? It is mentioned in the opening portion of the second line. Here again the first two letters have been peeled off. The third letter had a subscript *r*, the fourth is *ra* and the fifth *tra*; then comes the numeral 5, which is followed by the words *gaṇha* *ishṭa*, as observed already. It is very clear that the 3rd, 4th and 5th letters were intended to be *trirātra*; this part of the record then states that five *Trirātra* sacrifices were performed when the honorarium of 90 cows along with their calves was given.

As in the case of the inscription on the *yūpa* A, the name of the sacrificer must have followed immediately after the word *pañchadaśi* in the 1st line. The two letters after this word read *bhṛiṭa*, which have obviously to be corrected into *bhaṭṭa*. After this a considerable portion of the inscription has been peeled off and about six or seven letters have been obliterated completely. They contained the name of the sacrificer. His title *bhaṭṭa* would suggest that he was a *Brāhmaṇa* and not a king or a general.

The last five letters of the first line are very clear; they are to be read as *tri ta va na* *śu*. *Tritarapāśu* however gives no sense. With great hesitation I would emend this word into *Tritaranāśu*; the five *Trirātra* sacrifices seem to have been performed by the *Brāhmaṇa* sacrificer not in a village or in a town but in a holy forest known as *Trita* forest.

One more lacunæ, that of the two letters at the beginning of the second line, remains to be considered. The following word here is *trirātra*, and the obliterated word was probably an adjective of that sacrifice. The full and real name of the *Trirātra* sacrifice, which was an amalgam of *Agnishṭoma*, *Ukthya* and *Atirātra*, was *Garga-trirātra*¹; it is possible that the two obliterated letters were *gargga* and what remain of them gives some support to this conjecture.

Our record therefore commemorates the performance of five *Trirātra* or perhaps *Garga-trirātra* sacrifices by a *Brāhmaṇa* sacrificer on the full moon day of *Jyēshtha* of the *Kṛita* year 335, corresponding to 279 A. D. The *dakṣiṇā* prescribed for a *Trirātra* sacrifice was one thousand cows. But our sacrificer was probably not rich enough to give it, and so he contented himself by giving only eighteen cows per sacrifice, but each accompanied by a calf. He was a *Vaishṇavite* also, so he ends the inscription with the hope that *Vishnu* would be pleased and religion promoted by his action.

I now give below the reading of the record along with the suggested emendations.

TEXT.¹

1 Kṛtichi 300 30 5 Jasha²(Jyēshtha)śuddhasya³ pari(ñ)chadaśi[*] Bhṛitta(Bhaṭṭa).....
Tritavaṇaśu(Tritavanēshu ?)

2 [Garga !][t]i[ra(rā)]tra 5 yajña(jñā) ishṭa(shṭā)⁴ sarvasta(savatsā) i(ṣ)va vāgā(gāvō)
dakshiṇya⁵(ṇā) dātā(dattā) 90.⁶ Vashṭaḥ(Vishṇuḥ) priyatām dharmaṁ vardhdha[tām*].

TRANSLATION.

The 15th day of the bright fortnight of (*the month*) of Jyēshtha of the year 335 by the Kṛita (*reckoning*). Five (*Garga*) Trirātra sacrifices were performed by Bhaṭṭa.....in Trita forests (?). 90 cows, which were accompanied by (*their*) calves, were given as *dakṣiṇā*.

May (*god*) Vishṇu be pleased ! May Dharma increase !

No. 13.—GURZALA BRAHMI INSCRIPTION.

By PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS.

The inscription edited below is found engraved on a grey marble slab set up behind the Travellers' Bungalow,⁷ about two furlongs to the north of it, at Gurzāla in the Palnād taluk of the Guṇṭūr District. There are on the spot several similar slabs which are uninscribed and which must be the relics of some ancient structure that has now disappeared. An impression of the inscription was placed in my hands some time ago by Dr. M. Rama Rao, but I found subsequently from Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamachariu, Superintendent for Epigraphy, that he had secured a much better impression of the record, and it is from this impression which he has kindly placed at my disposal that I edit the record which is listed as No. 335 of the Epigraphical Collection of Madras in the *An. Rep. on S. I. Epi.* for the year 1936-37, and discussed in paragraph 10 of Part II.

The slab containing the inscription measures 5' × 19" ;⁸ in its centre is carved a pillar with apparently a bulbous base and a double bulbous capital ; the shaft of the pillar shows a slight tapering, being 3" wide at the bottom, and less than 2½" at the top, its height being about 2'. The capital comprises two oviform members, each 3" high, the upper one being broader (5½") than the lower (4½") at its horizontal axis. This capital is surmounted by an abacus 3" high above which stand three cones alongside of one another, looking like the battlement of a fortress. Our inscription comprises three lines, two incised to the proper right, and the third to the left of the carved pillar, all lines running from the capital of the pillar to its base.

¹ Edited from an ink-impression.

² Both below *ja* and *śa*, there appear to be some depressions, which appear like traces of subscript letters, now peeled off. They may however be also due to the stone not being well dressed.

³ Faint traces of the subscript *ya* can be traced in the impression.

⁴ The subscript *ja* is partly broken.

⁵ The letter looks like *tri*, but it is read as *ya* on the analogy of the Badvā records. See introduction.

⁶ After the numeral 90, there is a symbol here, similar to that occurring on the Badvā *yāpa* inscription A.

⁷ It is understood that the slab has since been removed to the Taluk office compound, Gurzāla.

⁸ This measurement is furnished by Dr. Rama Rao.

The script of the inscription is Brāhmī very similar to that of the well-known inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa edited in *Epigraphia Indica* some years ago by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, and may be taken to belong to the third century A. D. The average height of the letters, if we neglect the flourishes, is about one inch. The fourth letter in l. 3 which I read as *lu* may be compared with the same letter in a somewhat later Western Chālukya inscription, viz., the Bādāmi stone inscription of Maṅgalīśa.¹

The three vertical strokes at the end of the last line seem to be an ornamental stop as in G-3 (above, Vol. XXI, plate opp. p. 62) and not a symbol for three which usually comprises similar horizontal strokes. The language of the record is Prākṛit. The object of the inscription is to record the gift of a field by a certain Noduka-siri to the Bhagavān, the Lord of Halampūra, for securing longevity for the donor. The date of the record is given as the tenth day of the 8th fortnight of summer in the fourth regnal year of Maḥārāja Siri-Ruḥupurisa-dāta, whose name shows that he is a hitherto unknown king of the Ikshvāku line, members of which have left many inscriptions in the neighbourhood from which our record comes. The method of dating adopted is common in Ikshvāku records.² The location of Halampūra where the temple of the Bhagavān was located is somewhat difficult to determine. In the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, Madras*, for 1936-37, it is suggested that Halampūra 'may be identified preferably with Allūru in the Nandigama taluk of the Kistna district which is not far removed from Gurzāla, though there are two villages of the name Alampuram, one in the Nizam's Dominions and the other in the Tanuku taluk of the West Godavari district'. Ālampūr in the Nizam's Dominions seems best to satisfy the requirements of the case by its name and the known antiquity of its monuments. It is situated at the apex of the Raichur Doab on the western bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā, a little distance before its junction with the Kṛishnā. In spite of its distance from the Palnāḍ region, this place must have been easily accessible by river, and it teems with antiquities, temples and other structures, some account of which will be found at pages 7-13 of the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions* for 1926-27.

Another place much nearer Gurzāla and about 20 miles east of it, though not so rich in antiquarian remains, that comes in for consideration here, is Nāgulavaram in the Palnāḍ taluk itself. The name has the same meaning as Halampūra (plough-city), and Sewell noted an old Viṣṇu temple and another temple of Śiva in the place and an illegible inscription in the latter. The place has yielded two inscriptions listed in the Madras Collection. It is possible that the Halampūra-sāmin of our inscription is identical with the deity in one of these shrines.³

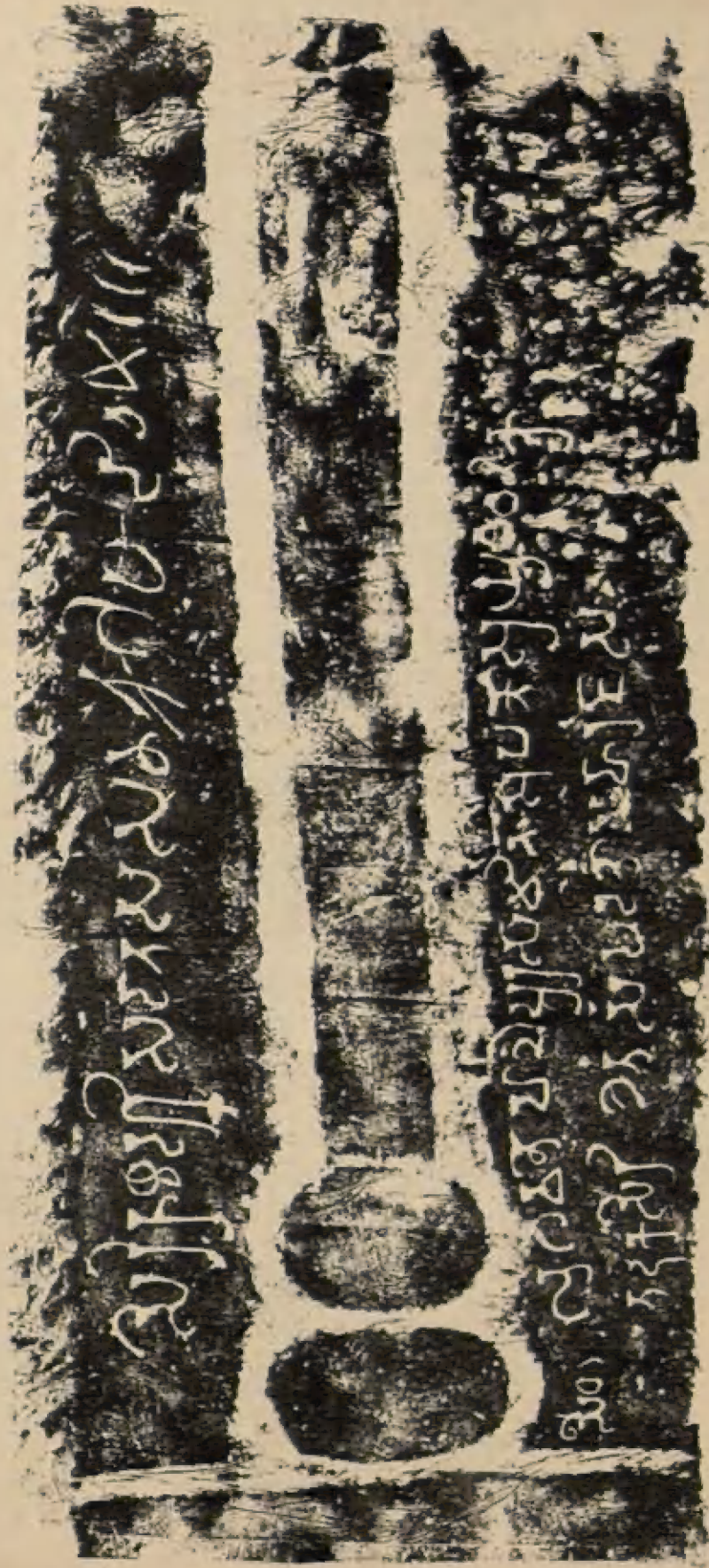
There is nothing in our inscription to indicate that the Bhagavān Halampūra-sāmin to whom the field was given was the Lord Buddha; and it must be noted that our record differs in some respects from the generality of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions in that it does not begin with the usual *Siddham namo Bhagavato* but simply *siddham*, and in that the purpose of the gift precedes the name of the donor. It seems possible that the endowment was not that of a Buddhist. But seeing that some at least of the temples of Ālampūr show traces of having originally been Buddhist structures, perhaps converted later into Hindu temples, the other possibility cannot also altogether be ruled out at present, that is, if the identification of Halampūra with Ālampūr is accepted.

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X, pl. opposite p. 59, l. 4.

² See also *ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 37.

³ Sewell, *List of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras*, Vol. I, p. 61; Nos. 216 of 1927 and 306 of 1931 of the Madras Epigraphical collection; Survey map 56P/WW. (1"=2 miles).

GURZALA BRAHMI INSCRIPTION.



TEXT.

- 1 Sidham | Bhagavate Halahpūra-sāmine apaṇo ayuvadhiniḥ¹
 2 Noduka-siri khetam sarūpada[ttām]² Mahārajasa
 3 Siri-Ruḥpurisadātasa sa ta 4 gi 8 diva 10 |||

TRANSLATION.

Success ! To the Bhagavān, Lord of Halahpūra, a field was given (by) Noduka-siri for the increase of his own life on the tenth day in the eighth fortnight of summer in the fourth (regnal) year of Mahārāja Siri-Ruḥpurisadāta.

No. 14.—DATE OF ASHRAFPUR PLATE.

By D. C. GANGULY, M.A., PH. D. (LONDON).

A copper-plate inscription was discovered in 1884-1885 at the village Ashrafpur, in the Narayanganj Sub-Division, Dacca District, Bengal. Mr. Ganga Mohan Laskar published this inscription with a facsimile in the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. I, No. VI.

The inscription is dated *Samvat* ३ Pausa di ६ ५ :|| Mr. Laskar reads the date as

Samvat 10 3 (=13) Pausa 20 5 (=25). Dr. R. C. Majumdar³ agrees with Mr. Laskar in thinking that there are two symbols expressing the year-number, and two symbols expressing the day of the month. But according to him the first symbol of the year-number is 7, and the second one represents 3 or 9. He thus reads the year-number as 73 or 79, which he refers to the Harsha Era. The day of the month according to him is 20 8 (=28). If Dr. Majumdar's reading is accepted it will follow that in the same inscription both the figure-numerals and letter-numerals have been used side by side. Dr. Basak⁴ states that "the first symbol in the reading of the year-number is really a puzzling one".

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar⁵ discusses this inscription under No. 1394 in his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*. He accepts with a query mark Dr. Majumdar's reading of the year-number as 73, and refers it to the Harsha Era.⁶ In the foot-note he, however, remarks that "it has

¹ [Reading seems to be *ayuvadhiniḥ*. — N. L. R.]

² Cancel the length of the final vowel and read : *sarūpadattam*.

³ *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 375 ff.

⁴ *History of North-Eastern India*, p. 203.

⁵ Above, Vol. XX, Appendix, pp. 190-191.

⁶ Dr. Bhandarkar does not correctly represent Dr. Majumdar's view when he says that Dr. Majumdar reads the year-number of the inscription as 70 3 or 70 9. It has already been pointed out that Dr. Majumdar takes the first symbol as 7, and the second one as 3 or 9, which according to him makes 73 or 79.

perhaps to be read as 60 3". According to him the day of the month is to be read as 20 5, and not as 20 8, as has been suggested by Dr. Majumdar.

On close examination I find that the year-number is expressed by only one symbol in the inscription. This is clearly a symbol for 7.

A comparison of this symbol with the symbol for 7, mentioned in the Damodarpur copper-plate No. 1,¹ and in the Mallasārul copper-plate² of Gōpachandra, will convince one of the correctness of my reading.

Thus the date of the Ashrafpur copper-plate should be read neither as 73 nor as 63 but as 7, which is obviously the regnal year of the king Dēvakhadga, during whose reign the inscription was issued.

No. 15.—PARASURAMESVARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTIONS.

By A. GHOSH, M. A., PATNA.

Of the five inscriptions edited here, the principal one is found on the top of the southern doorway of the *maṇḍapa* attached to the Paraśurāmēśvara temple at Bhuvaneswar, District Puri. It has been noticed in some official publications,³ but so far as I am aware, the text has never been published before.

The inscription occupies an area of 22" × 6" and runs to three lines. The letters are rather carelessly engraved, many of them being ill-formed; their size ranges from 1½" to ½". The language is Sanskrit, but there are some grammatical mistakes; thus, in the first sentence the nominative has been given a passive form, while the verb is in the active voice. Some grammatical error also makes the last three letters of the second line unintelligible. Rules of *sandhi* have not been observed in *naivēdya-ādḥakam* in line 2. A serious orthographical mistake occurs at the beginning of the third line, where *apy-ādḥika* appears as *apgi-ādḥika*. In the same line *kaśchin-na* is spelt as *kaśchin na*.

The script belongs to about the first half of the ninth century A. D., being somewhat later than the local inscriptions of the Bhaumas⁴; note particularly the somewhat archaic form of the palatal sibilant in the latter set. The temple of Paraśurāmēśvara has, on architectural and other considerations, been regarded as one of the earliest, if not the earliest, of the temples of Bhuvaneswar.⁵ The present inscription, along with those noticed below, sets the lower limit of the date of the construction of the temple.

The object of the inscription is to record some daily offering in favour of Pārāsēśvara-bhaṭṭāka, by which word is probably meant the god installed in the temple, as well as of those

¹ Above, Vol. XV, p. 130.

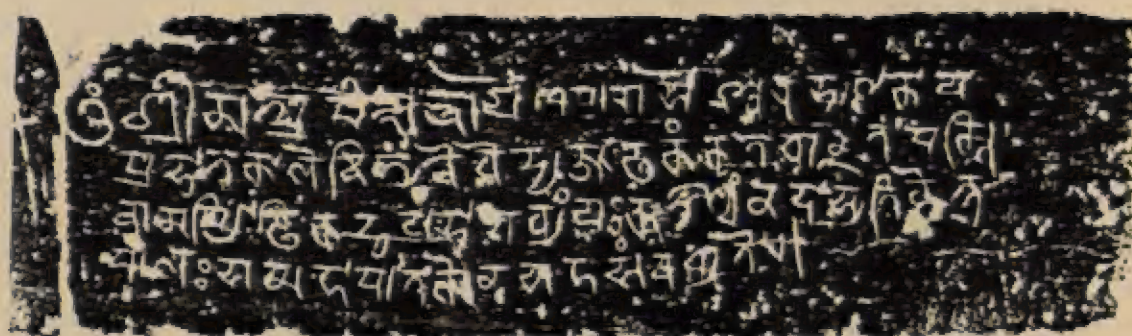
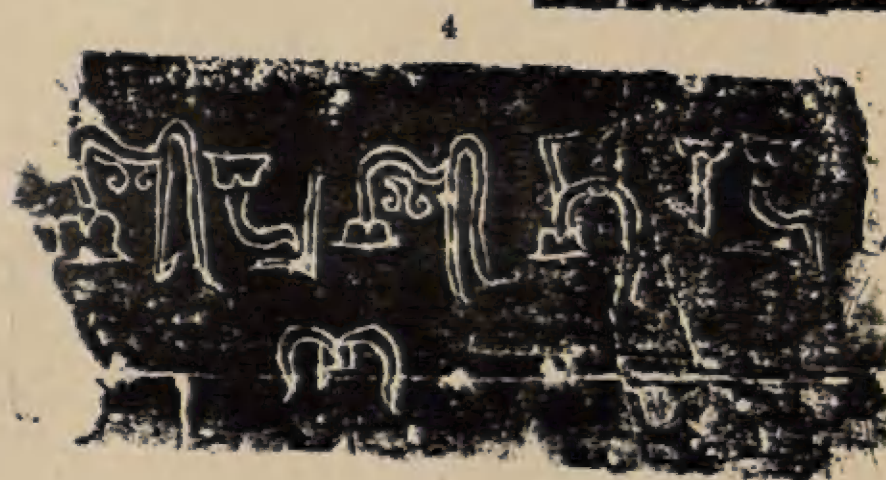
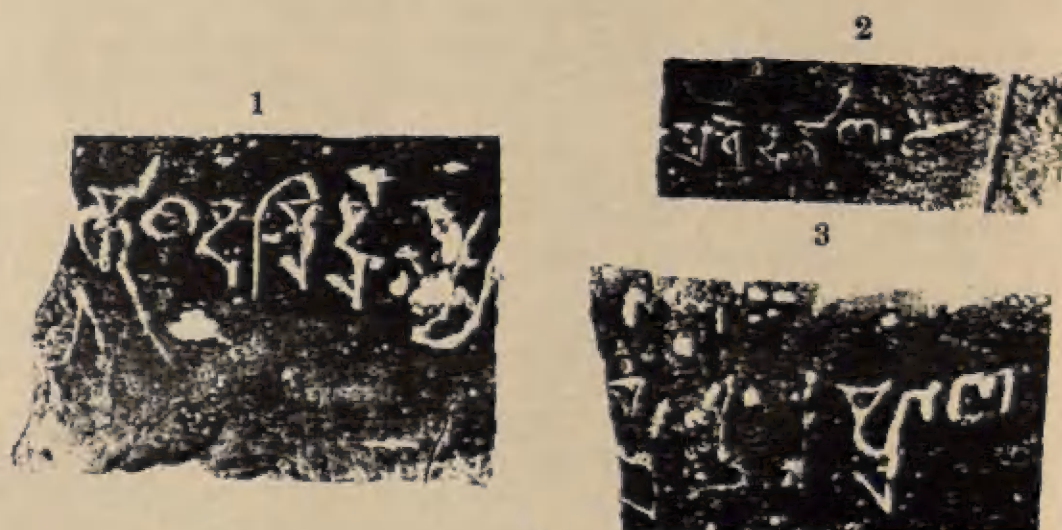
² *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 155.

³ *List of Ancient Monuments in the Orissa Division*, Government of Bengal, 1896, p. 64; *Puri District Gazetteer*, p. 242, where its contents have been wrongly noticed.

⁴ Compare, for example, the Dhauli cave inscription of Śāntikara, above, Vol. XIX, p. 263.

⁵ The date of its construction ranges, according to different scholars, from the fifth or sixth century to the eighth century (M. M. Ganguly, *Orissa and Her Remains*, p. 273; *Puri District Gazetteer*, p. 241).

PARASURAMESVARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTIONS.



who were to cook (?) the offering to the god. It should be noted in this connexion that the name of the god (and consequently of the temple) is given here as *Pārāsēśvara*; if we are justified in amending the word, we may regard *Parāśēśvara* or perhaps *Parāśarēśvara* as the old name of the temple; surely the correction to *Paraśurāmēśvara*, its present name, would be too daring.

On the eastern wall of the temple there are a few more short inscriptions in nail-headed characters of about the eighth century A. D. Four of them, reproduced here, read: (1) *Kāṣṭhadaridrasya* (Sanskrit *Kāṣṭhadaridrasya* ?); (2) *Pracēḍakūpaṇi*, followed by a symbol, probably a punctuation mark; (3)—*prūga*; and (4) *śri-Prasūtarap[ā]ṇa*.¹

TEXT.

- 1 Ōm śrīmat-Prapittrāchārya² Pārāsēśvara-bhaṭṭakāya
- 2 prabhāta-kālē nityaṁ naivēdya-ādḥakam kṛitavān [i³] taṁ pakvi⁴
- 3 nām=apyi(py)-ādḥika-dvayaṁ dātavyaṁ [i³] yaḥ [kaś]ch[i]n(n=) na dāsyati kshē(?)ttra-
- 4 pālāḥ sa mahā-pātakēna saha samvadhyaṭē cha⁵!

TRANSLATION.

Ōm. (Arrangement) has been done by the illustrious *Prapittrāchārya* for the offering of an *ādḥaka*⁶ (of grain) for the Lord *Pārāsēśvara* every morning. Also to the cooks (?) of that (grain) two *ādḥikas* are to be given. The keeper of the field (?) who will not give (them) (will be invested) with great sin and will be bound (or killed).⁷

No. 16.—AN INSCRIPTION OF JAITUGI, SAKA 1188.

By H. D. SANKALIA, M.A., LL. B., PH. D. (LOND.), POONA, AND
S. C. UPADHYAYA, M. A., LL. B., BOMBAY.

This inscription, which is preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, is now published with the courtesy of (now) the ex-Curator, Mr. G. V. Acharya, and the Trustees. It is not known whence it came, but, as will be shown below, it must be from the vicinity of Bombay.

The record is inscribed on a rectangular stone, 3'5" × 1'1½". The inscribed portion, which contains 20 lines, covers a space of 1'8½" × 1'1". It is not in a good state of preservation. Several letters are broken and the last five lines cannot be completely deciphered. The average size of letters is ¼". Below the inscribed portion is cut out a rectangle, 11" × 10", which contains an ass-sculpture, usual in inscriptions of this period from Kōṅkan.⁸ Right on the top, the stone is deeply cut into a rectangle, 6" × 13½" × 1½", which contains a representation of the Sun on the right and the Moon on the left and a double *Kalasa* in between.

¹ Nos. (3) and (4) are probably identical. The letters of the last one are ornamentally treated.

² The correction to *Prapittrāchārya* or *Prasūtarāchārya* may be suggested.

³ I am not sure of the correct reading of this ill-formed letter and conjecturally read it as *śri*, regarding the word *pakvi* to be an incorrect derivative of the root *pac*. *Tam* probably stands for *taḥ*. [The intended reading may be *tapasvinām*.—Ed.]

⁴ [What has been read as *cha* appears to me to be only a part of the mark of punctuation.—B. C. C.]

⁵ *Adhaka* is a measure of grain; the word *ādḥika* occurring in the next line is obviously a smaller measure.

⁶ [The word *samvadhyaṭē* is evidently meant for *samyadhyaṭē*, an equivalent of *samyajyāt*. According to my reading, the meaning would simply be 'is united with great sin'.—B. C. C.]

⁷ Cf. above, Vol. XXIII, p. 270.

The inscription is in prose and the language Sanskrit and perhaps old Marāṭhī in the latter part (ll. 15-20). As regards the script and orthography there is nothing new to note.¹ It is dated in Śaka 1188 Kshaya Samvatsara, Māgha Vadi 15, Wednesday. This would regularly correspond to Wednesday, the 26th January A. D. 1266,² provided the reading of the date is correct.³

The main object of the inscription seems to be to record the gift of land (unfortunately the details of this cannot be deciphered) to a Brāhmaṇa Valdēva, a *Jyōtishī* (i.e., an astronomer or astrologer) in the reign of Jaitugi, who is called *Mahārājādhirāja, Rājapitamaha, Kōṅkaṇachakravartin*. The ministers of the king were the *Mahāmātya Śrī-Udatprabhu, Mahāsāmdhivigrahi Mālnāyaka, Śrīkaraṇi Chanda(?)prabhu*,⁴ and others (whose names cannot be clearly read).

In the absence of the dynastic title it is difficult to identify the king. The tenor of the inscription—*brūdas* of the king, names of ministers—would incline one to place the king either among the princes of the Śilāhāra dynasty of Kōṅkaṇ or of the Yādava dynasty of Dēvagiri. The grounds for referring the king to the former dynasty are that :—

- (1) The king bears the title *Kōṅkaṇachakravartin* which was usually borne by the Śilāhāra kings.⁵
- (2) The names of the ministers—*Mahāsāmdhivigrahi Mālnāyaka* and *Śrīkaraṇi Chanda-prabhu* are found among the ministers of the last known Śilāhāra ruler Sōmēśvaradēva ;⁶ hence probably the ministers referred to in the inscriptions of Sōmēśvaradēva and our inscription are identical.

However, there are certain objections against associating Jaitugi of the inscription with the Śilāhāra dynasty. They are :—

- (1) Among the Śilāhāras no king of this name is known so far, either from inscriptions or otherwise.
- (2) Till now it is supposed, on the authority of Hēmadri⁷ (whose account was supported by the absence of epigraphic or other evidence), that Sōmēśvaradēva is the last Śilāhāra ruler of Northern Kōṅkaṇ, for the dynasty was swept out of existence when he was defeated and killed and Kōṅkaṇ annexed by Mahādēva, the Yādava ruler of Dēvagiri.

If, in spite of these objections, Jaitugi is to be considered a Śilāhāra king, then we have to suppose that he was either a son or a descendant of Sōmēśvaradēva, who regained Kōṅkaṇ for a brief period,⁸ during the closing years of Mahādēva's regime (which may have been a disturbing period for the Yādava empire, for immediately after Mahādēva, before the rightful heir Rāmachandra could succeed him, Āmaṇa occupied the throne for a year or so).⁹

¹ For the features already noted cf. the writers' comments above, Vol. XXIII, p. 270.

² S. K. Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. IV, p. 16.

³ *Kshaya* seems to be the most likely name of the *samvatsara*, as the first letter looks like *ksha*, the second is illegible, the rest are undoubtedly *asara*, though they cannot be clearly read. For the reading of the date and some other suggestions I am indebted to Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao. (H. D. S.)

⁴ [See n. 7 p. 129.—Ed.]

⁵ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 279-280.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Rājapraśasti*, I, *verses*, 49 ; II, *verses*, 17-18 in *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 273 and p. 275 respectively.

⁸ For soon after this we have Yādava records mentioning Kṛishṇadēva and Jāidēva as governors of Kōṅkaṇ. See *J. B. A. S.*, Vol. V, p. 178 and above, Vol. XXIII, p. 282.

⁹ *Bomb. Gaz.*, *op. cit.*, p. 247 citing *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 317.

However, if the above be accepted, then we will have an hitherto unknown Śilāhāra king continuing the dynasty after Sōmēśvaradēva and in a sense contradicting the account of Hēmadri cited above.

The argument in favour of identifying Jaitugi with one of the kings of the same name of the Yādava dynasty would be, besides the tenor of the inscription, that the name exactly tallies with that of the Yādava ruler.

But no king of this name lived in the period to which the inscription refers itself.¹ Secondly no Yādava ruler is known to have used the title *Kōṅkaṇachakrapati*, though to judge from the victories of Jaitugi I, Siṃhaṇa and Rāmachandradēva, Kōṅkaṇ must have formed a part of the Yādava empire.²

Whatever be the dynasty to which Jaitugi of the inscription belonged, the inscription is written after the style of the inscriptions of this period, and must have been issued from a place somewhere in Kōṅkaṇ. The fact, moreover, that it was issued to record a gift to an astrologer affords further evidence of the patronage of such people in Kōṅkaṇ at that time.³

Text.

1 ॥ श्री स्वस्ति स(ग)कु(क)संवत् ११८८ चयसंव-

2 चर माघवदि १५ बुधे चये — — स[म].

3 स्तराजावलीसमलंकृत महाराजाधिरा-

4 ज रायपितामह⁴ कौकणचक्रवर्ति श्री-

5 जैतुगिदेवरायकल्याणविजयराज्ये

6 महामात्य श्रीउदैप्रभु⁵ महासां[धि⁶]विग्रही

7 मादनायक⁷ श्रीकरणी चन्द्रप्रभु जस-

8 जिनायक⁸ नागसु[र] आस्थान अधिष्ठा[न⁹]

9 — "महावादि प्रतिपाठो । — — — — —¹⁰

¹ Unless the reading of the date is doubted. For if the date is read as Śaka 1129, Māgha Vadi 9 (as done previously by us and which corresponds regularly to 24th January A. D. 1207) then the inscription would fall in the reign of Jaitugi I, who is known from his three inscriptions (see *Bomb. Gaz., op. cit.*, pp. 370-373 and references cited there) to have made extensive conquests. Siṃhaṇa's son Jaitugi II is out of question for he is believed to have predeceased Siṃhaṇa.

² The other king of this name is found among the Paramāras of Mālwa, but his dates are V. S. 1292 and 1300 (Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, above, Vol. XXIII, Appendix, p. 397 and f. n. 14) thus falling outside the two probable readings of the date of the record.

³ Pāṭnā Inscription of Siṃhaṇa, above Vol. I, p. 343, verse 18.

⁴ This letter is defaced, cf. note 3, p. 128 above.

⁵ Doubtful.

⁶ This title is very common. For references see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 150 and 230.

⁷ Reading doubtful. [The reading appears to be *Dāda*.—N. L. R.]

⁸ Illegible.

⁹ May be *ra*.

¹⁰ Letters illegible.

10	—	—	वे ¹	—	—	राज्ये	श्रीशेपर ²	ग्रामांतर	—	—
11	नदि ³	लेवे ³	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
12	पक	—	। ⁴	नम	— ⁴	आचन्द्रार्कचितिपर्वत				
13	वइदेव	ज्योतिषीनाम्ने	ब्राह्मणा[य] ⁵							
14	— ⁶	सोदकपूर्वकं	प्रदत्तां ।	—	—	—	—	—	—	— ⁷
15	—	—	श्री	—	उत्तर	—	—	—	—	वन्दी
16	—	—	—	—	परित ⁷	.	.	.	स्वसीमापयेत	
17	—	क	—	—	म	—	—	—	त	— ⁷
18	—	—	—	—	—	[सोदकपूर्वकं			[प्रदत्ता]	
19	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	— ⁸
20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	— ⁸

No. 17.—BIHAR KOTRA INSCRIPTION OF NARAVARMAN'S TIME; [MALAVA]
YEAR 474.

By S. N. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., BOMBAY.

The stone bearing the subjoined inscription,¹ which is edited here for the first time, was discovered at **Biḥar Kotra** in the Rajgaḍh State, Malwa, and is now exhibited in the Archaeological Section of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.

The document consists of six lines of writing engraved on a stone slab measuring 1' 4" × 1' 2" × 7" and is well preserved. The characters belong to the Central Indian variety of the Southern alphabet which in its simplest form closely agrees with the Western variety of the same alphabet.² The following palaeographical peculiarities may be noticed. The most important common characteristics of the Southern alphabet are found in the open top of the letters *gh*, *p*, *sh*, and *s* and also in the retention of the tripartite *y* and of the long stroke on the right of *l*. The letter *m* does not show the ancient form. It has a straight base-stroke in all cases, which indicates the influence of the Northern alphabet.

The language is Sanskrit. The orthography suggests the following remarks. A consonant is doubled before and after *r* as in *puttrēpa* (l. 4), *chāturdāśam* and *sarveṣa* (l. 5). The final *m* of a word remains unchanged and is denoted by the sign of final *m*, in *siddham* (l. 1) and *dvitīyāyām* (l. 3).

¹ The reading may be *viśaya*.

² [Reading may be *śrī-śhīpa*.—N. L. R.]

³ Reading doubtful.

⁴ Letters illegible.

⁵ This letter is defaced.

⁶ Illegible.

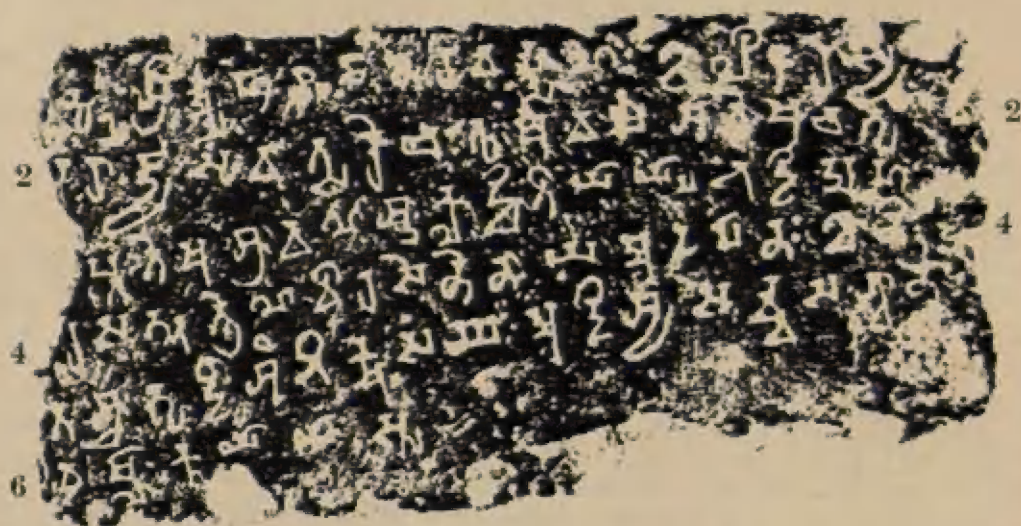
⁷ Though some letters are legible, sense cannot be made out.

⁸ The whole line is illegible.

⁹ It was noticed by Mr. G. V. Acharya in the *Annual Report of the Prince of Wales Museum* for the year 1938-39, p. 12 and pl. facing p. 12. [This inscription has been noticed by me in *An. Rep. A. S. R.* 1938-39 where I have discussed in detail the question of Naravarman's successors including Vishnupardhana.—Ed.]

¹⁰ Bühler's *Indian Palaeography*, Eng. ed., pp. 61-2.





The inscription records the digging of a reservoir in the name of the *bhikṣuvāṅgha* of the four quarters for the quenching of thirst of all beings. The gift was made by one Virasēna, son of Bhaṭṭimahara, on the second day of the bright half of the month of Śrāvaṇa in the reign of Mahārāja Naravarman, when four hundred and seventy-four years had elapsed, i.e., in A. D. 417-18.

Naravarman is already known to us from the Mandasor inscription of the Mālava year 461, in which he is mentioned as the son of Śimbavarman and the grandson of Jayavarman.¹ He is mentioned also in the Gangdhar inscription² of his son Viśvavarman of the Mālava year 480. Again, Viśvavarman is mentioned in the Mandasor inscription³ of his son Bandhuvarman, who was a contemporary and also the feudatory of the Emperor Kumāragupta I. The inscription of Bandhuvarman states that while Bandhuvarman was governing at Daśapura (Mandasor), the guild of silk-weavers built at that city a temple of the Sun in the Mālava year 493 and that the same guild restored part of the temple, which fell into disrepair under other kings, in the Mālava year 529. The entire inscription was actually composed and engraved at the latter date. But it does not give us any information about the successors of Bandhuvarman.⁴ Here, the present record comes to our help. Naravarman is described as '*aulikara*'. Now, in the Mandasor inscription of the Mālava year 589, the family of Yaśōdharman or Viśhpuvardhana is mentioned as the lineage that had the *aulikara-lāṅghana*.⁵ Evidently, Naravarman of our record and Yaśōdharman belonged to the same family. Thus Yaśōdharman, whose arms penetrated as far as the Himalayas, who was lord of the countries which were not possessed even by the Guptas or the Hūṇas, and to whose feet obeisance was made even by the famous Hūṇa king Mihirakula, can no longer be regarded as a military adventurer of the type of Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa (first quarter of the seventh century) and Yaśōvarman of Kanauj (first half of the eighth century). For, from the present record we know at least one of his predecessors.

TEXT.⁶

1 [Si*]ddham*[(*)] Śrī*-mmahārāja-Narvarmmapaḥ aulikarasya⁷

2 rājya⁸-sathvatsarē chaturshu varsha-śatēshu chatu[ḥ*]-

¹ Above, Vol. XII, p. 315.

² Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 17.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 18.

⁴ [Prabhākara of the Mandasor inscription of V. 524 was perhaps the successor, if not the son, of Bandhuvarman.—Ed.]

⁵ A satisfactory explanation of the word *aulikara* has not yet been obtained. But *lāṅghana* "is the technical term for the principal emblem impressed by kings on the copper-seals attached to their charters, and is quite distinct from the emblem on their *dhvajas* or banners." Thus, the Kādambas of Banavāsi had the *śātāśa-chakandra-dhvaṇa* or *rānara-mahādhwaja*, but the *śiṅha-lāṅghana* on the seals of their grants and on their coins. So also the Chālukyas had the *varāha-lāṅghana*. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 151, note 4. [*Aulikara* may be synonymous with *śiṅhara*.—Ed.]

⁶ From the original stone.

⁷ The word stands in front of, and between, lines 1 and 2.

⁸ The word *śrī*, forming the first part of a compound word, is used with a *vibhakti*. As a separate word it is used in the third case-ending, meaning *saka* or *yukta*. But in the present inscription it is used in the first case-ending. [There are other instances of this usage: e.g., *śrī-mahārājā Omavarmā* in the Dhavalapētā copper-plates of Umavarman (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. X, p. 144).—Ed.]

⁹ The form of the initial *au* in the present record differs from that occurring in the same word *aulikara* (1. 5) in the Mandasor inscription of Yaśōdharman of the Mālava year 589. In the latter inscription the stroke indicating the length of *au* is attached to the upper part of the letter; in the former the lower part of the letter curves to the left and not to the right as in the Mandasor inscription, which expresses the length of the vowel. [The letter looks more like *o* than *au*.—Ed.]

¹⁰ There is a vertical stroke before the word *rājya*, which apparently forms part of a letter. What looks like an *ē-mātrā* in *rājya* is merely a scratch.

- 3 [sa²] ptatēshu¹ Śrāvāṇa-śukla-dvitiyāyām Bhaṭṭimaha-
 4 ra-sat-puttrēṣa Virasēnēn-āyam-udapānaḥ khāni-
 5 tās-chāturddīśaṁ bhikṣu-saṁgham-uddīśya sarva-satvānāṁ
 6 triṣṇā-kṣayāy-āstu² [I*]

No. 18.—DHAVALAPETA PLATES OF MAHARAJA UMAVARMAN.

By R. K. GHOSHAL, M.A., CALCUTTA.

The copper-plates, which bear the subjoined inscription, were turned up by a farmer while digging his land in the village of **Dhavalapēṭa**, situated about twelve miles from Chioacole in the Vizagapatam District of Madras. The last plate of the set was melted and destroyed by the cultivator under the impression that it was made of gold. Fortunately, however, the remaining two plates of the set ultimately found their way into the hands of Mr. Manda Narasimham, in whose possession they lie at present. The plates were noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1937-38³ and the inscription was published for the first time by the present owner of the plates, Mr. Narasimham⁴. I now re-edit the record from a set of excellent ink-impressions kindly supplied by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India.

These are **two plates** of copper measuring 6½" by 2½" and having their edges plain. The plates slide on, through a hole at the proper right margin of each of them, to a copper-ring the ends of which are soldered on to an elliptical seal, 3½" by 2½" in size. In the depression of the seal there is inscribed in relief a four-line legend in the same characters as those of the plates. The inscription on the seal is, however, in a very imperfect state of preservation. It is just possible that it ends, as in the case of the seal of the Brihatprōshthā grant⁵, with *Mahārāj-Ūmavarmmaśya*. The inscription itself, which is in an excellent state of preservation, runs into twelve lines with four lines given to each of the three plates⁶. The first plate, which has been slightly damaged, is inscribed on its inner side only; while the second one contains writing on both of its faces.

The **characters** belong to the Southern class of alphabets. They closely resemble those of the Brihatprōshthā plates of Umavarman⁷ and the Rāgōlu plates of Śaktivarman⁸. Some of their leading features are the following: (1) the initial *a* occurs once in *asty-* (l. 4) and *ā* in *ā-sahasrāṁsu-* (l. 6) and (2) the final forms of *m* and *t*, which are engraved in smaller characters, are found in *kartavyam* (l. 9) and *Sunagarāt* (l. 1) respectively. The letter *chha* occurs in *Chhandōga* (l. 5).

In respect of **orthography**, the following points deserve notice. (1) A consonant has been invariably doubled after *r* and only once before it (*Cf. kkrāma*, l. 11). (2) Both *b* and *v* have been indicated by separate signs. The rules of *sandhi* have been faithfully adhered to.

The **language** is Sanskrit and the whole of the extant portion of the record is in prose. The **inscription** is **incomplete**, owing to the fact that the last plate of the set had been foolishly destroyed.

¹ Read *sa-chātub-saptatishu*.

² After *āstu* there are faint traces of two slanting strokes. These may be scratches rather than the mark of *pārasavāṛama*, i.e. full-stop.

³ C. P. No. 22.

⁴ *J. A. H. B. S.*, Vol. X, pp. 143-44 and plates.

⁵ Above, Vol. XII, p. 4.

⁶ The complete inscription must have run into 16 lines at least, granting another four lines in addition for the missing plate.

⁷ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 4-6 and plates.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-3 and plates.

The engraver has done his work neatly. He has, however, left a few evidences of occasional remissness on his part as will be evident from two or three minor corrections in the text of the inscription (*Cf.* lines 4 and 6) which he inserted subsequently.

The inscription is one of *Mahārāja* Umavarman. It was issued from Sunagara. It records the gift of the village of Kuttura including the road (passing through it). The village was situated in the *Mahēndra bhōga*. The donee was a *Brāhmaṇa* named *Khallasvāmin*, who belonged to the *Vatsa gōtra* and was a student of the *Chhandōga śākhā*. The gift village was constituted into a free-hold *agrahāra*. After announcing the nature of the gift, the record urges the householders of the village to honour the same. The names of the writer and the engraver of the inscription and, what would have been of outstanding importance to us, the date, have not been preserved owing to the fragmentary nature of the inscription.

The chief interest of the record under discussion naturally centres round the personality of its donor. As many as three separate copper-plate inscriptions (including the present one) have come to light up till now, with their provenances remarkably restricted in area. Each of these inscriptions speaks of a king called Umavarman. For convenience' sake, I append the relevant data in tabular form as follows :—

Name of Inscription.	Place of Origin.	Distinctive titles of Donor-King.	Year.	Scribe.
1. Tēkkali ¹ (Ganjām District)	Vardhamānapura	<i>Mahārāja</i>	9	Kēśavadēva, a resident of Pishtapura.
2. Brīhatprōśhthā ² (Vizagapatam District).	Simhapura ³	<i>Mahārāja, Kalīṅgaśāhi</i>	30	Mātrivara ⁴ (name restored).
3. Dhavalapēta (Vizagapatam District).	Sunagara	<i>Mahārāja</i>	not preserved.	not preserved.

¹ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 53-54. Also noticed in the *Ann. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1934-35 (C. P. No. 13). It is noteworthy that although the plates came from the Ganjām District, the place from which they were issued, viz., Vardhamānapura, has been identified (*Ann. Rep. on S.-I. E.*, p. 52) with Vadama situated in the Palkonda taluk of the Vizagapatam District. Further the scribe of this record professes to have been a resident of Pishtapura, identified with modern Pithāpūram in the same district.

² Above, Vol. XII, pp. 4-6.

³ Dr. E. Hultzsch's reading of this word as *Sihapura* (Above, Vol. XII, p. 5, *Text*, line 1) does not appear to be borne out by the facsimile of the inscription. The correct reading, I believe, is, as elsewhere, *Simhapura*. The medial *i* sign of *Si* with an *anusvara* enclosed in its top loop, is clearly visible in the facsimile. *Cf.* in this connection the word *Simhapura* in the Kōmarti Plates of Chaṇḍavarman (Above, Vol. IV, plate facing p. 144 line 1).

⁴ The Tirithāpa Plates of Chaṇḍavarman (*Ann. Rep. on S.-I. Epigraphy* for 1934-35, C. P. No. 12), which is being edited by me for publication in the present journal, has for its scribe a person called *Dīśakṣapatalādihirita Rudradatta*, son of Mātrivara. The damaged condition of the Brīhatprōśhthā grant prevented Dr. E. Hultzsch from correctly deciphering (Above, Vol. XII, p. 5, *Text*, line 16) the name of the writer of the same. This name has now been happily restored by Mr. C. R. Krishnamachari (*Ann. Rep. on S.-I. E.* for 1934-35, p. 51 and *Ann. Rep. of the Arch. Surv. Ind.*, 1934-35, p. 64) as *Mātrivara*, who has further been identified with his namesake mentioned in the Tirithāpa grant as being the father of its writer, Rudradatta. Thus, the Brīhatprōśhthā and the Tirithāpa grants, between themselves, reveal the existence of a family of scribes who plied their trade in two royal courts of ancient Kāliṅga. The pedigree of this family, or rather a part of it as far as known, may be set forth as follows :—

Haridatta
|
Mātrivara
|
Rudradatta.

Scholars have widely differed on the question of the identity of the Umavarman of the records mentioned above. Some have sought to differentiate the donor of the *Bṛihatprōshthā* grant from that of the other two ; while others are less sure on the matter.

To be sure, the problem, though admittedly of a ticklish nature, does not seem entirely beyond the range of a solution.

Of one thing we may at once regard ourselves as fairly sure : viz., a decided affinity between the *Bṛihatprōshthā* grant and the record under discussion. Both of them come from the Vizagapatam District of Madras. Of more practical importance for our present purposes is the palaeography of the inscriptions concerned. They show the same thick-set ductus of writing ; the characters have in both cases a tendency to assume a squat and rounded shape. The phraseology, especially in the formal parts of the two records, is almost identical in both. Lastly, the seals of the two grants present the same features.

In short, the *Bṛihatprōshthā* and the *Dhavalapēṭa* records betray a striking homogeneity and family-likeness which eliminate the supposition of some mere chance or coincidence : a fact which justifies the assumption that the two records may have been drafted under the auspices of an identical ruler, and if not by an identical hand, at least by persons not far removed from each other in point of time. To be more precise, it brings the *Dhavalapēṭa* grant very near to the date (Year 30) given in the *Bṛihatprōshthā* grant. In fact, I believe that the **Umavarman of the *Bṛihatprōshthā* grant is to be regarded as identical with his namesake of the record under discussion.**

There is also, I think, reason to believe that the *Dhavalapēṭa* plates were issued immediately before the *Bṛihatprōshthā* grant : for, in the latter record Umavarman is made to assume the ambitious (though, at this period, all too common) title of '*Kaliṅgādhipati*', which is absent in the *Dhavalapēṭa* plates. The *Bṛihatprōshthā* grant, therefore, seems to have been issued on the occasion of some notable military success won by Umavarman at the expense of some local ruler.

I am at present not in a position to identify the localities mentioned in the inscription.

Palaeographically, our inscription has to be referred to the first half of the 5th century A. D. As such, it falls into line with such other early records from Kalinga as the Kōmarti Plates of Chaṇḍavarman¹, Jirjingi Plates of Indravarman², etc.

TEXT.³

First Plate.

- 1 *Om Svasti [||*] Sunagarāt paramadaivata-bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ā-
- 2 mudhyātaḥ śrīr-mamahārāj-**Omavarimma Mahēndra-bhōgō Kuttu-**
- 3 **ra-grāmō** sarvva-samanvāgatān-kuṭumbīnas-samājūṣa-
- 4 [ya]ti [||*] asty-śha grāmō-smābhīr-ātmana*[b*] puṇy-āyu[r*]-⁴ yaśō-bhivṛiddha-

¹ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff. and plates.

² Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 281 ff.

³ From ink-impressions.

⁴ The ornamental symbol representing *Om* has been engraved at the beginning of line 2.

⁵ The letter *sa* had been originally passed over by the engraver and was subsequently inserted at the foot of the line.

⁶ The letter *ya* of *yaśō* has been engraved below the line, the correction being indicated by a little *x* mark at the top.

i.

2 4

ii, a.

6 8

ii, b.

10 12

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 5 yē Vatsa-sagōtrāya Chhandōga-sabrahmachāriṇē brāhma-
 6 ṇa-Khallasvāminē ā-sahasrāmśu-śaśī¹-tāraka-pratiṣṭha-
 7 m-agrahāra[ḥ] kṛtvā sarva-kara-parihāraiś-cha pariḥṛitya
 8 sampradattas-saha vāṭakēna[*] tad-ēvaṁ viditvā yushmābhiḥ

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 9 pūrvv-ōchita-maryyādā(da)y-ōpasthānaḥ karttavyam[*] yach-ch-ātra
 10 kinchid-utpadyatē mēya-hirany-ādi tat-sarvvam-u-
 11 pāṇṣyath[*] bhaviṣyataś-cha rājñō vijñāpayati[*] dharmma-kkrama-
 12 [vikra]māpām-anyatama-yōgād-avāpya mahim-anusāsata²

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-4) *Om Hail ! From Sunagara, the illustrious king (Mahārāja) Umavarman, who is a devout worshipper of the gods and devoted to the feet of (his) father, commands all the householders en masse at the Village of Kuttura (which is situated) in the Mahendra-bhōga (as follows) :*

(Ll. 4-8) “ We have granted this village including the road³ (passing through it), for the increase of (Our) own religious merit, life and fame, to the Brāhmaṇa, Khallasvāmin, who belongs to the Vatsa gōtra and who is a religious student of the Chhandōga śākhā, after making it an *agrahāra*, which is to last as long as the sun, the moon and the stars, and exempting it from the liability of paying all taxes.

(Ll. 8-11) “ Having known this, you should regard (this gift) with the honour as obtaining heretofore ; you should also surrender (to the donee) whatever grows on this (soil) (in the shape of) grain (*mēya*), gold, etc.”

(Ll. 11-12) The King further exhorts the future rulers (as follows) : “ Having obtained possession of the earth either by right, or by succession, or by valour and ruling (it).....

No. 19.—SPURIOUSNESS OF THE NALANDA PLATE OF SAMUDRAGUPTA.

By DINES CHANDRA SIROAR, M.A., PH.D., CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

There is a controversy over the character of the Nālandā Plate of Samudragupta dated in the year 5. In *A. S. I., An. Rep.*, 1927-28, p. 138, Dr. Hirananda Sastri says, “ As in the latter document (i.e., the Gayā Plate) so in the one under notice (i.e., the Nālandā Plate), the epithets of Samudragupta from *Sarva-rāj-ōchchhēttuḥ* (line 1) to *Licchhivi-dauhitrasya* (line 4) are given in the genitive case, but *Kumārādēvyām-utpannaḥ Paramabhāgavatō mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Samu-* *draguptaḥ* in the nominative case. Obviously, therefore, this new plate must also be treated as spurious”. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, however, points out that “ one ungrammatical clause, which is common to both, is not enough to stamp either as spurious. On the other hand, the alphabet of this Plate (i.e., the Nālandā Plate) is really of the time of Samudragupta, though

¹ This word, which the scribe forgot to engrave, has been inserted at the top of the line.

² Following the text of the Brīhatprākṣhā grant, one might restore the rest of this sentence as *anūsāsātām-pravṛttakam-īdan-dānam-śat-dharmmam-anupaśyadbhir-śakṣo-grahārō-nupātyaḥ* [*].

³ The other alternative meanings of this word *vāṭaka* such as ‘ garden ’, ‘ orchard ’, etc., do not seem to be applicable here.

that of No. 1540 (i.e., the Gayā Plate) is of the 8th century"¹. Thus while Dr. Sastri declares the record to be spurious, Dr. Bhandarkar admits the possibility of its genuineness. Mr. A. Ghosh, who has recently edited² the Nālandā plate, is, "on the whole, inclined to think that the genuineness of the present Plate is not above suspicion"³. Mr. Ghosh rightly points out⁴ that the authenticity of the Nālandā record would indicate an abnormally long period for three generations, viz., Samudragupta, Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I. Further, he points out⁵ the indiscriminate use of *v* and *b* which is abundant in both the Gayā and Nālandā Plates as a "feature, remarkable for the Gupta period". He, however, does not lay much emphasis on this point. Such use is not found in the genuine records of the early Gupta kings⁶. This characteristic, therefore, appears to suggest that the record is a late forgery.

Samudragupta's epithet *chir-utsann-āśvamedh-āhartuḥ* is, again, very suspicious. It is only used in the records of his successors and is conspicuous by its absence from the elaborate description of his achievements in the Allahābād pillar inscription. It is indeed highly improbable that Samudragupta performed the horse-sacrifice before the fifth year of his reign or of the Gupta era.

The most important point in this connection is, in my opinion, the title *Paramabhāgavata* applied to the name of Samudragupta in both the Gayā and Nālandā Plates. That Samudragupta was not a *Paramabhāgavata* is proved beyond doubt by the striking facts that he is nowhere given that title and that several records of the later members of his family mention the names of Samudragupta and his predecessors without that title, but, at the same time, apply it to the names of all his successors. The Gupta genealogy given in the Bhitari pillar inscription⁷ of Skandagupta, may be cited as an example.

That Samudragupta was not a *Paramabhāgavata* is proved not only by the inscriptions, but also by the evidence of coins. The title is found with the names of Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta on a number of their coin-types, but not with the name of Samudragupta on any of his numerous types⁸.

The above facts prove that as Chandragupta I was the first *Mahārājādhirāja*, so was Chandragupta II the first *Paramabhāgavata* among the Gupta emperors. There is reason to believe that the latter king was at the root of the great popularity of the Bhāgavata religion and of such titles as *Paramabhāgavata* from the 4th-5th century A. D. Samudragupta might have been a Vaishnava⁹, but he was evidently not a *Bhāgavata*, i.e., follower of the Bhāgavata form of Vaishnavism.

There is thus hardly any doubt that the epithets of Samudragupta in the Nālandā Plate were copied from the records of his successors. The Nālandā Plate is therefore forged and is certainly later than "the time of Samudragupta".

¹ *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 2075, n. 1. Dr. Bhandarkar lays great stress on the early script used in the Nālandā Plate. It is, however, always very easy for a forger to copy the script only four centuries older.

² Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 59 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁶ There is not a single instance of the indiscriminate use of *v* and *b* in any of the genuine records of the Gupta kings edited by Fleet in *C. I. I.*, Vol. III. The earliest use noticed there is in the Khōh grant of Hastia dated in the Gupta year 156 (*Ibid.*, p. 94).

⁷ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 52 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 225, n.

⁸ Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, pp. 161—62.

⁹ The Garuda emblem on his coins may suggest that his religion was Vaishnavism. But this is not beyond doubt. Śālaṅkāyana Dēvarman was a *Paramabhāgavata*, but Nandivarmān II a *Paramabhāgavata*. They, however, not only used the same Śaivite emblem on their seals, but also advocated their devotion to Chitrarathasvāmīn, the family deity of the Śālaṅkāyanas (Sircar, *Successors of the Śālaṅkāyanas*, Calcutta, 1939, p. 84). Such emblems appear to have been connected with the faith of the founder of a particular royal line.

No. 20.—BASIM PLATES OF VAKATAKA VINDHYASAKTI II.

By MAHĀMAHĀPĀDHYĀYA PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A. AND D. B. MAHAJAN, B.A.

These plates were discovered by Pandit Vasudev Śāstri Dhānagare at Bāsim, the headquarters of the Bāsim *tāluka* of the Akolā District in Berār. They were brought to the notice of scholars at the second session of the Indian History Congress held at Calcutta in December 1939 when Mr. Y. K. Deshpande read an article on them contributed by him jointly with Mr. D. B. Mahajan, B.A., Superintendent of Land Records, Akolā. The article is expected to be published soon in the *Proceedings* of the Congress¹. We re-edit the inscription here with the consent of Pandit Dhānagare and Mr. Y. K. Deshpande.

The copper-plates are four in number, each measuring 6·1" broad and 3·4" high. The first and fourth plates are inscribed on one side only and the other two on both the sides. Their ends are neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims; still the inscription is in a good state of preservation. About 1·2" from the middle of the proper right edge of each plate, there is a round hole 25" in diameter for the ring which holds the plates together. The ring, however, has no seal.² The total weight of the plates together with the ring is 47½ *tolas*. The inscription contains thirty lines of writing which are equally distributed on the six inscribed faces of the four plates.

The characters are of the box-headed variety of the South-Indian alphabet, resembling those of the copper-plate inscriptions of Pravarasēna II. As in the latter, the medial *au* is bipartite, see *-paurasya*, l. 3; *kh* has a loop at the bottom in *likhitam*, l. 29 and *rakkhāpedha*, l. 25, but not in *kkhanaka*, l. 20 and *rakkhadha*, l. 25; *t* and *n* are not distinguished in many places, both being denoted by the same looped form, see *-vachanāt*, l. 5 and *hēmanā*, l. 28; in *anumanyati*, l. 26, on the other hand, *n* appears without a loop exactly like *t*. It is again noteworthy that the lingual *ṇ* has an identical form whether it is used as a subscript or a superscript letter, see *a-hirayya-dhāyā* l. 20, while in the grants³ of Pravarasēna II, the Tālagunda inscription⁴ of Kākusthavarman and other records of the period, the subscript *ṇ* has generally the same form as the dental *n*. Numerical symbols for 30, 7 and 4 occur in lines 28 and 29 of the text and those for 1 to 4 on the first inscribed side of the respective plates. Of these, the symbol for 4 in line 29 is noteworthy; for it consists of the sign for *ka* with an additional curve, not at the top as usual,⁵ but at the right side of its horizontal bar. In the margin of the same plate, the symbol is exactly like *ka*. A final consonant is indicated by its short form without a box at the head, see *-vachanāt*, l. 5. Finally a crescent-like curve is used here and there as a mark of punctuation which is redundant in most cases. The language of the inscription is partly Sanskrit and partly Prākṛit. The genealogical portion of the grant in lines 1-5 is in Sanskrit; the formal portion which follows is in Prākṛit, but like the Hīrahaḍagallī plates, the present inscription closes with a benedictory sentence in Sanskrit.⁶ It is noteworthy that as in the early Prākṛit inscriptions of the Pallavas and

¹ The article has been published since this was sent to the press. See *Proceedings* of the Indian History Congress, Third Session, pp. 449 ff. and plates.

² All the complete grants of Pravarasēna II, which have been published so far, have a round seal with a metrical legend, but without any device, see, e.g., the seal of the Tirōḍi plates, above, Vol. XXII, plate facing p. 173.

³ See, e.g., *suvarṇa* in l. 45 of the Pattan plates of Pravarasēna II, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 87.

⁴ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 25 and n. 2.

⁵ See Böhler's *Indische Palaeographie*, Tafel IX.

⁶ In the Hīrahaḍagallī plates (above, Vol. I, pp. 2 ff.) the expression is *Svasti gō-brāhmaṇa-līkhaka-vāchaka=brāhṇāya āti*, while in the present grant it is *Siddhāi=astu*.

Bṛīhatphalāyanas, there are no benedictive or imprecatory verses at the end. The Sanskrit portion calls for no special notice except that the *gōtra* of the Vākṣakās which is usually given as Viśṇuvṛiddha, appears here in the form Vṛiṣṇivṛiddha. The former is evidently the correct form, for it is the only form of the *gōtra* given by the standard works¹ on *gōtras* and *pravāras*. The Prākṛit portion of the inscription deserves careful study; for, this is one of the few copper-plate grants from South India which contain a detailed portion in Prākṛit. Even in this portion, however, the language is influenced by Sanskrit; see, for instance, the Sanskrit expressions *svasti-kānti-vāchanē*, ll. 8-9, *sa-māṇcha-mahākaraṇa*, l. 24 and *a-damyamāṇam*,² l. 25, which are inserted in the midst of Prākṛit sentences. As shown below, the present grant has many technical expressions mentioning exemptions granted to the donees which are common to the grants of the Pallava Śivaskandavarman, but unlike the latter the present inscription shows several instances of double consonants, though cases of single consonants doing duty for double ones are by no means rare, see, e.g., *chātuvvejja-ggāma-majjātā*, l. 19, *a-puppha-kkhira-ggahaya*, l. 21, *Vidhijjesi*, l. 13, *Sivajjesi*, l. 16, etc. and contrast them with *Revutijesi*, l. 18, *Chūṇḍajesi*, l. 14, etc. In some respects the language of the present record does not strictly conform to the rules of Prākṛit grammarians, see, e.g., *tiṇṇā* (Sanskrit, *trayaḥ*) in l. 17 instead of *tiṇṇi* laid down by Vararuchi, VI, 56; *tiṇṇa* in l. 27 instead of *tassa*³. Other noteworthy forms are *se* in l. 19 in the sense of *tasya*,⁴ *ya* in ll. 7, 19, 25 and 26 meaning *cha*,⁵ and the euphonic nasal in *ethaṇ-gāme* in l. 9. As for the dialect used, it is, as might be expected, the Mahārāṣṭrī, see, e.g., *āpaṇo* (for the regular *appaṇo*) in l. 8, but it is curious to note that this record found in the heart of Mahārāṣṭra exhibits some peculiarities which are usually ascribed to the Śaurasēnī; see, e.g., the softening of *tā* into *dā* in *Adhivasiṇa*, l. 9 and the verbal forms *rakkhadha*, *rakkhāpedha*, *pariharadha* and *pariharāpedha*⁶ in lines 25 and 26 and *dāṇa*⁷ in l. 8. On the other hand, we have hardening of *d* into *t* in *-majjātā*, l. 19, as in the Paiśācī⁸. These forms show that the peculiarities of the several dialects were not strictly confined to the provinces after which they were named.

Especially noteworthy are the forms in *si* (or, *siṇ*) used in the sense of the dative, e.g., *Jivujjesiṇ* (Sanskrit, *Jivūrjāya*), *Ruddajjesi* (Sanskrit, *Rudrūrjāya*), etc., in ll. 10-18. According to grammarians⁹ the dative case has disappeared from the Prākṛits, its place being taken by the genitive. The genitive singular of nouns in *a* usually ends in *sa* (written as *sa* in very early records) and this is the form which is invariably found in other Prākṛit inscriptions. In the present grant, on the other hand, we find the form in *si* (or *siṇ*)¹⁰ used throughout. It

¹ See, e.g., the *Śāstraprasaṅgikādhakadamba*, pp. 44, etc.

² [See below p. 153, n. 4—Ed.]

³ Vararuchi, VI, 5 mentions *tiṇṇa* as genitive singular in the feminine.

⁴ *Ibid.*, VI, 11.

⁵ Similarly *ya* is used in this sense in line 6 of the Mayidavōlu plates (above, Vol. VI, p. 87) and in lines 12 and 14 of the Ellore plates of the Śālanakāyana Dēvavarman, *ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 58 and 59.

⁶ Vararuchi, V, 46. The Hiraṇyagallī plates have *appaṇa* in l. 8. In Śaurasēnī the form would be *attanā*.

⁷ Vararuchi, XII, 3. It may be noted that the Mayidavōlu plates of Śivaskandavarman in l. 20 and the British Museum plates of Chārudevi (above, Vol. VIII, p. 146) in l. 11 have *pariharadha* and *pariharāpedha*.

⁸ Hemaṇḍra lays down *dāṇiṇ* in VIII, 4, 277, but says that the final *anuvāda* is optionally dropped (VIII, l. 29). The Hiraṇyagallī plates (l. 7) have the same form as here, while the Mayidavōlu plates (l. 5) and the Koṇḍamudi plates (above, Vol. VI, p. 317, l. 7) have *dāṇi*.

⁹ It is noteworthy that *-majjātāye* occurs in l. 45 of the Hiraṇyagallī plates and *-majjātāya* in l. 18 of the Mayidavōlu plates. Both these records are of the same period and come from the same part of South India.

¹⁰ Vararuchi, VI, 64.

¹¹ *Siṇ* is used only in three or four places in ll. 10-12.

seems to have been modelled on the genitive plural forms of pronouns, e.g., *jesim*, *tesim*, *kesim*, etc., just as the pronominal form *etāya* is made on the analogy of *bāmhagāya*¹ which accompanies it in l. 17. This form in *si* has survived in old Marāṭhī works like the *Līlācharitra* and the *Jñānīśvari* and is plainly the source of the modern Marāṭhī affix *sa*. Scholars have long been in doubt about the origin of this affix. Some derived it from the Prākṛit affix *ssa*, but as Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar has pointed out the form in *sa* does not occur in old Marāṭhī works which throughout exhibit only the form in *si*². Other origins of this affix have been suggested. Bhandarkar traced it to the Sanskrit word *sama*³ and Rajavade to *āsa*⁴ (meaning 'near'). The numerous forms in *si* which occur in the sense of the dative in the present inscription leave no doubt that this affix is the real parent of the Marāṭhī affix *sa*.

The only orthographical peculiarities that call for notice are the reduplication of a consonant after *r* (as in *Dharmma*-, l. 1) and *anusvāra* (in *kata[m̐]vva*, l. 26 and *sā[m̐]vuchcharam*, l. 28), the use of *j* for *y* in *karejja*, l. 26 and *kerejjāma*, l. 28, and the use of the class nasal in place of an *anusvāra* in Sanskrit and Prākṛit words, see, e.g., *Vindhyasaktēr*, and *Nāndikaḍaṣa*, l. 5, *a-chamm-aṅgālika*, l. 22 and *sa-maṅcha-mahākaraṇa*, l. 24, etc.

Like other finished Vākātaka grants, the present inscription opens with the word *drishṭam*,⁵ 'seen', the auspicious word *siddham* being written in the margin of the first plate as in the Hirahadagalli plates of Śivaskandavarman.⁶ The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Vākātaka king, the *Dharmamahārāja Vindhyasakti*. The object of it is to register the grant, by Vindhyasakti, of the village *Ākṣapadda*⁷ which was situated near Tākālakkhōppaka on the road going north from Nāndikaḍa. The donees were certain Brāhmaṇas of the *Ātharvaṇa charaṇa* or *Atharvavēda*. Brāhmaṇas of this Vēda, though now practically non-existent in the Central Provinces and Berār, were apparently not so rare in the age of the Vākātakas; for, the Tirōḍi plates⁸ of the Vākātaka king Pravarasēna II also register the grant of a village in the Bālāghāt District of the Central Provinces to a Brāhmaṇa of the *Atharvavēda*. The names of all the donees mentioned in lines 10-18 end in *ajja* (or, *aja*, Sanskrit, *arya*) as in the early grants of the Pallavas, Bṛihatphalāyanas and Ānandas. The land or the revenue of the village was divided into four parts, of which three were assigned to eight Brāhmaṇas and the remaining one to one Brāhmaṇa. The shares of the former, again, were not equal; four of them received only half a share⁹ and the remaining four, two shares¹⁰ each.

¹ Forms like *etāya* are, of course, recognised by Vararuchi, VI, 4.

² E. G. Bhandarkar, *Wilson Philological Lectures* (publ. in 1914), p. 204.

³ According to Bhandarkar the origin of the Marāṭhī affix *sa* is the same as that of Hindi *sā*, Gujarātī *sā* or *syā* and Sindhi *sā* or *sā*, *ibid.*, p. 251.

⁴ Rajvade, *Jñānīśvarīchī Vyākaraṇa*, (Marāṭhī), p. 11.

⁵ This word does not occur in the beginning of the unfinished Bālāghāt plates of Prithivishēṇa II (above Vol. IX, p. 270) and the unfinished Drug plate, (*ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 212.)

⁶ In the Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā (above, Vol. XV, plate facing p. 42), on the other hand, *drishṭam* is written in the margin and *siddham* in the first line.

⁷ The name of the village is used in the plural just like *Valārasasa* in inscription No. 13 at Kārī (above, Vol. VII, p. 57).

⁸ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 172.

⁹ The text has *addhata* in l. 10, which probably means 'a half'. Compare *amuk-addhā* in l. 21 of the Kondaṇudi plates of Jayavarman (above, Vol. VI, p. 317). *Addhātā* which occurs in l. 39 of the Hirahadagalli plates (above, Vol. I, p. 9 and n. 24) has, however, been translated by Bühler as 'labourers'.

¹⁰ *Paja* in l. 15 corresponds to *pati-śāḍya* or *pati-śāḍya* in the Hirahadagalli plates (ll. 12, 13, etc., *passim*). In the Gōrnatla plates of Attivarman *patti* is used in the sense of a measure of land. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 103. Is *patti* or *pata* identical with *pātaka* which is mentioned as a measure of land in the Gunaighar copper-plate of Vainyagupta? See *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. VI, pp. 45 ff.

The plates are dated in the 37th year (expressed in numerical symbols) evidently of the reign of the donor Vindhyasakti, on the 4th day of the first fortnight of Hēmana. This date does not admit of verification and there is no reference to any era, but that the record must be referred to an early period in the age of the Vākātakas appears not only from the use of the Prākṛit language in its formal portion but also from the manner of dating it; for such a season-date is met with only in one other Vākātaka inscription, viz., the Dudia plates¹ of Pravara-sēna II. The present grant was written by the *Sēnāpati* Vaṇhu (Vishnu) and was issued from Vatsagulma. Only one other grant is known to have been issued from this place, viz., that recorded in the India Office plate² of the Vākātaka king Dēvasēna.

Vatsagulma was probably the capital of Vindhyasakti. It seems to have continued to be the Vākātaka capital at least down to the time of Dēvasēna and evidently attained great importance in course of time; for it gave its name to a particular style. In the opening verse of his Prākṛit play *Karpūramāñjarī*, Rājāsēkhara mentions Vachchhomī (which plainly corresponds to the Sanskrit Vātsagulmī) as a *rīti* together with the Māgadhī and the Pāñchālī. Vachchhomī is clearly identical with Vaidarbhī. The latter form is derived from the name of the country of Vidarbha and the former from that of its capital Vachchhoma (Vatsagulma). Dr. Randle has shown by reference to the *Kāmasūtra* that the Vatsagulma country was situated in the south and that it corresponds to the Vākātaka kingdom.³ Rājāsēkhara also tells us in his *Karpūramāñjarī*⁴ that Vachchhoma was situated in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. The importance of Vatsagulma as a centre of culture is suggested by the same author in his rhetorical work *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*.⁵ In the third *adhyāya* of it, Rājāsēkhara states that the mythical Kāvya-purusha married the Sāhityavidyā at Vatsagulma in Vidarbha which is the pleasure-resort of the god of love. Vatsagulma was evidently known as a centre of learning in the time of Rājāsēkhara. This place is identical with Bāsim where the present plates were found. It is now regarded as a holy *śaṭra* and there are said to be as many as 108 *tīrthas* in it, associated with different gods and sages. The place-name is variously derived. The *Jayamaṅgalā*, a commentary on the *Kāmasūtra*⁶ states that Vatsa and Gulma were two uterine brothers and princes of Dakṣiṇāpatha. The country settled by them came to be known as Vātsagulmaka. The local *Mūhātmya* gives an altogether different derivation. It states that Vatsa was a sage who by his very severe austerities made an assemblage (*gulma*) of gods come down and settle in the vicinity of his hermitage. Since then the place came to be known as Vatsagulma.⁷ Nāndikaḍa, which was apparently the headquarters of a district,⁸ is probably identical with Nāndēḍ, the chief town of a district of the same name in the Nizām's dominions. Tākālakkhōppaka and the donated village Akāsapadda which was situated near it cannot be definitely identified. From the description in line 6 we learn that they lay on the road going to the North from Nāndikaḍa. Now, on the road which connects Nāndēḍ with Bāsim which lies about 75 miles to the north of it, there are two villages Tākāligōhan and Tākālī about 40 and 43

¹ Above, Vol. III, p. 262.

² *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, p. 180.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 179.

⁴ See *Karpūramāñjarī* (Harvard Oriental Series ed.), p. 26.

⁵ Gaeckwad's Oriental Series, ed. (1916), p. 10.

⁶ *Kāmasūtra* (Nirṇaya-sāgara Press ed.), p. 295. The *Bṛhatkathā* also mentions that Vatsa and Gulma were sons of a Brāhmana and maternal uncles of Guṇādhya, but it does not state that they founded a city named Vatsagulma. See *Bṛhatkathā-māñjarī*, I, 3, 4, and *Kathāsarit-sāgara*, I, 6, 9.

⁷ *Akola District Gazetteer*, pp. 325 ff.

⁸ Similar names ending in *kaḍa* (e.g., *Ehōjokaḍa*, *Eṣṇākaḍa*) occur in other grants of the Vākātakas as names of districts.

miles respectively from Nāndēd. One of these may represent ancient Tākālakkhōppaka. About seven miles to the west of Tākāligōhan there is still a small village named Āsunḍ which is possibly identical with Ākasapadda. The identification of Nāndikaḍa with Nāndēd, which is almost certain, shows that Vindhyaśakti was ruling over southern Berār and the northern parts of the Nizām's Dominions.

Having thus disposed of the formal part of the grant, let us now turn to the historical information furnished by it.

The present inscription gives the following genealogy of the donor Vindhyaśakti: Pravaraśēna, his son Sarvasēna and the latter's son Vindhyaśakti. In connection with Vindhyaśakti, the inscription purports to state that he had performed the Agniśtōma, Aptōryāma, Vājapēya, Jyōtiṣtōma, Bṛhaspatisava Sādyaskra and four Āśvamēdhas, and that he was a *Hārītiputra* (a son, i. e., a descendant of Hārīti) and *Dharmamahārāja*.¹ These two latter epithets are found applied to a Vākāṭaka king in the present grant only; for, they are nowhere mentioned in any of the grants of Prabhāvatiguptā, Pravaraśēna II and Prithivishēna II. They seem to have been adopted from the grants of the Kadambas. As only one Vindhyaśakti is known to history, viz., the one who is mentioned in the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas and in the stone inscription in cave No. XVI at Ajanṭā, it was at first naturally supposed that the donor of the plates was identical with the celebrated founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty.² The use of the Prākṛit language in a portion of this record lent colour to this view; for, all other known Vākāṭaka inscriptions—whether on stone or on copper—are invariably in Sanskrit. The Bāsim plates were therefore supposed to carry the genealogy of the Vākāṭakas two generations before Vindhyaśakti. A closer examination of the record has, however, shown that this identification cannot be upheld. The genealogical portion of the grant is faulty in construction; for it seems to repeat the epithet *Dharmamahārāja* three times in connection with Vindhyaśakti.³ Besides, it credits Vindhyaśakti with the performance of almost the same number of identical sacrifices as those mentioned in connection with Pravaraśēna I in all other Vākāṭaka grants.⁴ It seems therefore that the expressions *śri-Pravaraśēna*-

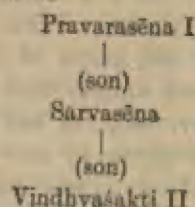
¹ The title *Dharmamahārāja*, which Hindu kings assumed in the early centuries of the Christian era, seems to have been suggested by the analogous one *Dharmamahādēva* which appears as the title of a high official in the inscriptions of Aśoka. We find it for the first time in the Hiraṇyagallī grant of the Pallava king Śivaśāṇḍavarman. It is, however, noteworthy that the title was mentioned in Pallava grants only in connection with the name of the contemporary ruling king; for, in the early Sanskrit grants of the Pallavas which mention three generations (e. g., the Pīkīra and Māṅgaḷār grants of Śiṃhavarman, above, Vol. VIII, p. 162; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 155), the title is applied only to the ruling king who made the particular gift. This is probably the reason why the title does not occur in the Mayidavolu plates of Śivaśāṇḍavarman, for he was only a *Yasurāja* when he issued the plates. The Kadambas adopted this title from the Pallavas after whom they rose to power. Their grants, however, mention this title even in connection with the ancestors of the ruling kings, see, e. g., the Baṇṇaḥḷī plates of Kṛiṣṇavarman II, above, Vol. VI, pp. 18 ff. The present Bāsim plates have adopted the same custom; for, as shown below, they mention this title in connection with the name of all the three kings, Pravaraśēna, Sarvasēna and Vindhyaśakti. In some later Kadamba grants we find the title mentioned in connection with the names of old kings only, which shows that it went out of use in course of time. Like the Kadambas the Early Chālukyas also called themselves *Hārītiputras*, but they rose to power long after the Vākāṭakas.

² This view is maintained in the article which was read at the Calcutta session of the Indian History Congress.

³ This was first pointed out by Dr. D. C. Sircar in his note on the present plates published in the *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 132 ff. The repetition may, however, be attributed to the carelessness of the drafter of the record. An analogous instance is furnished by the Dēvagiri plates of the Kadamba *Yasurāja* Dēvavarman, which apply the epithet *Dharmamahārāja* twice to his father Kṛiṣṇavarman, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 33-34.

⁴ See, e. g., the Paṭṭaṇ plates of Pravaraśēna II, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 85. The list is the same except that the Bāsim plates mention *Jyōtiṣtōma* in place of *Ukṣṭya*, *Shōḍaśa* and *Atirāva*.

putrasya in 1. 3 and *śrī-Sarvasēna-putrasya* in 1. 4 are to be taken as *śrī-Pravarasēnasya putrasya* and *śrī-Sarvasēnasya putrasya*, so that the preceding adjectival expressions in the genitive case including the epithet *Dharmamahārājasya* would agree with *śrī-Pravarasēnasya* and *śrī-Sarvasēnasya* respectively. According to this construction, all the three kings, Pravarasēna Sarvasēna and Vindhyaśakti, would receive the epithet *Dharmamahārāja* and there would thus be no tautology. Besides, the expression *Agnishōm-āptōryyāma.....chatur-ācamādhā-yājinaḥ* and *Samrāja[ḥ*]* would now qualify *śrī-Pravarasēnasya*, showing that it was he, and not Vindhyaśakti, who performed these sacrifices and assumed the title of *Samrāj*. This is quite in accordance with the statement in other Vākātaka grants. Pravarasēna, who heads the genealogical list in the present plates, would thus be Pravarasēna I who, according to the Purāṇas, was the son of Vindhyaśakti. The Vākātaka king who granted the present plates should therefore be called Vindhyaśakti II. He thus becomes the great-grandson of Vindhyaśakti I. The genealogy in the present plates would thus be as follows—



This would therefore be a different branch of the Vākātaka family; for, according to the genealogy in several inscriptions of Pravarasēna II and Prithivishēna II, Pravarasēna I was succeeded by his grandson Rudrasēna I, the son of Gautamīputra who probably did not come to the throne¹.

Let us next consider if we could adduce any other evidence to prove the existence of this hitherto unknown branch of the Vākātaka family.

In this connection we would draw attention to the stone inscription in cave No. XVI at Ajantā. This inscription has been edited thrice before, first by Dr. Bhau Daji with 'a tolerably accurate facsimile' in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. VII, pp. 53-74, then by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India*, pp. 69-73 and finally by Dr. Bühler in the *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV, pp. 124-28. Dr. Bühler's transcript is accompanied by a lithograph of the record from a facsimile prepared by Pandit Bhagwanlal². This lithograph has been somewhat worked up by hand. As it is, it seems to show that the inscribed stone is quite smooth where the inscription is well preserved, but those who have visited Ajantā and seen the inscription *in situ* know that it is just the reverse. This lithograph must therefore be used with caution and important readings of it must be verified from mechanical copies of the record. As we were suspicious about certain readings in the transcripts of Bhagwanlal and Bühler, we requested the Government Epigraphist for India to lend us a fresh estampage of the inscription. We are grateful to him for complying with our request and sending us an excellent estampage³.

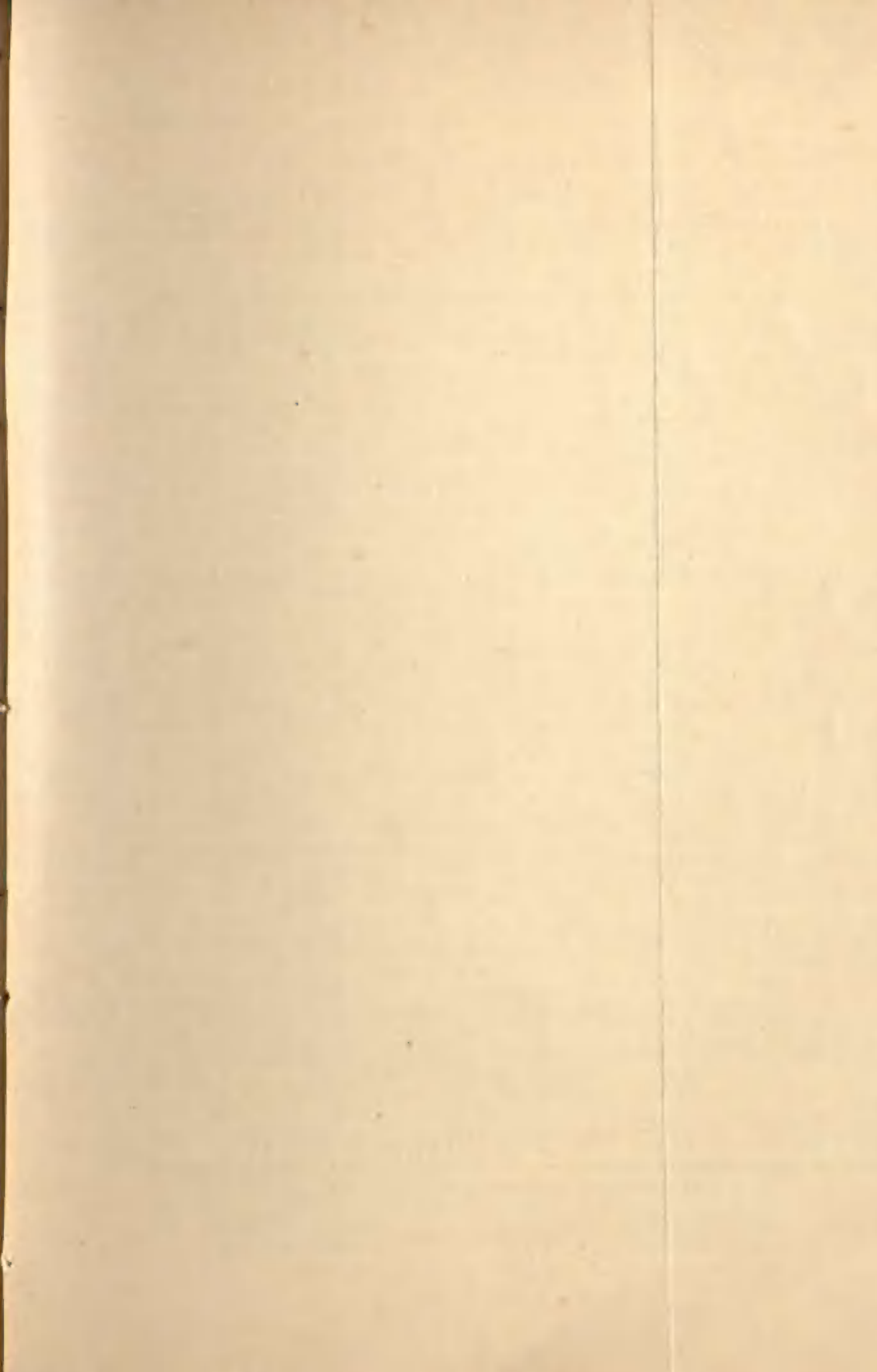
The Ajantā inscription is very much worn especially in the middle and on the left hand side, but Bhagwanlal has, with his wonted skill, transcribed all that could be deciphered in his days. We give below his transcript of the first nine lines of the record for ready reference.

¹ Gautamīputra does not seem to have ascended the throne because in later Vākātaka grants the epithet *Vākāṭakīnām Mahārājasya* which invariably precedes the names of ruling kings is not prefixed to his name. See above, Vol. XXII, p. 175, n. 1.

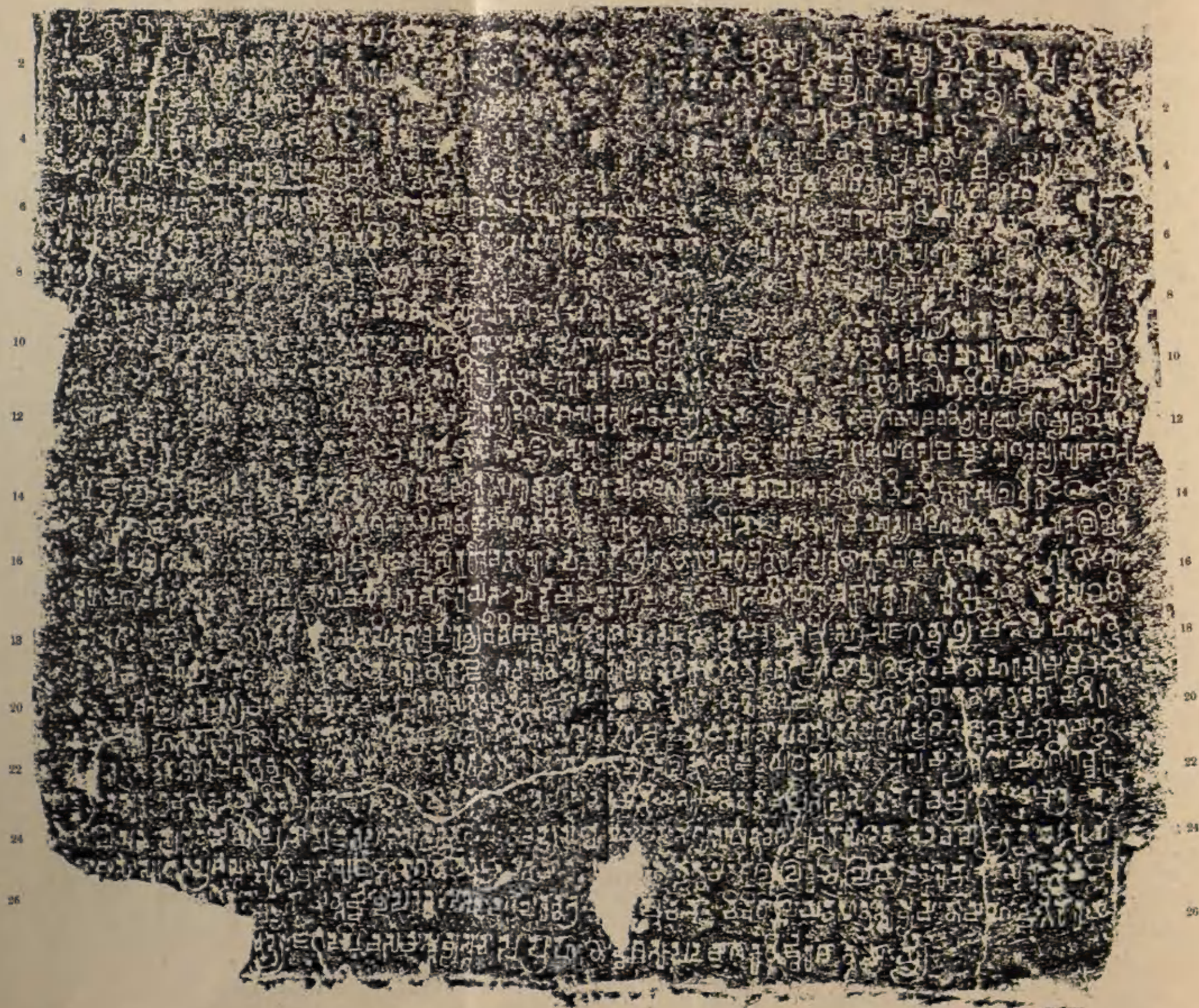
See *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. IV, Plate LVII.

³ The estampage is reproduced here with the kind permission of Mr. G. Yazdani, M.A., O.B.E., Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad State.





VAKATAKA INSCRIPTION IN CAVE NO. XVI AT AJANTA.



- [१] उदीर्णलोकत्रयदीपवह्निनिर्वापनो
 प्रणम्य पूर्वां प्रवक्ष्ये चित्तिपातपूर्वी[म] [II]
- [२] महाविमर्द्वभिहृद्यशक्तिः क्रुद्धस्मुरैरप्यनिवार्य[वीर्यः] [I]
 रणदानशक्तिः द्विजप्रकाशो भुवि विन्ध्यशक्तिः [II]
- [३] पुरन्दरोपेन्द्रसमप्रभावः स्वबाहुवीर्यार्जितस[र्वलोकः] [I]
 [यशो]शुकानां बभूव वाकाटकवंशकेतुः [II]
- [४] रणे[षु] ह्युत्थितरेणुजालसञ्छादिताकं [I]
 नरातीकृत्वा[भि]वादप्रवणाश्चकार [II]
- [५] [विनि]र्जितारि[स्मर]राजकार्यश्चकार पुण्येषु परं प्रय[त्नं] [I]
 नरेन्द्रमौलिविन्ध्यस्तमणिकिरणलौठक्रमाश्रुजः
- [६] प्रवरसेनस्तस्य पुचोभूदिकसन्नवेन्दोवरत्न[रविमयूख]
 [रुद्र ? सेनः] प्रवरसेनस्य जितसर्वसेनस्युतोभवत्
- [७] पार्थिवेन्द्रस्य [प्रशशास] धर्मेण मेदिनीम् कुन्तलेन्द्रवि
 प्रवरसेनस्य पुचोभूषणवरोर्जितोदारशासनप्रवरः [I]
- [८] [II] तस्यात्मजः कामत
 [I] मवाप्य राज्यमष्टाब्दकी यप्रशशास
 सम्यक् [II]
- [९] तस्यात्मजोभूवरदेव भुवि देवसेनः [I] यस्योपभोगैर्बलितैर्विपाव-
 नैर्नृदेवराजस्य भूः [II] पुण्यानुभावात्त्वितिपस्य

In his introduction to this inscription Bhagwanlal gave the following list of Vakāṭaka princes mentioned in it :—

- 1 Vindhyasakti.
- 2 Pravaraśeṇa.
- 3 (Rudra ?) śeṇa.
- 4
- 5 Dāvasēṇa.
- 6 Harishāpa.

¹ The reading appears to be *śakni-nirvāpasa*.

² The reading is *pravaraśeṇa-chakāra* as noted by Bühler.

³ Bühler read [*ari-*] before *narāndra-* in l. 5 and *-āndīvar-śakāṭaka* in l. 6. See also, above, Vol. VIII, p. 27.

He further remarked,¹ 'From the broken state of the inscription it is not clear whether Pravarasēna was a son of Vindhyaśakti, or, as is probable, of a member of the Vindhyaśakti family.² Of his son only -sēna is legible, preceded by a faintly traceable form like *dra*, so that the name may have been Bhādrasēna, Chandrasēna, Indrasēna, Rudrasēna, etc.' Bhagwanlal seems to have adopted the reading Rudrasēna, because this name occurs soon after that of Pravarasēna I³ in the Siwani and Chammak plates of the Vākāṭaka Pravarasēna II, which had been discovered before. This list was next revised by Bühler in the introductory note to his transcript of the record in *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 128. Bühler thought that he could read, in the middle of line 7, the *aksharas pra* (or, *pri*)*thivī* which showed a name like Prithivishēṇa. As Rudrasēna was mentioned in the immediately preceding line he identified this prince with Prithivishēṇa, the son of Rudrasēna I, mentioned in the Vākāṭaka land-grants. Again, he proposed to read further on in the same line, *Pravaras[nas-ta]sya putrō-bhūt*... in place of Bhagwanlal's *Pravarasēnasya putrō-bhūt*, and this Pravarasēna he identified with Pravarasēna II. According to him therefore the Vākāṭaka princes mentioned in the Ajaṇṭā inscription were as follows:—

Vindhyaśakti,

(son?)

Pravarasēna I,

(son)

(Ru)drasēna I,

(son)

Prithivishēṇa,

(son)

Pravarasēna II,

(son)

.....

(son)

Dēvasēna,

(son)

Harishēṇa.

He also pointed out that the name of one prince, Rudrasēna II was omitted after Prithivishēṇa.

¹ Burgess and Indrajī—*Inscriptions in the Cave-Temples of Western India*, *A. S. W. I.*, p. 69.

² Scholars are now agreed that this Pravarasēna was the son of Vindhyaśakti himself; for, he is evidently identical with Pravira mentioned in the *Vāyu* and *Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇas* as the son of Vindhyaśakti. See Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kālī Age*, p. 80.

³ He was Pravarasēna's grandson.

From the land-grants of Pravarasēna II and Prithivishēna II we get the following genealogy :—

Pravarasēna I,
|
(son)
(Gautamīputra),
|
(son)
Rudrasēna I,
|
(son)
Prithivishēna I,
|
(son)
Rudrasēna II,
|
(son)
Pravarasēna II,
|
(son)
Narēndrasēna,
|
(son)
Prithivishēna II.

If we compare this list with Bühler's revised genealogy of Vākātaka princes mentioned in the Ajaṇṭā inscription, two discrepancies in the latter at once strike us—(i) Rudrasēna I was not the son of Pravarasēna I, but was his grandson and (ii) Pravarasēna II was not the son of Prithivishēna I, but was his grandson. Fortunately, the Ajaṇṭā inscription is quite clear in the portions which describe these relationships, so that there is not the least doubt about the readings. In the former case the inscription reads [*Rudra?*]sēnaḥ *Pravarasēnasya jīta-sarva-sēnas-sutō-bhavaḥ* in line 6 and in the latter case, [*Prithivī?*]shēnaḥ *Pravarasēnas-tasya putrō-bhūt-pravar-ōrjīt-ōdāra-kāśana-pravaraḥ*. We must therefore suppose either that the poet committed mistakes in describing these relationships or that some of the readings of the royal names given by Bhagwanlal and Bühler are incorrect. The former alternative does not appear likely; for the inscription was composed under the direction of the Vākātaka king Harishēna's minister and is on the whole very correctly written. It is, however, very much abraded in the portion where the names of Rudrasēna and Prithivishēna are supposed to occur and consequently mistakes in reading are not unlikely. On referring to the excellent estampage supplied by the Government Epigraphist we found that the reading *Rudrasēnaḥ* was extremely doubtful. Both Bhagwanlal and Bühler also were not certain about it, but Bhagwanlal thought that he saw a faintly traceable form like *dra*. He proposed to read *Rudrasēnaḥ* evidently because Vākātaka land-grants mention a Rudrasēna, soon after Pravarasēna I. This reading was also adopted by Bühler. Referring to the lithograph used by both of them, we find that the upper member of the ligature is quite uncertain, but there appears a loop below it. This has evidently been taken to be the subscript *r* of *dra*. There are several instances of the subscript *r* in this lithograph, but in none of them is it denoted by a loop; it is always denoted by a hook open to the left. The estampage of the Government Epigraphist does not clearly show even this loop. The preceding *akshara ru* is of course completely gone as admitted by both Bhagwanlal and Bühler. The reading *Rudrasēnaḥ* is, therefore, to say the least, extremely doubtful.

Let us see if we could restore this royal name. The extant portion of this verse shows that the prince whose name is partially lost was a son of Pravarasēna who has now been identified by all scholars with Pravarasēna I. The Bāsim plates suggest that he might be Sarvasēna and the reading *Sarvasēnaḥ* would suit the metre as well as *Rudrasēnaḥ*. The latter part of the verse in l. 6 would therefore read *Sarvasēnaḥ Pravarasēnasya jīta-sarva-sēna-satō-bhacat*. The resulting *yamaka* makes this reading quite plausible. The poet who composed this Ajaṇṭā inscription was fond of using *yamakas* based on proper names¹ as will be seen from the following lines :—

2 अभिवृद्धशक्तिः दानशक्तिः विम्बशक्तिः ॥

7 प्रवरसेनस्तस्य पुत्रीभूषवरोर्ज्जितोदारशासनप्रवरः ।

10-11 हस्तिभोजः दिग्गम्बहस्तिप्रतिमो बभूव ।

14 हरिषेणी हरिविक्रमप्रतापः ।

The description *jīta-sarva-sēnaḥ* of this prince was evidently suggested by his name Sarvasēna². The Bāsim plates have now shown that Sarvasēna was a son of Pravarasēna.³ This Pravarasēna, with whom the genealogy in the Bāsim plates begins, must therefore, be identified with Pravarasēna I.

In the middle of the next line (7) Bühler read the *aksharas pra* (or *pri*) *thi*⁴ and thought that they formed part of the royal name *Prithivishēna*. This prince he identified with Prithivishēna I. Referring to the lithograph used by him, we find that the *akshara* which he read as *thi* has a tapering top and is open below. It cannot therefore be read as *thi*; for, in other places in this inscription, *th* has invariably a round top and is closed at the bottom. See, for instance, *prathitō* in line 15, *prathita-guṇ-śpabhāga* in line 21, etc. The *akshara* appears to be *śrī* of which the lower curve representing *r* is indistinct in that lithograph.⁵ The following *akshara* is clearly *viṣ*. In the new estampage we find clear traces of *dhya* following *viṣ*. Especially the elongated curve representing subscript *y* is unmistakable. The two following *aksharas* are almost certainly *sēnaḥ*.⁶ The name thus appears to be *śrī-Viṇḍhyasēnaḥ*. This prince we identify with Viṇḍhyasakti of the Bāsim plates.

As regards the remaining names we are in complete agreement with Bühler. They are Pravarasēna, Dēvasēna⁷ and Harishēpa. Between Pravarasēna and Dēvasēna we have lost the name of a prince who, according to the inscription, came to the throne when he was a boy only eight years old. I do not, however, agree with Bühler's view that this Pravarasēna was

¹ For another instance of the use of *yamakas* based on personal names, see the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman, above, Vol. XII, pp. 66 ff.

² Otherwise, there is no special point in saying that he conquered all armies. One would rather expect an expression like *jīta-sarva-lōkḥ* or *jīta-sarva-rājḥ*.

³ It is possible to read *Sarvasēnaḥ* from the traces in the new estampage, but we prefer to rely for the reading *Sarvasēnaḥ* on the wording of the description in l. 6.

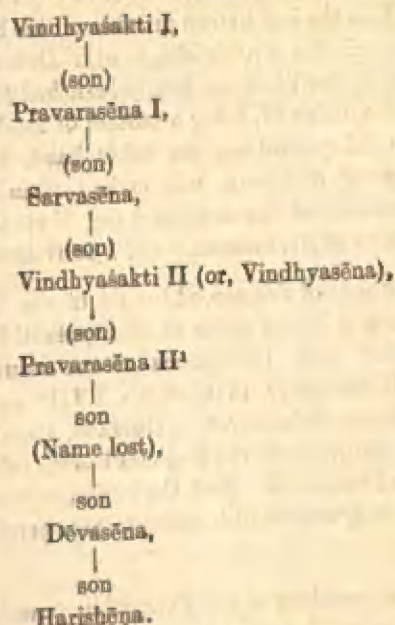
⁴ Traces of the subscript *r* can be clearly seen in the new estampage.

⁵ These *aksharas* were doubtfully read as *shēpaḥ* by Bühler.

⁶ I do not agree with Jaysawal's view (*History of India*, etc., pp. 75 & 79) that Dēvasēna abdicated in favour of his son Harishēpa. The description in l. 13 is intended to glorify Hastibhāja, to whom Dēvasēna consigned the cares of government. Similar statements occur in other records, see, e.g., above, Vol. XXV, p. 14 (line 17 of the text). Harishēpa is introduced for the first time in the next verse of that inscription.

Pravarasēna II, of whom several land-grants have come down to us. The names Vindhyasēna (or, Vindhyasakti) and Sarvasēna of his father and grandfather respectively show that he was different from Pravarasēna II, the son of Rudrasēna II and grandson of Prithivishēna I.

The genealogy of this branch of the Vākāṭaka family can be stated as follows :—



We know from the *Purāṇas* that Pravarasēna I had four sons who became kings. They apparently divided his extensive kingdom among themselves after his death. Gautamiṣṭra who was probably his eldest son, seems to have predeceased him. Therefore, Rudrasēna I, the son of Gautamiṣṭra, succeeded Pravarasēna I. An inscription of this king has been discovered at Deotek in the Chāndā District of the Central Provinces,² not very far from Pauni where an ancient record of a king of the Bhāra clan (the later Bhārasīvas) has been found.³ He may, therefore, have acquired by inheritance the territory of the Bhārasīvas also. The copper-plates of his great-grandson Pravarasēna II record gifts of land at Chammak near Ellichpur⁴ in the Amraoti District, Chandrapura⁵ (modern Chāndur) in the Wardhā District, Paṭṭan⁶ in the Betul District, Tirōḍi⁷ in the Bālāghāt District and Brahmapūraka⁸ (modern Bāhmni) in the Bhaṇḍārā District. Pravarasēna II was therefore ruling over the northern parts of modern Wardhā and Chāndā Districts of the Central Provinces. We do not know how much of this territory was acquired by Pravarasēna II or his immediate ancestors. But since the inscriptions of no other branch of the Vākāṭaka family have been found in these districts, we may suppose that the whole of the aforementioned territory was under the rule of Rudrasēna I also. His capital was probably Nandivardhana which is mentioned as the place of issue in the earliest

¹ In a combined genealogy of the two branches the son of Rudrasēna II may be called Pravarasēna III.

² *Proceedings and Transactions of the Eighth Oriental Conference, Mysore*, pp. 513 ff.

³ Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 11 ff.

⁴ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 235 ff.

⁵ Above, Vol. III, pp. 258 ff. *Hiralal's Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (second ed.), p. 93.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 81 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 187 ff.

⁸ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 234 ff. and above, Vol. XXII, p. 211, a. 8.

copper-plate grant of this branch, viz., the Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā¹ and the Bēlorā plates of her son Pravarasēna II.² Later on Pravarasēna II founded Pravara-pura and shifted his seat of government there.

Prithivishēṇa II is the last known member of this branch. Scholars have long been in doubt about the relation of this Prithivishēṇa with Dēvasēna and Harishēṇa. S. Krishnasvami Aiyangar thought that the Vākāṭaka family branched forth after Pravarasēna II, Narēndrasēna, the father of Prithivishēṇa II, being a brother of the Vākāṭaka prince whose name is lost in the Ajaṇṭā inscription.³ Jayaswal, on the other hand, identified Narēndrasēna with this latter prince.⁴ The foregoing discussion will make it plain that the two branches had separated long before, i.e., after the reign of Pravarasēna I and that Dēvasēna and Harishēṇa belonged to a different line from that of Narēndrasēna and Prithivishēṇa II.

Only five inscriptions of this second branch of the Vākāṭaka family have been discovered so far, viz., the present Bāsim plates of Vindhyaśakti II, a fragmentary copper-plate inscription of Dēvasēna⁵ and three stone inscriptions of the reign of Harishēṇa, discovered at or near Ajaṇṭā,—one of his feudatory in Cave No. XVII⁶ and two of his minister Varāhadēva in cave No. XVI⁷ and the Ghaṭōtkacha cave⁸ at Gulwāḍā, about 11 miles west of Ajaṇṭā. The provenance of these inscriptions shows that this branch ruled over southern Berār and the northern parts of the Nizām's Dominions. Both the known copper-plate inscriptions of this branch have been issued from Vatsagulma⁹ which seems to have continued to be the seat of their government to the last.

According to the genealogy of the Vatsagulma branch fixed above, Vindhyaśakti II and his son Pravarasēna II were the contemporaries of Prithivishēṇa I and his son Budrasēna II of the other branch. From the grants of Prabhāvatiguptā we know that Rudrasēna II was the son-in-law of Chandragupta II (A. D. 380-413). He may therefore have come to the throne in *circa* A. D. 400¹⁰. This is also the approximate date of the close of Vindhyaśakti II's reign. As we have seen, Vindhyaśakti II was the great-grandson of Vindhyaśakti I. In view of the abnormally long reigns assigned in the *Purāṇas* to Vindhyaśakti I and Pravarasēna I¹¹ and the date, the thirty-seventh regnal year, of the present plates of Vindhyaśakti II, we shall not be wrong if we assign 150 years to the four reigns of Vindhyaśakti I, Pravarasēna I, Sarvasēna and Vindhyaśakti II. Vindhyaśakti I, the founder of the dynasty, seems, therefore, to have risen to power about A. D. 250. Vindhyaśakti II was followed by four kings whose reigns must have

¹ Above, Vol XV, pp. 39 ff.

² *Ibid.*, Vol., XXIV, pp. 260 ff.

³ *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. V, p. 35.

⁴ Jayaswal, *History of India, 150-350 A. D.*, p. 76.

⁵ *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, pp. 177 ff.

⁶ *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 128 ff.

⁷ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 122 ff.

⁸ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 138 ff. The name of Varāhadēva is lost in this inscription, but line 16 refers to the sons, apparently of Hastibhōja, the minister of the Vākāṭaka king Dēvasēna, mentioned in l. 10, and Varāhadēva was probably one of them.

⁹ This place is identical with Bāsim, see above, p. 140.

¹⁰ Vincent Smith places the marriage of Rudrasēna II with Prabhāvatiguptā at the time of Chandragupta II's invasion against the Śaka satraps of Gujārāt and Surāshtra 'somewhere about A. D. 395'. *J. R. A. S.* for 1914, pp. 325 ff.

¹¹ According to the *Purāṇas* Vindhyaśakti ruled (or, perhaps lived) for 96 years and Pravarasēna I for 60 years.

covered about a century. We may therefore place Harishēṇa, the last of them, about A. D. 475-500.

The present grant is thus the earliest copper-plate grant of the Vākātakas. In its Prākṛit portion it has several expressions which in their Sanskrit form were already known from the grants of Prabhāvatiguptā and Pravarasēna II. It is noteworthy that most of them find mention in the Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli grants of the Pallava Śivaskandavarman as will be seen from the following table¹ :—

No.	Expression in the Basim plates.	No.	Corresponding expression in the Hirahadagalli or Mayidavolu plates ² .
1	āpuṇo vijaya-vejayike āyu-bala-vaddhanike	1	appaṇa kuḷa-gottasa dham-āyu-bala-yaso-vadha- nike vijayavejayike (H.)
2	a-ratṭha-samvinayika	2	a-ratṭha-samvinayikam (H.)
3	a-lavaṇa-keppa-kkhanaka	3	a-loṇa-gula-ckchhobham (H.)
4	a-puppha-kkhira-ggaḥaṇa	4	a-dūḍha-dadhi-gaḥaṇam (H.)
5	a-parampara-go-balivadda	5	a-pārampara-balivadda-gaḥaṇam (H.)
6	a-chāra-siddhika a-chamm-aṅgālika	6	a-taṇa-katṭha-gaḥaṇam (H.)
7	a-bhaḍa-ppāveṇa	7	a-bhaḍa-papeṣam (M.)
8	a-khaṭṭa-chollaka-veṇesika	8	a-kara-yollaka-vinasi-khaṭṭa-vāsam (H.)
9	sāvva-jāti-parihāra-parihitam	9	sava-parihārehi parihārito (M.)

The close similarity in many of these expressions is very striking. It shows that the drafter of the Vākāṭaka grant has borrowed the expressions from some earlier Pallava grant. Besides these, we may notice the following points of similarity between the records of the Vākāṭakas and the Pallavas : (1) Vākāṭaka grants, when complete, begin with *drishṭam* which corresponds to *dīḥam* seen on the outer side of the first plate of both the Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli grants. (2) The Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatiguptā³ begin like the Pallava Sanskrit grants with the words *Jitam Bhagavatā*. (3) A number of Vedic sacrifices are enumerated in the beginning of both the Vākāṭaka and early Pallava grants. (4) The words *ājñā sayam* at the end of the Tirōḍi plates recall similar expressions *sayam-āṇatam* and *ānatī saya tti datṭā* at the close of the Hirahadagalli and Mayidavolu plates respectively.

These similarities are surely not accidental. As the rule of the Pallavas never extended to the Central Provinces and Berār, we cannot explain them as due to the employment, by the Vākāṭakas, of the clerks who were previously in the Secretariat of the Pallavas. The striking similarities in several expressions pointed out above clearly presuppose some connection of the Vākāṭakas with the Pallavas and this is corroborated by the discovery of an inscription of a Vākāṭaka householder on a pillar at Amarāvati in the Āndhra country.⁴ That the rule of the

¹ The similarities between the Sanskrit expressions in the Vākāṭaka grants and the Prākṛit grants of the Pallavas have been noticed before. See above, Vol. XXIV, p. 14, n. 1, and *Nagpur University Journal*, No. 3, pp. 22 ff.

² The expressions taken from the Hirahadagalli plates (above, Vol. I, pp. 5 ff.) are shown as (H) and those from the Mayidavolu plates (above, Vol. VI, pp. 56 ff.) as (M).

³ *J. A. S. B.*, (N. S.), Vol. XX, p. 68.

⁴ Above, Vol. XV, p. 267.

Pallavas extended to the Āndhra country in the north is well known; for the Mayidavolu plates record the grant of a village in the *Āndhāpatha* (*Āndhra-patha*) to two Brāhmaṇas. Mere discovery of a pilgrim record at a holy place is, of course, no clear evidence that the pilgrim was a resident of that or even of a neighbouring country, but in conjunction with close similarity in a number of technical expressions such as is noticed nowhere else,¹ it may be taken to point to some sort of connection between the two royal houses. We shall not therefore be wrong in supposing that the Vākātakas had their original home in the South.

This conclusion is again corroborated by the findspots of Vākātaka inscriptions. The earliest known inscription of the Vākātakas has been discovered at Deotek in the Chāndā District. It records the construction of a *dharmasthāna* by Rudrasēna who, on the evidence of palaeography, has been identified with Rudrasēna I.² Besides the present plates, several copper-plate inscriptions of Pravarasēna II and Prithivishēṇa II have been discovered in different parts of the Central Provinces and Berār. The only records connected with the Vākātaka dynasty which have been discovered in the regions to the north of the Narmadā are the Nachnā³ and Ganj⁴ inscriptions of Vyāghradēva, a feudatory of the Vākātaka king Prithivishēṇa. As Prof. Dubreuil and Rao Bahadur Dikshit have shown, he must be identified with Prithivishēṇa II on the evidence of palaeography. Vyāghradēva is, therefore, probably identical with the Uchchakalpa prince Vyāghra who, we know, was ruling over the adjoining territory.⁵ The Bālāghāt plates of Prithivishēṇa II state that the ruler of Mālwa was a feudatory of his father Narēndrasēna and it is not unlikely that Prithivishēṇa's own authority was recognized in Central India towards the close of the fifth century A. D. The Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions, therefore, do not in any way go against the foregoing conclusion about the original home of the Vākātakas.

The late Dr. Jayaswal recently advanced the theory that the Vākātakas originally hailed from Bāgūt in the Orchā State.⁶ In support of his view he has tried to show that three coins discovered at Kosam and another place in North India were issued by Pravarasēna I, Rudrasēna I and Prithivishēṇa I.⁷ The first two, according to him, bear the dates 76 and 100 respectively which he refers to the era of A. D. 248. This era, though called by the name of the Chēdi or Kalachuri era, was, according to Jayaswal, really started by the Vākātakas. But Jayaswal's readings of the legends and figures on the coins are extremely doubtful.⁸ Besides, his theory that the Chēdi era was really founded by the Vākātakas is disproved by the fact that the Vākātakas themselves never used it, but dated all their records in regnal years. According to the *Purāṇas* Vindhyaśakti's son Pravira, who has been rightly identified with Pravarasēna I, ruled at two places Purikā and Chanakā.⁹ Jayaswal's identification of Chanakā with Nachnā

¹ Two of these expressions occur in some inscriptions (e.g., Nāik, inscriptions Nos. 3 and 4) of the Sātavāhanas from which the Pallavas had evidently taken them. That the Āndhra country had been ruled by the Sātavāhanas before it came under the rule of the Pallavas is well known.

² *Proceedings and Transactions of the Eighth Oriental Conference*, pp. 613 ff.

³ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 233 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 12 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.* Vol. XXIII, pp. 171 ff.

⁶ *History of India, 150-350 A. D.*, p. 67.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 108 ff.

⁸ Dr. A. S. Altekar has shown that the alleged coin of Rudrasēna has no traces of the letters *Rudra*, but a symbol which looks like a trident or *trivṛtta*. *J. R. A. S. B.*, Vol. II, Num. Suppl. No. XLVI, p. 29.

⁹ We adopt the reading suggested by Jayaswal, *Bhōkshyanti cha samāś chakshim Purikān Chanakān cha vai*. See *History of India*, etc., p. 16.

cannot be accepted in the absence of corroborative proof. As for Purikā, it was situated according to the *Harivamśa*¹ at the foot of the Rikshavat (modern Sātpurā) mountain and, therefore, in the Central Provinces or Berār. Vindhyaśakti, the first ancestor of the Vākātakas, may have been so called because he extended his power to the foot of the Vindhya mountain in the north. There is thus no valid argument against our view that the Vākātakas had their original home in the South.²

TEXT.³

First Plate.

- 1 सिद्धम्⁴ [1*] दृष्टम् [1*] वक्ष्युत्पादधर्ममहाराजस्याग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्व्यामवाजपेय्योति-
- 2 टीमवृहस्पतिसवसाव्यस्त(स्त)चतुरश्रमेधयाजिनस्यम्राज(जी) व-
- 3 णिवृद्ध⁵सगोचस्य हारितीपुत्रस्य श्रीप्रवरसेनपौत्रस्य⁶
- 4 धर्ममहाराजस्य श्रीसर्वसेनपुत्रस्य⁷ धर्ममहाराजस्य
- 5 ⁸वाकाटकानां⁹ ।¹⁰ त्रि(श्री)विन्ध्यशक्तेर्वचनात् [1*] नान्दीकडस¹¹ उत्तरमणे

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 6 ताकालक्ष्मीपकाम्भासे आकासपदेसु ग्रन्थस्तका साव्यायोगणि-
- 7 युक्ता आणति¹²भडा सेसा य साञ्चरन्तर(कु)लपुत्ता¹³ भाणितव्वा [1*] आञ्जेहिं
- 8 ¹⁴दाणि¹⁵ आपुणी¹⁶ विजयवेजयिके आयुवलवदणिके¹⁷ स्वस्ति-

¹ *Vishkupaśāraṇa*, *adhyāya* 38, vv. 21-22.

² The *Vāyu* and *Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇas* no doubt mention Vindhyaśakti (I) and Pravira at the end of the section about the kings of Vidyā, but that is probably because like the Āndhras they had extended their power to North India.

³ From ink-impressions. We have derived some help from Dr. D. C. Sircar's transcript of the plates which appeared in the *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 112 ff. while this article was going through the press.

⁴ This word is written in the margin on a level with l. 3.

⁵ The mark denoting the length of this vowel is faint.

⁶ Other Vākātika plates name this *gōtra* as *Vishvaśiddha*. See, e.g., above, Vol. XXIII, p. 85.

⁷ Read श्रीप्रवरसेनस्य पौत्रस्य. See above, p. 142.

⁸ Read श्रीसर्वसेनस्य पुत्रस्य.

⁹ Opposite this line in the margin there is a mark for 1, denoting the number of the plate.

¹⁰ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

¹¹ The engraver first incised *dā* which he afterwards altered to *a*.

¹² *Asati* (Sanskrit, *Ājāpti*) is the same as *Dākaka* who was to see to the execution of the royal order.

¹³ Compare *ājā-māchāri-kulaput-ādākritāḥ* in the Sanskrit grants of the Vākātakas. See, e.g., above, Vol. XXII, p. 172.

¹⁴ In the margin on the left there is a sign for 2, denoting the number of this plate.

¹⁵ Hāmachandra (VIII, l. 29; IV, 277) gives both *dāsi* and *dāsin* in the Śaurasēni. *Dāsi* occurs in the Hirañyagallī plates also (above, Vol. I, p. 5).

¹⁶ Prākṛit grammarians give *appasā* as the correct form in the Mahārāṣṭri, see Vararuchi, v. 46 (Bhāmaha's commentary); Hāmachandra VIII, 3, 56.

¹⁷ Hultzsch takes similar expressions which occur in lines 5-6 of the Mayidavola plates as Māgadhī nominatives. We would prefer to take them as locative singular forms, denoting purpose. In the Hirañyagallī and British Museum plates, the gerund *kātūsa* or *kātūsaḥ* follows -*vaddhaniyam* or *vaddhaniye*.

- 9 शान्तिवाचने¹ इहामुत्तिके धाम्नायणे एत्यङ्गमे आधिव्वणिकं चर-
10 णस्स आडक ।² भालन्दायणसगोत्तेसिं जिवुज्जेसिं कपिञ्चल-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 11 सगोत्तेसिं³ । रुद्धज्जेसि । आविठायणसगोत्तेसि । भाट्टिदेवज्जेसि
12 कोसि[क]सगोत्तेसि । देशज्जेसि । कोसिकसगोत्तेसिं । वेणुज्जेसि ।
13 कोसी(सि)कसगोत्तेसि । विधिज्जेसि । पैप्पलादिसगोत्तेसि । पितु-
14 जेसि भालन्दायणसगोत्तेसि चान्दजेसि कोसिकसगोत्ते(त्ति)सि जेट्टजे-
15 सि । पदे(टि ?)हि दोहि भालन्दायणसगोत्तेसि बुद्धजेसि कोसिकसगोत्तेसि ।

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 16 भाट्टिलज्जेसि । कोसिकसगोत्तेसि । सिवज्जेसि । कोसिकसगोत्तेसि
17 हरिणज्जेसि एताण⁴ वान्दणाण भागा तिण्णा⁵ इ कोसिकसगोत्तेसि
18 रैवतिजेसि । भागो १ चउत्थोत्ति आचन्दादिञ्चलिकी अपुव्वद-
19 तीय दत्ती । पुव्वरायाणुमते य से⁶ चातुज्जेज्जाममज्जाता¹⁰ परिहारे वित-
20 राम ।¹¹ तं जया अरट्टसंविणयिक । अलवणकेण¹² कवनक । अहिरणधाण-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 21 पणयण्णदिय । अपुप्फक्खिरमाहण¹³ । अपरम्परगोवलिवा¹⁴ [1]

¹ Such an expression does not occur in the Sanskrit charters of the Vakāṭakas.

² The softening of *th* into *dh* is characteristic of the Śaurasēni. See also *rakkhadha*, *rakkhāpedha*, *pariharadha* and *pariharāpedha* in ll. 25—26 below.

³ The signs of punctuation in lines 10—18 are superfluous.

⁴ The *anusecāra* on *ei* is very faint, but it is there.

⁵ The *gōtra* Śrāviṣṭha or Śrāviṣṭhāyana is not mentioned in the *Gōtraprasaṅganibandhakadamba*, but the Sangoli grant of the Kadamba king Harivarman (above, Vol. XIV, p. 167) names some Brāhmanas of the Śrāviṣṭha *gōtra* and it is noteworthy that like the donees of the present grant, they all belonged to the Atharva-*vēda*.

⁶ The Hirahadagalli plates (l. 27) have *stesi* *bamāpāṇadh*.

⁷ The correct form is *tissi* in all genders. See Vararuchi, IV, 56.

⁸ In the margin on the left, on a level with this line, there is a sign for 3, denoting the number of this plate.

⁹ This is genitive singular of *taḍ*, *ibid.*, VI, 11.

¹⁰ This form of the word (with the hardening of *d* into *t*) occurs in line 45 of the Hirahadagalli plates. According to Prākṛit grammarians this is a characteristic of the Pāṣāṇī dialect.

¹¹ The marks of punctuation in lines 20—27 are superfluous.

¹² This seems to correspond to *loṇi* in the Sanskrit charters of the Vakāṭakas. See l. 32 of the Paṭṭaṇ plates, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 87.

¹³ The curve on *as* seems to have been cancelled.

i.

2 4

2 4

ii, a.

6 8 10

6 8 10

ii, b.

12 14

12 14

iii.a.

16

ကုသိုလ်တို့ နှစ်သက်သောတို့ ချစ်သောတို့ နှစ်သက်သောတို့
ဥပသေသတို့ ပုဂံသောတို့ နှစ်သက်သောတို့ နှစ်သက်သောတို့
၁၈ နှစ်သက်သောတို့ နှစ်သက်သောတို့ နှစ်သက်သောတို့ နှစ်သက်သောတို့
၂၀ နှစ်သက်သောတို့ နှစ်သက်သောတို့ နှစ်သက်သောတို့ နှစ်သက်သောတို့

16

18

20

iii.b.

22

ဥပသေသတို့ နှစ်သက်သောတို့ နှစ်သက်သောတို့ နှစ်သက်သောတို့
ဥပသေသတို့ နှစ်သက်သောတို့ နှစ်သက်သောတို့ နှစ်သက်သောတို့
၂၄ နှစ်သက်သောတို့ နှစ်သက်သောတို့ နှစ်သက်သောတို့ နှစ်သက်သောတို့
၂၆ နှစ်သက်သောတို့ နှစ်သက်သောတို့ နှစ်သက်သောတို့ နှစ်သက်သောတို့

22

24

iv.

26

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- 22 अचारसिद्धि । अच'महालिक । अभडप्पावेस अखटाचोल्लकवेणे-
 23 सिक । अकरद । अवह । सणिधि । सोपणिधि । सकुतुप्यन्त² ।
 24 समञ्जमहाकरण । साव्वजातिपरिहारपरिहितञ्च [1*] जती उपरिलि-
 25 खित । शासन³ चादम्प(म्भ ?)माण⁴ करेत्ता रक्खध रक्खापेध य परिहरध

Fourth Plate.

- 26 परिहरापेध य [1*] जो वु आवाधं करेज्ज कतव्व अनुमण्णति⁵
 27 तिस्र⁶ एतेहि । उपरिलिखितेहिं । ब्राम्हेणेहिं । परिकुपिते⁷ स[द]ण्ड-
 28 *नियह करेज्जामेत्ति [1*] साव्वच्छरं ३० ७ हिमन्ता(न्त)पक्खं पढमं
 29 [दि]व[स] ४ समुपासयि⁹ लिखितमिमं शास[नं] सेणापतिणा
 30 वण्डुण¹⁰ इति ॥ सिद्धिरस्तु ॥ — ॥¹¹

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1—5) Success! Seen¹². From Vatsagulma¹³— By the order of the *Dharmamahārāja*,¹⁴ the illustrious *Vindhyasakti* (II) of the *Vākātakas*, (who is) the son of the *Dharmamahārāja*, the illustrious *Sarvasēna* (and) grandson of the *Dharmamahārāja*,¹⁵ the illustrious

¹ The engraver at first incised *da* which he later changed to *cha*.

² This corresponds to *sa-kṣipta-śpakṣipta* in the Sanskrit charters of the *Vākātakas*. See above Vol. XXII, p. 173 and Vol. XXIII, p. 87.

³ The *anusēna* on *sa* is very faint in the impression.

⁴ [The reading seems to be *śāsana-vādah-pramāṇam karēttā*, Skt. *śāsana-vādah-pramāṇam kṛitā*.—B. C. C.]

⁵ One letter after *ma* has been cancelled.

⁶ Read *tasam*.

⁷ Read *parikupitehi veditasam*. Compare Vol. XXII, p. 173 and Vol. XXIII, p. 87.

⁸ In the margin on the left, almost on a level with this line, there is a symbol for *ś*, denoting the number of the plate.

⁹ The last three *akṣaras* of this word are incised over others which have been cancelled.

¹⁰ Read *Vaṇḍuṇā*.

¹¹ There is an ornamental symbol between these two sets of *daṇḍas*.

¹² That is, this engraved charter has been seen and approved. This word is absent in unfinished charters. See above Vol. XXII, p. 168.

¹³ That is, this charter was issued from Vatsagulma.

¹⁴ Fleet translated this epithet as 'pious' (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 34 ff.) and Kielhorn as 'law-abiding' (above, Vol. III, p. 144). The intended meaning in Brahmanical records must have been 'Defender of the Vedic religion' (*dharma-rakṣakā mahārāja*). The expression *Kali-yuga-dāś-āśvanna-dharm-oddharaṇa-nitya-sanna-dāśa* which is applied to Pallava kings in later Sanskrit charters conveys the same idea.

¹⁵ For the construction, see the discussion above, pp. 141-2.

Pravarasēna (I), the *Samrāt* and the son (i.e., a descendant) of Hāriti,¹ (who was) of the Vṛṣṇivṛiddha *gōtra* and who performed Agnishtōma, Aptōryāma, Vājapēya, Jyōtishthōma, Bṛhaspatisava, Sādyaskra and four Āśvamēdhas²—

(Ll. 5—7) The *Ājñapti*³ and soldiers who are employed by us in all departments⁴ as well as other touring (officials) of noble birth in (the village) Ākāsapadda (which is situated) near Tākālakkhoppaka on the northern road from Nāndikāḍa should be caused to be addressed (as follows)—

(Ll. 7—19) For Our victory (in war)⁵, for the increase of (Our) life and power, for invoking blessings and peace (for Us) and for religious merit in this and the next world, We have now granted this village to (the following members of) the Ātharvaṇika *charaṇa*⁶ in this village as a new gift which is to be enjoyed as long as the moon and the sun will endure, (in the following proportion, viz.,) three parts, (in figure) 3, (of it) to these (following) Brāhmaṇas—half (a share)⁷ (being given) to Jivujja (Jivārya) of the Bhālandāyana *gōtra*, to Ruddajja (Rudrārya) of the Kapiñjala *gōtra*, to Bhāttidevajja (Bhartṛidēvārya) of the Śrāviṣṭhāyana *gōtra*, to Deaja (Dēvārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, to Veṇhujja (Viṣṇvārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, to Vidhijja (Vidhyārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, to Pituja (Pitryārya) of the Paippalādi *gōtra*, to Chāndajja (Chandrārya) of the Bhālandāyana *gōtra*, (and) to Jeṭṭhaja (Jyēṣṭhārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*; (and) two shares (being given) to Buddhaja (Buddhārya) of the Bhālandāyana *gōtra*, to Bhāddilajja (Bhadrilārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, to Sivajja (Śivārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, (and) to Hariṇṇajja (Hiranyārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*—and the fourth part, (in figure) 1, to Revatijja (Rēvatyārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*.

(Ll. 19—24) And we grant the following exemptions from restrictions for it (which are) incident to a village belonging to Brāhmaṇas proficient in the four Vēdas, as approved by the former kings, viz., it is to be exempt from (the entrance of) the District Police;⁸ it is to be exempt from the purchase and digging of salt; it is to be exempt from the presents⁹ of gold and grain; it does not entitle (the State) to (the royalties on) flowers and milk¹⁰, (and) to the customary cows

¹ Hāriti was a sage from whom the Kadambas and the Chālukyas also traced their descent. See, e.g., the Tālagunda inscription of Kākusthavarma, above, Vol. VIII, p. 31 and the Mahākāṭa inscription of Maṅgalēśa, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 16.

² This record mentions Jyōtishthōma in place of Ukthya, Shōḍaśin and Atirātra which are mentioned in other Vākātaka records among the sacrifices performed by Pravarasēna I.

³ *Ājñati* (Sanskrit, *Ājñatī*) is mentioned at the close of many records and corresponds to the *Dātaka* who also figures in other inscriptions in the same capacity. He was entrusted with the execution of the royal order.

⁴ The usual expression in other Vākātaka records is *Sare-dhikyakha-niyōga-niyuktāḥ* 'who are employed by the order of the General Superintendent.'

⁵ In other Vākātaka records *sañjayikē* qualifies *dharma-sthānē* and the whole expression means 'as our victorious place of religious worship'. The Deotek stone inscription mentions a *dharma-sthāna* of the Vākātaka king Rudrasēna I.

⁶ That is, of the Ātharvavēda.

⁷ See above, p. 139, n. 9.

⁸ We follow Senart in the explanation of *a-raṭṭha-samvinnayika*, see above, Vol. VII, pp. 65-66.

⁹ *Prāṇaya* seems to mean a customary present or *nazārā* offered to the king. See *prāṇaya-krīyā* in the Junāgadh inscription of Rudradāman, above, Vol. VIII, p. 44.

¹⁰ These were taxes in kind paid to the State, see above, Vol. XXII, p. 175.

and bullocks¹; it is not to provide pasture, hides and charcoal²; it is not to be entered by soldiers; it is not to provide cots, water-pots³ and servants; it is exempt from taxes; it is not to provide horses⁴; it carries with it the right to treasures and deposits, to major and minor taxes⁵ and to platforms and important documents⁶(1); and it is to be exempted with immunities of all kinds.

(Ll. 24—28) Wherefore, you protect it, cause it to be protected, exempt it and cause it to be exempted, not repressing the order written above⁷.

Whoever will cause trouble or approve of it when caused, upon him, when complained against by the aforementioned Brāhmanas who have taken offence, we will inflict punishment together with a fine.

(Ll. 28—30) In the year 30 (and) 7, in the first fortnight of winter, the day 4. In Our presence⁸, this order has been written by the *Sēnāpati* Vaṇhu (Viṣṇu).

May there be success!

NO. 21.—KOTHURAKA GRANT OF PRAVARASENA II.

By PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M. A., NAGPUR.

The existence of these plates was brought to my notice by my friend and former student Dr. W. S. Barlinge who had seen them when they were brought to Nagpur in March 1940. At my request Mr. W. V. Grigson, I. C. S., Joint Secretary to Government, Central Provinces and Berar, very kindly caused a search for them to be instituted. They were ultimately traced by Mr. V. H. Mujumdar, Naib Tahsildar of Hinganghāt, at the instance of Mr. B. A. Smellie, Deputy Commissioner of Wardhā. They were found in the possession of Mr. Baburao Madhavrao Athole, Mokasdar of Jāmb, a village about 7 miles north by east of

¹ The expression *a-prampara-gō-balicārda* in l. 21 corresponds to *a-pāraṣpara-balicadda-gaḥaṇam* of the Hiraṇyagallī plates and *a-parāṣparā-baliṭa[daṣa]* of the Mayidavōlu plates. These latter expressions have been taken to denote 'exemption from the obligation of furnishing by turns draught-cattle for the progress of royal officers'. In former times it was considered to be the duty of villagers to supply means of transport for the touring of royal officers. Sometimes, a small tax, called *prayāsa-danda* was levied for the purpose. See *Rāja-śivakāṇḍa vanti-danda-prayāsa-danda* na śab in the Paithān grant of Rāmaśāstra, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 318. But the use of the word *gō* in addition to *balicārda* in Vākātaka grants rather indicates that the village was exempted from the obligation of giving to the State the first calf—male or female—of every cow in the village. The *Manusmṛiti* (*adhya* VII, v. 130) also mentions a tax on cattle.

² This and similar expressions which follow exempt the donee from the obligation of supplying grass for feeding horses, hides (which were used as seats, cf. *āsana-charman* in the grants of Pravarasena II), charcoal for cooking, cots, water-pots, servants and draught cattle, for the royal officers when they were encamped in the village during their tours.

³ *Chōllaka* is plainly identical with *chōlaka* in the Mayidavōlu plates and *yollaka* in the Hiraṇyagallī plates. Hultzsch derives *chōllaka* from *chullakī*, a kind of water-pot. *Vasasika* corresponds to *vināsi* in the Mayidavōlu and *vināsi* in the Hiraṇyagallī plates. This word is omitted in the translations of Bühler and Hultzsch. We derive it from the Sanskrit *vināsi* which the dictionaries give in the sense of 'a slave, a dependent, or a subject.' The obligation to provide servants for touring officers is perhaps meant here.

⁴ Lexicons give *caḥa* in the sense of a horse.

⁵ See above, Vol. XXII, p. 175.

⁶ We are not certain about the meaning of this expression.

⁷ [Or 'abiding by the order written above'. *Śasana-nāda* here and *ucāśana* in l. 5 above imply the same thing. See p. 153, n. 4.—B. C. C.]

⁸ This corresponds to *ājāśa sayasā* 'Our own order' in the Tirōḍi plates. Cf. *sayasā-āpatasā* and *śasati sayasā-ti dattā* in the Hiraṇyagallī and Mayidavōlu plates respectively.

Hiṅgaṅgbāṭ, in the Hiṅgaṅghāṭ *taluk* of the Wardhā District. In November 1940 the plates were sent to the Nagpur Museum where they were cleaned by Mr. M. A. Suboor, Coin Expert of the Museum. For the excellent facsimiles which accompany this article I am obliged to Mr. Suboor who copied the plates at the Government Press, Nagpur. I have also to thank Dr. S. S. Patwardhan, Curator of the Nagpur Museum, for his kind help in discovering this interesting record.

The **copper-plates** are **four** in number, each measuring 8" by 4.11". The first and fourth plates are inscribed on one side only and the remaining two on both the sides. When the plates reached the Nagpur Museum, they were held together by a ring, but its ends were neither joined by a pin nor soldered. The seal which it must have carried is not forthcoming now. All the plates are in a good state of preservation, and there is consequently no uncertainty in the reading anywhere. The weight of the four plates is 185½ *tolas* and that of the ring is 16 *tolas*.

The record consists of 36 lines, six being written on each inscribed face of the four plates. The **characters** are of the box-headed variety and resemble those of the other grants of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna II. The following peculiarities may be noted: the box is in some cases fixed to the back of *j*, instead of being added at the top, see *mahārāja*- in ll. 7 and 8; in some other cases the box is not added at all, see *mahārāja*- in l. 14; the sign of the *upadhmāniya* which occurs in ll. 13, 15 and 33 has in all cases a box at the top which is not noticed in other records; final *m* which is written in a smaller size has a box-head in *siddham*, but not in *ḍṛiṣṭam*, both in l. 1; the *anusvāra* is shown by a crescent and the medial *au* is bipartite everywhere; *kā* is without a loop at the bottom¹ in both the places where it occurs, see *khanaka*-, l. 27 and *likhita*, l. 36; the lingual *ḍ* is distinguished from the dental *d* in *daṇḍa*, l. 11, but not in *Maṇḍuki*-, l. 18 and *Kaṇḍiṇya*, l. 19; the subscript *t* is, in some cases, looped, but as in the Bēlorā plates² the loop is elongated in order to distinguish it from *n*, see *bhaktasya*, l. 4 and *vṛittēr*-, l. 12; finally, single and double dots are used here and there to denote punctuation which is redundant in most cases.

The **language** is Sanskrit and except for an imprecatory verse in ll. 34-35, the record is in prose throughout. Like other Vākāṭaka copper-plate inscriptions it contains some mistakes of grammar and orthography which are corrected in the subjoined text and the foot-notes added to it. As regards **orthography**, we find that consonants are reduplicated before and after *r* as in *parāḥkram*-, l. 5 and *mūrdh*-, l. 6; *th* is reduplicated before *y* in *Bhāgiratthy*-, l. 6 and *visarga* before *p* is changed to *upadhmāniya* in ll. 13, 15 and 33.

Like other finished Vākāṭaka grants, the present record opens with the word *ḍṛiṣṭam* 'seen'. The plates were issued by Pravarasēna II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty from Nandivar-dhana. His genealogy is traced here exactly as in his other grants, his maternal grandfather Chandragupta II being called Dēvagupta. It may, however, be noted that the present plates spell some proper names somewhat differently from other Vākāṭaka records discovered so far. The medial *i* of *ti* in *Prabhāvatiguptā*, for instance, is invariably short in all the records discovered till now and the shortening can be justified by a grammatical rule,³ but the present plates read in l. 15 *Prabhāvatiguptā* quite clearly. Similarly *vī* in *Prithivishēṇa* has a long medial vowel here, whereas it is usually short in other records.⁴

¹ In other grants of Pravarasēna II, *kā* has a loop at the bottom, see, e.g., *likhita* in l. 35 of the Siwani plates, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Pl. XXXV; but it is noteworthy that in the Chammak plates issued in the same regnal year it is unlooped, see *khanaka*-, l. 28, *ibid.*, Pl. XXXIV.

² Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 260.

³ Above, Vol. XV, p. 42, n. 10. See Pāṇini, VI, 3, 63.

⁴ In the Bēlorā plates (Set A) the medial *i* of *vī* is long as here. See above, Vol. XXIV, p. 264.

The object of the present inscription is to record the grant, by Pravarasēna II, of the village Kōthuraka which was situated in the territorial division (*āhāra*) of Supratishṭha. The village lay to the west of the Umā river, to the north of Chūchāpalli, to the east of Bōnthikavātaka and to the south of Maṇḍukigrāma. The donee was the celibate Brāhmaṇa Kāluttaka who belonged to the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* and the Taittiriya *sākhā* of the Black Yajurveda. The grant was made at the victorious place of religious worship (*vaijayikā dharma-sthānē*)¹ and is dated on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of Āśvina in the second regnal year. The *dātaka* was Chakradēva and the scribe Nāgavarman. Neither of these is known from any other Vākātaka grant.

The grant recorded on the Bēlorā plates (Set B), discovered two years ago, was so far the earliest one of Pravarasēna II, being dated in his eleventh regnal year. The present grant is still earlier, as it was made in the second year after his accession. It has fully confirmed some of the conclusions drawn from the Bēlorā plates. **There is now no doubt that Pravarasēna II was different from Divākarasēna**, the *Yuvarāja*, for whom his mother Prabhāvatiguptā was acting as a regent even in the thirteenth year after his accession as a boy-prince.² Again, like the Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā³ and the Bēlorā plates (Set A) of Pravarasēna II, the present plates also were issued from Nandivardhana. This place was, therefore, undoubtedly the earlier capital of the Vākātakas before the foundation of Pravarapura by Pravarasēna II. As these plates were issued in the beginning of Pravarasēna's reign, they do not enable us to state when the capital was shifted to Pravarapura.

The donee of the present plates is called *gaṇa-yājīn*. It may therefore be conjectured that the grant was made on the occasion of a *gaṇa-yāga* at which he officiated as a priest. The term *gaṇa-yāga* can, however, be variously interpreted. It may mean a sacrifice performed for a *gaṇa* or guild. Such sacrifices performed for a multitude of men were, however, discouraged in ancient times. Both Manu and Viṣṇu regard the Brāhmaṇas who officiated at such sacrifices as unfit for invitation to a *śrāddha*.⁴ As the present grant was made by a king and not by a guild, this meaning of *gaṇa-yāga* is evidently inapplicable here. The *Vāchaspatya* explains *gaṇayajña* as a sacrifice performed by a number of brothers and sisters and cites *Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra* 22, 11, 12 and 25, 13, 29 in support of this interpretation. But this explanation also is unlikely in the present case. The *Manusmṛiti* (III, 164) enjoins that the priest who offers sacrifices to *Gaṇas* should be avoided at a *śrāddha*. The expression *gaṇānām yājakaḥ* is variously taken by the commentators of Manu. Nārāyaṇa and Nandana take it to mean one who sacrifices for *gaṇas*, i.e., many persons or guilds, but such persons are already excluded by *Manusmṛiti* III, 151. Other commentators including Mādhatīthi and Kullūka think that Vināyaka- or Gaṇēśa-hōma may be meant by *gaṇa-yāga*. The *Mānava-Grihyasūtra* (II, 14) and the *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* (I, 271 ff.) mention almost in identical terms a rite for the

¹ I have pointed out before that this expression invariably occurs in the grants of Pravarasēna II, which were made at the capital. See above, Vol. XXII, p. 170.

² See above, Vol. XXIV, p. 262.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 39 ff. Both the Poona and the Bēlorā plates spell the name of this place as *Nāndī-vardhana* with a long medial vowel in *nd* which led Dr. Randle to think that the place might be different from the Nandivardhana mentioned in the Rithapur plates of the Nala king Bhavadattavarman (above, Vol. XIX, p. 102). See *New Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 177. The place-name is spelt here exactly as in Bhavadattavarman's plates.

⁴ *Manusmṛiti*, III, 151; *Viśvasmṛiti*, LXXXII, 8-9. A passage from the *Yamasmṛiti* cited in the *Parāśara-Dharmasamhitā* (Bom. Sanskrit Series, No. XLVIII, p. 358) mentions *śrēṣṭhi-yājaka-yājakaḥ* in the same context.

propitiation of Vināyakas,¹ but it is not known if the priest who performed the rite incurred any guilt. Dr. Bühler's suggestion,² therefore, that the reference in *Manuśmṛiti* III, 164, may be to the *gaṇa-hōmas* mentioned by *Bauddhāyana-Dharmasūtra* appears to be preferable. Bauddhāyana lays down the following procedure for the performance of the *gaṇa-hōmas*.³ A person who has purified himself by certain restraints should after fasting for three days and nights commence the performance of the sacred rite, making offerings of boiled rice and clarified butter and reciting certain *mantras* in the morning, at midday and in the evening. At the end of one week during which these *hōmas* are continued, he should feed Brāhmanas, and distribute to them cows, land, sesamum and gold. These *gaṇa-hōmas* are to be performed by a person for himself. A Brāhmaṇa is, however, allowed to perform the rite for his teacher, father and mother, but for none else. If he performs it for others through greed, he is tainted by sin and perishes like one who has swallowed poison. Bauddhāyana, however, says later on (IV, 8, 10) that 'through a desire of removing one's guilt one may cause these oblations to be offered by men who have been engaged for money in case one is unable to do it: a man need not torment himself.' This means, as explained by the commentator Gōvindasvāmin, that the wealthy man who engages a priest for the performance of the rite will be freed from sin, but the latter will be tainted by guilt.⁴ This explains why the priests who performed *gaṇa-hōmas* for others out of greed were avoided at a *śrāddha*. Naturally few people must have come forward to do the rite and those who did it received a high reward. The case is analogous to that of the first annual *śrāddha* in honour of a dead person or to that of a *śrāddha* at an eclipse.⁵ The donee of the present plates seems to have performed such a *gaṇa-hōma* for Pravaraśeṇa II from whom he received a village as his sacrificial fee.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, Nandivardhana has already been identified with Nagardhan or Nandardhan near Rāmtek in the Nāgpur District. Kōthuraka, the donated village, cannot now be traced. Its site seems to be occupied by Mangaon on the right bank of the Wunnā, about 2½ miles north by west of Jāmb, since all the boundary villages mentioned in the present plates can be identified in its vicinity in their respective directions. Thus Chichāpalli is Chicholi which also is situated on the right bank of the same river Wunnā, half a mile to the south of Mangaon; Bōnthikavāṭaka is now called Bōthaḍ and Maṇḍukigrāma, Māṇḍgaon, about 3½ miles to the north by west and 2 miles to the north respectively from Mangaon. The Wardhā District Gazetteer records a tradition that Māṇḍgaon is named after one Māṇḍo Rishi who is said to have done penance on the Wunnā river.⁶ The present grant, however, shows that the ancient name of the place was Maṇḍukigrāma. The identification of these three boundaries shows that the Umā river which formed the eastern boundary of the donated village is none other than the Wunnā. No place exactly corresponding to Supratishtha, the headquarters of the āhāra in which these villages were situated, can now be traced, but it seems to have comprised roughly the territory now included in the Hinganghāt taluk. This āhāra was already known from the Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā, but no clue to its identification was so far available. It is now furnished by the present plates

¹ R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism etc.*, pp. 147 ff. Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, adhyāya II (Sathākar Dwivedi's ed., Vol. I, p. 91) also mentions *gaṇa-pūjā* which the commentator Bhaṭṭotpala explains as *gaṇa-pūjā*, the worship of the demigods called *gaṇas*.

² See his *Laws of Manu*, S. B. E., Vol. XXV, p. 106.

³ *Bauddhāyana-Dharmasūtra*, Prāśna IV, adhyāyas 7 and 8. See Bühler's translation in S. B. E., Vol. XIV, pp. 329 ff.

⁴ See Gōvindasvāmin's commentary on *Bauddhāyana-Dharmasūtra*, IV, 8, 9.

⁵ Wardhā District Gazetteer, (1906), p. 250.

which show that Prabhāvatiguptā's plates, though discovered in far-off Poona, originally belonged to the Hīnganghāt *tahsil*.¹ These plates record the grant of the village Daṅguṇa which was situated in the Supratishṭhāhāra and lay to the east of Vilavapaka, to the south of Śīrshagrāma, to the west of Kadāpiñjana and to the north of Sidivivaraka. None of these places have been identified so far. Two of them I have been able to trace in the vicinity of Hīnganghāt. Vilavapaka seems to be Vaṇi, about 2½ miles to the west and Kadāpiñjana may be Kadhājan 3 miles to the south by east of Hīnganghāt. Hīnganghāt seems therefore to occupy the same position as the ancient village Daṅguṇa. The latter place-name appears to have been changed to Hīngan in course of time, *ghāt* being added to it as it was a fording place on the Wunnā. It is noteworthy that the name of the village Kavaḍghāt on the opposite bank of the same river also ends in *ghāt*.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 द्वि(द्व)ष्टम् [१*] सिद्धम् [१*] स्रस्त(स्ति) नन्दिर्वर्धना[त् १*] अग्निटीमाप्तोर्यामोवथ-
बोडश्चतिराव-
- 2 वाजपेयवृहस्य(स्य)तिसवसायस्त्रचतुरश्रमेधयाजिनः³ विश्ववृद्ध-
- 3 सगोत्रस्य सम्बाद्⁴ वाकाटकानाम्पाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य सूनो सूनो⁵
- 4 अत्यन्तस्वामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य ॥⁶ असंभार⁷सन्निवेशितशिवलिङ्गो-
- 5 [ह]हनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवंशानाम् पराङ्गमाधिगतभागो-
- 6 रत्नमलजलमूर्धाभिषिक्तानां दशममेधावस्यज्ञाताना(नां) भारशिवानां

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 7 महाराजश्रीभवनागदौहिचस्य गौतमि(मौ)पुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य १⁸ वाकाट-
- 8 कानाम्पाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सूनोः अत्यन्तमाहेखरस्य ॥⁹
- 9 सत्यार्जवकारुण्यशौर्यविक्रमनयविनयमाहात्म्यधौमत्व(स्व)-
- 10 पाचगतभ[क्ति]त्वधर्मविजयित्वमनोनैर्मत्स्यादिगुणैस्समु-

¹ The copper-smith with whom the plates were found originally hailed from Ahmednagar. See above, Vol. XV, p. 39.

² From ink-impressions.

³ Here and in many places below, rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

⁴ Read *Samājā*.

⁵ Read *sūnāḥ sūnāḥ*.

⁶ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁷ The *anuvāda* is misplaced. Read *ama-bhāra*.

⁸ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

11 पेतस्य ॥¹ व[र्य]शतमभिवर्द्धमानकोशदण्डसाधनसन्तान-

12 पुत्रपौत्रिण[ः] युधिष्ठिरहस्तेर्वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीष्टिबौ-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

13 सेनस्य² सूनोर्भगवतश्चक्रपाणे³ प्रसादा(दो)पार्जितश्रीसमुदयस्य

14 महाराजश्री(श्री)रुद्रसेनस्य सूनोः महाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्त-

15 सुताय(या) प्रभावतौगुप्ताय(या)मुत्पन्नस्य ॥⁴ शम्भो⁵ प्रसादवृत्ति(त)कार्त-

16 युगस्य ।⁶ वाकाटकानाम्परममाहेश्वरमहारा[ज*]श्रीप्रवरसेन-

17 स्व वचना[त्*] । सुप्रतिष्ठाह(हा)रे ।⁷ उमानद्या अपरपार्श्वे । चिंचापत्न्या⁸

18 उत्तरे पार्श्वे ।⁹ वोज्यकवाटकस्य ।¹⁰ पूर्व्वे पार्श्वे ।¹¹ मण्डुकिग्रामस्य

Third Plate ; First Side.

19 दक्षिणे पार्श्वे ।¹² कोथुरकग्रामग्रामः कौण्डिन्यसगोत्र ।¹³ तैत्तिरिक्¹⁴गणयाजि-

20 कालुङ्कब्रह्मचारिणे दत्ताः¹⁵ [।*] यतोऽस्त्यन्तकाः सर्वास्त्यनियोगनियुक्ता

21 आन्नासंचारिकुलपुत्राधिकृताः भट्टा¹⁶ग्वाचाव विप्रुतपूर्व्वयान्नाप्रापयि-

22 तव्या¹⁷ विदितमस्तु वः यथेहास्माभिरात्मनो धर्मा¹⁸युर्व्वलविजयैश्चर्य्यवि-

23 वृहये इहामुचहितार्थमात्मानुग्रहाय वैजयिके धम्म(म्ह)स्थाने अपूर्व्वद-

24 त्या(त्वा) उदकपूर्व्वमतिष्ठः [।*] यथास्योपचिता¹⁹ पूर्व्वराजानुमताश्चातुर्व्वेद-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

25 ग्राममर्थ्यादान्वितराम²⁰स्तयथा अकरदायि²¹ अभटच्छत्र²²प्रावेश्य[ः] अपा-

26 रम्परगोवल्लवर्ह[ः]²³ अपुष्पश्रीरसन्दोह[ः*] अवा(चा)रासनचर्माङ्गार[ः*] अल-

¹ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

² Read *Śrī-Prithivīśaktyaṅga*.

³ Read *Chīr-chāpallā*.

⁴ Read *Taittirīya*.

⁵ Read *dattā*.

⁶ Read *bhṛta*, as in other Vākātaka grants.

⁷ Read *vīrula-pūrvvay-ājñay-ājñāpayitavyā*.

⁸ Read *sy-śchitā*.

⁹ Read *maryyādām vitarāma*.

¹⁰ Read *akara-dāyī*.

¹¹ Read *chchātra*, as in other Vākātaka grants.

¹² Read *balivarddā*.

KOTHURAKA GRANT OF PRAVARASENA II.

i.

2 2
4 4
6 6

ii, a.

8 8
10 10
12 12

ii, b.

14 14
16 16
18 18

iii, a.

20 20
22 22
24 24

iii, b.

26 26
28 28
30 30

iv.

32 32
34 34
36 36

- 27 वणक्लिबक्लेनौखनकः¹ सर्व्वेष्टिसपरिहार²परिहृतः सनिधिः
 28 सोपनिधि[:*] सक्तिसोपक्तिस³[:] आचन्द्रादित्यकालि(ली)यः पुत्रपौत्रानु[गा*]-
 29 मिक्कः भुञ्जता(तो) न केनचिद्व्याघातयितव्यः सर्व्वक्याभिस्मरचितव्य[:*]
 30 परिवर्हेयितव्यद्या(द्य) [I*] यद्यास्मच्छासनमगणयमानः स्वल्पामपि परिवाधां
 Fourth Plate.
 31 कुर्यात्कारयित वा⁵ तस्य ब्राह्मणैर्व्वेदितस्य सदण्डं नियहं कुर्याम ॥
 32 अस्मिंश्च धर्मादरकरणे अतीतानेकराजदत्तां सच्चिन्तनपरिपालन⁶
 33 कृतपुण्यानुकीर्त्तनपरिहारार्थं न कौर्त्तयामः [I*] व्यासगि(गौ)तद्याच श्लोकप्रमाणौ-
 34 कर्त्तव्य[:] [I*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा हरेद्यो वै वसुध्वरा[म्*] । गवां गत-
 सहस्रस्य
 35 इन्तुर्हरति दुष्कृतं(तम्)⁷ । [I*] संवत्सरे द्वितीये अश्वयुजमासशुक्लद्वादश्या(श्या) ।⁸
 36 चक्रदेवदूतकः¹⁰ नागवर्मणा लिखित[म्*] । ॥ * ॥¹¹

No. 22.—A NOTE ON THE DATES OF THREE RASHTRAKUTA KINGS.

By the late Mr. A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

Indra III—A. D. 915-27 (?)

The Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra III had the distinctive title of 'Nityavarsha', while his son Gōvinda IV had the titles of 'Prabhūtarsha' and 'Suvarṇavarsha'. The earliest record in which this Prabhūtarsha (i. e., Gōvinda IV) figures is one from Daṇḍāpur¹² in the Bombay-Karnāṭak, which is dated in Śaka 840 (expired), Pramāthin, Makara-saṅkramaṇa, corresponding

¹ Read -krēṇi-khanakāḥ.

² Read sarva-viśhṭi-parihāra.

³ Read sa-kṣipt-ōpakṣiptaḥ.

⁴ Read sarva-kriyābhī-

⁵ Read kārayed-ēd.

⁶ Read -rāja-datta-saṅchintana-paripālanaḥ.

⁷ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁸ Read śivayuja-

⁹ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

¹⁰ Read Chakrādēva-dūtakaḥ.

¹¹ There is a floral design between these two sets of daṇḍas.

¹² Ind. Ant. Vol. XII, p. 222, and B. K. No. 63 of 1933-34.

to A. D. 918, December 23, while the latest date Śaka 857 (wrong for Śaka 856), Vijaya, corresponding to A. D. 933-34 is furnished by three records¹ from Honnali in the Mysore State. On the strength of these, Mr. Altekar has concluded² that Indra III had died in about A. D. 917 and that Gōvinda IV, who succeeded him, probably after a short rule of one year of his elder brother Amōghavarsha II, had actually reigned for about 15 years from A. D. 919 to 934.

This statement seems to require modification in the light of some other inscriptions of Indra III which have been copied from the Bellary and Cuddapah Districts of the Madras Presidency and from Bombay-Karnāṭak. One of these from Kuḍatani³ in the Bellary District is dated in Vikrama, which corresponded to Śaka [842], (=A. D. 920-21). Another from Kaḍabagere⁴ in the same district belonging to the reign of Nityavarsha Indra-Vallabha is dated in Śaka 844, Chitrabhānu, corresponding to A. D. 922, September 9. A third from Asundi⁵ in the Bombay-Karnāṭak, belonging to a Nityavarsha, bears the Śaka year 847 and the cyclic year Pārthiva (=A. D. 925-26). One other record⁶ of the same Nityavarsha from Hālaharavi in the Bellary District is stated to be dated in the same cyclic year Pārthiva, but the Śaka year appears to have been wrongly quoted therein as 854. Yet another record⁷ recently copied from Kamalāpuram in the Cuddapah District, furnishes for Nityavarsha Indra-narēndra the date Śaka 848, Pārthiva, Uttarīya-saṅkramaṇa. The actual wording is as follows :

Svasti[*] Nityavarsha Prithivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭārak-
ōttarōttarābhivṛddhi-pravardhamāna-vijaya-Mahārāja-rājyado[=Indra-narēndrana rājyam
saluttire Pallavadhīram Muḷki-aynūruvan-āuttire Svasti samadhigata-paṇcha-mahāśabda
mahāsāmantam vikrānta-Rāman vikrānta-Bhīman.....Svasti Śaka-nṛpa-kālātita-saṁvatsaraṅ-
ga[=eṣṭunūra-nālvatt-eṣṭaneya Pārthiva-saṁvatsarati pravarttise tadvarsh-ābhyantar-
ōttarīya-saṅkrānti-andu etc.

The full astronomical details of the date are not given, but the date may be equated to A. D. 925, December 23. From the Bombay-Karnāṭak come two records⁸ belonging to a Nityavarsha Nirupama-Vallabha, of which one from Gadag in the Dhargwar District is dated in Śaka 840, Bahudhānya, corresponding to A. D. 918, July 18. From the distinctive title 'Nityavarsha',⁹ it may be assigned to Indra III himself, for whom therefore the new title of 'Nirupama' appears to be indicated in this epigraph. If this is accepted, the other record of the same king Nityavarsha Nirupama-Vallabha from Haleṛitti dated in Śaka 850, Sarvadhāri, Pushya=A. D. 927, December, may also be considered to belong to Indra III, in which case Śaka 850 will be the

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Hn. 21 to 23.

² *Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 105.

³ No. 47 of 1904 of the Madras Epigl. collection.

⁴ *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IX, No. 57.

⁵ B. K. No. 162 of 1926-27.

⁶ No. 540 of 1915 of the Mad. Epigl. colln. In *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, No. 62, this record has been taken to be one of Gōvinda IV, taking the Śaka year as correct and the cyclic year Pārthiva as wrong; but the latter has been taken as correct above, the Śaka year 854 being considered as wrongly quoted instead of Śaka 847.

⁷ No. 235 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1937-38.

⁸ Nos. 184 of 1932-33 and 47 of 1933-34 of the Bombay-Karnāṭak collection.

⁹ In para. 38 of the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1916, it has been suggested that Nityavarsha was probably a title of Gōvinda IV, like that of his father Indra III, on the consideration that No. 540 of 1915 dated in Śaka 854, Pārthiva, could belong to the former only. Taking Pārthiva as correct and equating it to Śaka 947 and not 854, the record may be taken to belong to Indra III, for whom the Kamalāpuram inscription (No. 235 of 1937-38) furnishes the date Śaka 848, Pārthiva. There does not seem to be therefore any necessity for postulating the title of 'Nityavarsha' to Gōvinda IV, for whom the titles known are 'Prabhūtavarsha' and 'Savar-gavarsha' only.

latest date known so far for him. It is therefore possible that Nityavarsha Indra III, whose date of accession¹ was February 24, A. D. 915, actually reigned till at least the end of A. D. 927. He may have continued for some time longer.

Gōvinda IV (A. D. 930-34).

The Cambay plates of Gōvinda IV² dated in Śaka 852—(May 10, A. D. 930), contain an important item of information which, in the light of the facts noted above, receives a new significance. It is stated therein that when the king, having come from his capital Mānyakhēṭa, was staying at a village called Kapitthakā on the day specified, on the occasion of the *paṭṭabandha* festival, he performed the great *tulābhāra* ceremony and also made munificent donations to Brāhmins and temples. In fact his gifts to Brāhmins are stated to have been as many as 600 *agrahāras* and 3,00,000 *śwarghas*, while those to temples aggregated to 800 villages and 4,00,000 *śwarghas* and 32,00,000 *dramma*s in coin. Even allowing for an excusable exaggeration in regard to these details, such exuberant liberality was hardly rivalled by any other Rāshtrakūṭa sovereign.

Dr. Bhandarkar who has edited these plates in the *Epigraphia Indica*³ has argued that the *paṭṭabandha* cannot refer to a royal coronation ceremony, for the reasons that Gōvinda figures in an inscription of A. D. 918, that it is unnatural to expect that the king will have gone to a village away from his capital for the *paṭṭabandha* ceremony, and that the period of 11 years from A. D. 919 to A. D. 930 is too great an interval for Gōvinda to have continued simply as an heir-apparent. In view, however, of the discovery of distinct records dated in A. D. 922 and 925, and possibly also in A. D. 927 for Indra III, as pointed out above, the event glorified in the Cambay plates may very reasonably be considered to have been the coronation of Gōvinda IV himself, the magnitude of the gifts detailed therein indicating clearly an occasion of considerable importance. It may be noted that Indra III also celebrated his *paṭṭabandha* ceremony at a village named Kurundaka, as stated in the Nausāri copper-plate grant⁴ of this king dated in A. D. 915, and that even longer terms of heir-apparency are not unknown, for to quote but one instance, the Chōla prince Rājādhirāja (A. D. 1018-53) was a crown-prince for over 26 years till A. D. 1044, before he became the reigning king. The inference seems therefore to be warranted that Indra III continued to reign as king till at least A. D. 927, and that Gōvinda IV succeeded to the Rāshtrakūṭa throne in May, A. D. 930, after a short interval of a year or so, in which his elder brother Amōghavarsha II had perhaps reigned, as indicated by the statement in the Bhadana plates⁵ of Aparājita-Śilāhāra.

In this case, one small point seems to require elucidation as to why, while an elder son was living, the younger Gōvinda should have been chosen heir-apparent in about A. D. 918, whereas Amōghavarsha's claim for succession should have been recognised only later at the time of Indra's death. It must have been this acknowledgment of the rightful claim of Amōghavarsha that appears to have incited the darker traits in Gōvinda's character; for if the sententious denials made in the Sāngli plates that Gōvinda 'did not act cruelly towards his elder brother' mean anything, they seem to indicate that Gōvinda may have indirectly helped in the removal of his elder brother, whose existence had barred his way to the Rāshtrakūṭa throne.

¹ Nausāri copper-plate referred to in the *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 415.

² *Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 27.

³ *Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 27, f. n. 2.

⁴ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 415. According to the Bagumrī plates, Indra III performed a *tulāpuruska-dāna* at a village named Kurundaka (*Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 24).

⁵ Quoted in Aitkar, *loc. cit.*, p. 105.

The actual reign of Gōvinda IV is thus reduced to a short period of about four years only—from May, A. D. 930 to the middle of A. D. 934. Owing to his wicked life, this king, it is stated, was very unpopular, and his ministers and feudatories¹ conspired to oust him. The Eastern Chālukya king Bhīma II claims to have defeated the army of Gōvinda IV in about the year A. D. 934²; and this defeat must have been the signal for the discontented elements at the Rāshtrakūṭa capital to flare up into activity. The result was that Gōvinda was deposed, and Amōghavarsha III, an uncle of Gōvinda in a collateral line, a religious man already well-advanced in years,³ was chosen by the feudatories to be the king. It is not definitely stated anywhere that Gōvinda died on this occasion—he may perhaps have lived some years longer; but his career as a Rāshtrakūṭa king probably ended with A. D. 934.

Krishṇa III (A. D. 939-67).

The records of Krishṇa III found in the Kannaḍa country are most of them dated in Śaka years, while his numerous Tamil records in the Tondai-maṇḍalam, following apparently the procedure in vogue in the Tamil districts, mention only his regnal years. However, an inscription from Pādūr⁴ in the Tirukkōyilūr Taluk of the South Arcot District is of interest in this connection, as quoting his regnal year 26, coupled with the astronomical details—Vṛiśchika, ba. 3, Wednesday, Mṛigaśīrsha. Even here the omission of the Śaka and the cyclic years is unfortunate, but the English equivalent can, however, be calculated.

Now, Amōghavarsha III, the father and predecessor of Krishṇa III, was alive on December 3, A. D. 939.⁵ So the date of accession of Krishṇa III must have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of this date, and his 26th year would fall in the interval between A. D. 960 and 970. On verification it is found that A. D. 964, October 26, Wednesday,⁶ and no other date in this interval, agrees so well with the given details. This being a day in the 26th regnal year of the king, the date of his accession must have been some day between October 27, A. D. 938 and October 26, A. D. 939.

As stated already, Krishṇa's predecessor Amōghavarsha was alive on December 3, A. D. 939. If so, how can the date of accession of his successor Krishṇa III be some date prior to October 27, of the same year? For this to be possible, we shall have to suppose that Krishṇa had been formally anointed *yuvārjya* during the last days of his father himself; and when we take into consideration the fact that Amōghavarsha III was already a man of advanced age with a deeply religious bent of mind at the time of his selection as king, there is nothing out of the ordinary in his having associated his son Krishṇa along with himself in the administration, and in his having actually anointed him some time prior to his own demise. A record⁷ from the Sorab Taluk of the Mysore State furnishes Śaka 861 (=A. D. 939), December 23rd, as the earliest date for Krishṇa III with the imperial titles. The Dēoli plates⁸ dated approximately on 30th April A. D. 940, mention that Krishṇa succeeded to the throne only after Amōghavarsha's death and

¹ Among such feudatories the Chālukya chieftain Arikēśarin, the patron of the poet Pampa, was one—*Ante*, Vol. VII, p. 34.

² The Kalsoorumburru grant of Anmarāja II, *ante*, Vol. VII, p. 177.

³ Shukar, *Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 111.

⁴ No. 281 of 1936-37 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁵ Inscribed inscription dated in Śaka 861, Vikārīn=A. D. 939, December 3 (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Cd. 77).

⁶ According to the *Indian Ephemeris*, the *tithi* was current till '54 and the *nakṣatra* till '48 of the day. (*As. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy for 1936-37*, p. 47).

⁷ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sorab 476. The details are Śaka 861, Vikārīn, Uttarāyana, Monday=A.D. 939, December 23, Monday.

⁸ *Ante*, Vol. V, p. 185.

this statement is not in conflict with what had been said above ; for Kṛishṇa's actual coronation as 'king' must have occurred only after the death of Amōghavarsha sometime towards the end of A. D. 939, though he may have been anointed *yuvārāja* a few months earlier, and calculated the subsequent dates of his reign retrospectively from this initial date.

The two limits, namely, October 27, A.D. 938, and October 26, A. D. 939, between which the date of accession of Kṛishṇa III fell may therefore be accepted. They may, however, be narrowed down somewhat.

As Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao has shown above, Vol. XXI, p. 262, Kṛishṇa must have passed away a short time prior to February, A. D. 967, (i.e.) towards the end of A.D. 966 or in the beginning of A. D. 967. It may therefore be inferred that the accession of Kṛishṇa III was calculated from August or September A.D. 939, though his actual coronation as 'king' took place only in December of that year, that he reigned for 27 full years and a portion of the 28th year, and that his death may have occurred in about December, A. D. 966, or January A. D. 967.¹

No. 23.—INDIAN MUSEUM PLATES OF GANGA INDRAVARMAN.

By C. C. DAS GUPTA, M.A.

This set of copper-plates was found in a village of the Badakhimedi estate in the Ganjām District of the Madras Presidency and was acquired, along with eight other similar sets, for the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum through Mr. S. Rajaguru, Municipal Councillor, Parlakimedi. Two of the nine sets belong to the Gaṅga king Indravarman², one of which has already been edited by Mr. P. N. Bhattacharyya of the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum³. The other I edit here, with the kind permission of Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, Officiating Superintendent of the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

This set consists of **three copper-plates**, each measuring $7'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$, strung together by means of a copper-ring at their one end which was held by a seal of $1\frac{1}{2}''$ diameter marked with the figure of a couchant bull. Altogether they weigh 89 *tolas* including the ring. The first plate is engraved on one side only, the second and third on both their sides. The inscription consists of 40 lines, each side of the plates containing 9 lines except the last which contains only 4 lines.

¹ In a long footnote Mr. Altekar has tried to fix the period of Kṛishṇa's reign (*Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, pp. 122, 123) ; but he has taken the Kīlūr record to be dated in the 30th year (instead of 20th, as revised). He has also equated the details of the Kolagallu record (No. 236 of 1913) to A. D. 968, February 17th, instead of A. D. 967, February 17th, as calculated in *ante*, Vol. XXI, p. 262. It may be noted that an inscription from the Mysore State (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Hojalkere 23) of the reign of Akāṣavarsha Prithivīvallabha is dated in Śaka 891, Vibhava. The astronomical details therein do not work correctly for Vibhava. Farther as Kṛishṇa is stated to have died at the time of the Kolagallu inscription (17th February, 967) the Hojalkere record of a later date for him is inexplicable. There seems to be some mistake either in the actual year quoted in this document, or there must have been some jumbling of the southern and northern cycles of reckoning. Records of Khottiga dated in Śaka 890, Prabhava, and Śaka 890, Vibhava, are known (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 531 and *ibid.*, Vol. XI, Cd. 50).

² *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1935-36, p. 110, F. & G. Of the nine sets of copper-plates the other eight have already been edited. (Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 73 ff., pp. 78 ff., pp. 141 ff., pp. 261 ff., and Vol. XXIV, pp. 129 ff.)

³ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 78 ff.

The characters used in this inscription belong to the South Indian Nāgarī type and may be assigned to the 10th century A.D.¹ With regard to the formation of individual letters, it may be pointed out that *ē*, *ṭ*, *ṭh*, *p* and *c* have two signs each, as found in the following examples : *viśhaḥ* (l. 9) and *ṭṭad* (l. 13) ; *°vataś-* (l. 1) and *°nātaḥ* (l. 22) ; *nātha* (l. 6) and *°thiei* (l. 9) ; *parama* (l. 8) and *prati°* (l. 28) ; *°vataś-* (l. 1) and *°vāśinaḥ* (l. 3). Besides *d* and *n* have three forms each, as found in the following examples : *pādā°* (l. 6), *khātādī* (l. 15) and *parada°* (l. 28) ; *nivā°* (l. 3), *nichaya* (l. 4) and *°nēka* (l. 7). So far as the medial vowels are concerned, *ā* has five signs as found in *Śvētā* (l. 1), *kāraṇa* (l. 2), *bhattā°* (l. 3), *sāmanta* (l. 4), *°dhyātō* (l. 6) ; *i* three signs as found in *svastī* (l. 1), *śhatkī* (l. 4), *giri* (l. 6) ; *ī* two signs as in *Kalī°* (l. 5), *kīrti* (l. 18) ; *u* three different signs as in *bhujā* (l. 4), *°mātyu°* (l. 11), *bhuteā* (l. 26) ; *ē* three signs as found in *Śvētā* (l. 1), *śēsha* (l. 4), *madhē* (l. 15) ; *ai* two signs as found in *kaidī°* (l. 15), *vāruṇai* (l. 30) ; *ō* six signs as found in *gurō* (l. 1), *hātō-* (l. 2), *Kōlāula* (l. 6), *grāmō°* (l. 13), *Gōśvā°* (l. 17), *yōgyān-* (l. 30) ; *au* two signs as found in *gauravūt* (l. 22), *gau°* (l. 22). The language of the record is Sanskrit and the composition is in prose except that eight of the customary verses occur in ll. 23—34. In respect of orthography the following points may be noted : (1) In certain cases *a* is used instead of *ā* as in *akshēptā* (l. 27). (2) *u* has been wrongly placed instead of *au* as it is found in *ubhaū* (l. 29). (3) In *viśhaḥ* (l. 9), the vowel *ē* is substituted for *yē*. (4) Sometimes the letter *ā* is wrongly used instead of *ś*, as in *°tañ-cha* (l. 14). (5) In l. 12 the form *rāḥṣra* has been used for Sanskrit *rāṣṭra* apparently due to the influence of the local dialect. (6) Sometimes *t* has wrongly given place to *ṭh*, as in *śashṭhim* (l. 26). (7) *n* is used instead of *ṇ* as in *Gōkarnē°* (l. 3). (8) As in many other inscriptions of this period, no separate sign for *ḍ* has been employed, it being invariably expressed by the sign for *v*. (9) *ṣ* is wrongly used for *s* and *śh* as in *°kaśya* (l. 3) and *śashṭhim* (l. 26) respectively. (10) *śh* is wrongly used for *ś* and *s* as is found in *śhatkī* (l. 4) and *śhatika* (l. 20) respectively. (11) *s* is wrongly used for *śh* and *ś* as in *°ghōṣa* (l. 7) and *dasa* (l. 15) respectively. (12) *Anuvāra* is wrongly dropped as in *bhavatā* (l. 13) and also wrongly used as in *samāikā* (l. 24). (13) In the like manner *visarga* is sometimes emitted, as after *nichaya* (l. 4) while it is also wrongly used as in *vahubhiḥ* (l. 23). Other errors in writing have been noticed in the text or the footnotes accompanying it.

Indravarman mentioned in this inscription is the same as Indravarman noted in the other Badakhimedi copper-plates² on account of the following reasons. First, the script used in both these inscriptions is exactly the same. Secondly, the drafts of both these inscriptions are of the same nature. Thirdly, both were issued from Śvētaka, written by Śrī Sāmanta and engraved by Svayambhu. If we study the Ganjām plates of Prithivivarman,³ the Badakhimedi copper-plates of Indravarman⁴ and the present record, then we can form the following genealogical table :—

Mahindravarman
|
Prithivivarman
|
Indravarman-Gōsvāminī

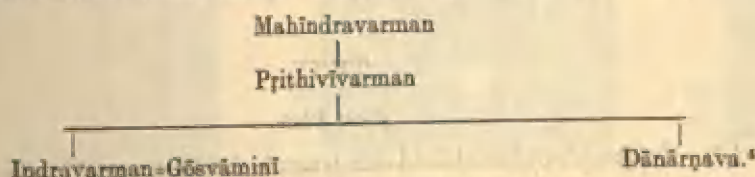
¹ There is a great similarity between this inscription and the plates of Bhūpēndravarmadēva (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 265 ff.) which, from the paleographical point of view, have been rightly ascribed to the 10th century A. D. The Ganjām plates of Prithivivarman (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 198 ff.) who is the father of Indravarman mentioned in this and the other set of copper-plates (*ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 78 ff.) should necessarily be ascribed to the 10th or the latter half of the 9th century A.D. and not to the 12th or 13th century as suggested with a doubt by Kielhorn nor to the 12th century as held by Mr. Bhattacharyya.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 78 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 198 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 78 ff.

The fact that Indravarman had a younger brother named Dānārjaya who succeeded him to the throne may be proved in the following way. It is apparent that *Bhaṭṭaputra* Durgakhaṇḍin, son of Bhaṭṭa Bōdhana of the Vata *gōtra* and the *Chhāndōgya charaṇa*, the donee in one of the Badakhimedi copper-plates of Indravarman¹ is the same as *Bhaṭṭa* Durgakhaṇḍika, the donee of Dānārjaya's grant, coming likewise from the Badakhimedi estate², as the names of the donee's father, *gōtra* and *charaṇa* are the same as in the former. The grantor in the first record is Indravarman while in the second it is Dānārjaya, both of them being the sons of Prithivīvarman. From the above facts it may be concluded that Indravarman and Dānārjaya are brothers. There is still further evidence to show that Indravarman was elder than and preceded Dānārjaya. In the Ganjām plates of Prithivīvarman the writer and the engraver of the grant are respectively *Samādhivigrahin* Śrī Sāmanta and *kāṁśyakāra* Śrī Sāmanta Svayambhu.³ These two persons also figure in the same capacity in both the Badakhimedi copper-plates of Indravarman, one of them being under discussion, but not in the grant of Dānārjaya. This proves that Indravarman was elder than and preceded Dānārjaya, because had it been exactly opposite, then the writer and the engraver of Dānārjaya's grant would have been those whom we have found in the Ganjām plates of Prithivīvarman. Thus the genealogy of this royal family taking the grant of Dānārjaya into consideration will be as follows :—



The object of this inscription is to record a gift of land, by Indravarman, situated in the village **Bhēthiśrīṅga** in *Paṭapikhaṇḍa-eishaya* on the fourteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Phālguna for the benefit of his parents and self, to Lōkamādhava, Svayambhukēśvara and some other Brāhmaṇas named Kēśava, Dāupa, Sōmapā, Viṭhu, Madhusūdana, Dhanaśarman, Gaṇapati, Bhṛigudēva, Dēvaśarman, Savarapa and Durgakhaṇḍi.⁵

The places mentioned in this inscription are **Śvētaka**, **Nandagiri**, **Kōlāulapura**, **Paṭapikhaṇḍa-eishaya** and **Bhēthiśrīṅga**. As regards Śvētaka, Mr. R. Subba Rao has observed, "It would appear from the *Sthalapurāṇa* that the region round about Śrī-Kūrmam was called *Śvētaka Pushkarāṇi* (sic); and probably the donor had his capital at Śrī-Kūrmam."⁶ Mr. Sarma, however, identifies it with the modern Chikāṭi Zamindari in the Sōmpeṭa taluk of the Ganjām District.⁷ Kōlāulapura has been identified by Rice with the modern Kolar in the east of Mysore and Nandagiri with Nandidrug, the well-known fortified hill to the west of the Kolar District, Mysore.⁸ He proposed these two identifications in connection with the Gaṅgas of Mysore; but if we accept them in connection with the Gaṅgas of Orissa, then we presume that the Gaṅgas

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 264.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 198 ff.

⁴ I am wholly indebted to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, M.A., M.O.L., Ph. D. (Lugd.), for kindly permitting me to make full use of an unpublished article of his regarding this genealogical point. This valuable paper of his will be ere long published in the *Epigraphia Indica*. [It has since been published, above, Vol. XXV, p. 240—Ed.]

⁵ It may be that this Durgakhaṇḍi is the same as Durgakhaṇḍin mentioned in the other Badakhimedi copper-plates of Indravarman (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 78 ff.) and the grant of Dānārjaya (*ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 264).

⁶ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, p. 184.

⁷ *J. O. R.*, Vol. XI, p. 58.

⁸ *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 32.

of Orissa migrated from Mysore region. Regarding this point Dr. H. C. Roy has observed, "From the fact that they occasionally describe themselves as lords of the city of Kōlāhala it is clear that they considered themselves to be a branch of the Gaṅgas of Mysore. But the story of their migration and settlement from Kolar to Ganjām and the details of their subsequent history must in the present state of our knowledge remain shrouded in considerable obscurity.In the first half of the 11th century we find another series of kings claiming descent from the same line as the above..... That they also traced their descent from the Gaṅgas of Kolar is proved by the Vizagapatam grant of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, which clearly mentions Kōlāhala, the founder of Kōlāhalapura, in the Gaṅgavāḍi-vishaya, as one of his ancestors. The same inscription distinctly says that Kāmārṇava, a distant descendant of Kōlāhala, leaving Kōlāhalapura with his brothers, came to the Mahēndra mountain, and having conquered Bālāditya through the favour of the god Gōkarṇasvāmin, took possession of the Kalinga countries"¹ and Vajrabasta (the earliest Gaṅga prince for whom we have any authentic record) is the seventeenth prince from Kāmārṇava. This shows that there is sufficient ground for holding the theory of the migration of the Gaṅgas of Orissa from the Mysore region. But for the distance one would feel tempted to identify Bhṛ̥ṣṭīśrīṅga with Barsinga on the Brāhmaṇī river.² I cannot suggest any identification for Paṭaṇikhaṇḍa-vishaya.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm² svasti (|*) Śvōtkā(tak-ā)dhishṭhānād-bhagavataś-charāchara-gurō⁴ śakala-sasāṅka⁵-śrē
(śē)-
- 2 khara-dharaśya⁶||⁷ sthity-utpati(tti)-pralaya-kāraṇa-hētōr-Mahēndrāśchala⁸-śikha-
- 3 ra-nivāśinaḥ śrīmad-Gōkarṇē(rṇē)śvara-bhaṭṭārakaśya(sya) charaṇa-kamal-ārādhan-āvāpta-
- 4 punya(nya)-nichaya[ḥ*]||⁷ śhatki(śakti)-trayaḥ⁹-prakaraṣ-ānuraṅjita-śēsha¹⁰-sāmanta-chakra[ḥ*]||⁷
śva(sva)-bhūja-va(ba)-
- 5 la-parākram-ākraṇta||⁷ -śakala-Kalī(lī)ṅg-ādhirājya[ḥ*] paramamāhēśvarō mā[tā]-
- 6 pīṭri-pād-ānndhyātō Gaṅg-āmala-kula-tīlaka[ḥ*] śrī- Nā(Na)nda-giri-nāṭha[ḥ*] Kōlālapura-
pa-
- 7 ṭṭaṇa-vinī(ni)rgata-kāmvalya-varaya-ghōṣa(śhaḥ) ||⁷ ma(a)nēka-jaya-jayā(ya)-śadva¹¹-prachaṇḍa-
daṇḍi-
- 8 ta[ḥ*]||⁷ mā(ma)hārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-para¹²mabhaṭṭāraka- śrī-rājā Indravarmanadēva[ḥ*]
kusha(śa)-

¹ *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, pp. 448-49.

² I am wholly indebted to Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., F.R.A.S. B., for this identification.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read *gurōḥ*.

⁵ Read *śasāṅka*.

⁶ Read *dharaṇya*.

⁷ The sign of punctuation is unnecessary. The sign somewhat resembles the modern Nāgarī letter *ga* without the top bar.

⁸ Read *Mahēndr-āchala*.

⁹ This *vīcarṇa* is not required; read *traya*.

¹⁰ Read *-ānuraṅjit-śēsha*.

¹¹ Read *śabda*.

¹² This *ra* appears below the line.

10

१- कश्चिद्वस्तुना विमुक्तो दुर्गागणेशो वैभवात्मानं कलमो व्योमिष्य
२- नमस्येभ्य नमिष्येभ्य विष्णुं चतुर्भुजं यक्षपुण्ड्रकम्बुं च भोलोक्तिम्
३- रविशोभिः शीतैः कृष्णैः केशैः केशवैः केशवैः केशवैः केशवैः केशवैः
४- कुमुदः पद्मैः सुधाः प्रोक्तैः सुधाः प्रोक्तैः सुधाः प्रोक्तैः सुधाः प्रोक्तैः
५- लवः सुगन्धैः प्रोक्तैः सुधाः प्रोक्तैः सुधाः प्रोक्तैः सुधाः प्रोक्तैः
६- विष्णुः सुधाः प्रोक्तैः सुधाः प्रोक्तैः सुधाः प्रोक्तैः सुधाः प्रोक्तैः
७- लवः सुगन्धैः प्रोक्तैः सुधाः प्रोक्तैः सुधाः प्रोक्तैः सुधाः प्रोक्तैः
८- विष्णुः सुधाः प्रोक्तैः सुधाः प्रोक्तैः सुधाः प्रोक्तैः सुधाः प्रोक्तैः

iii.

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三

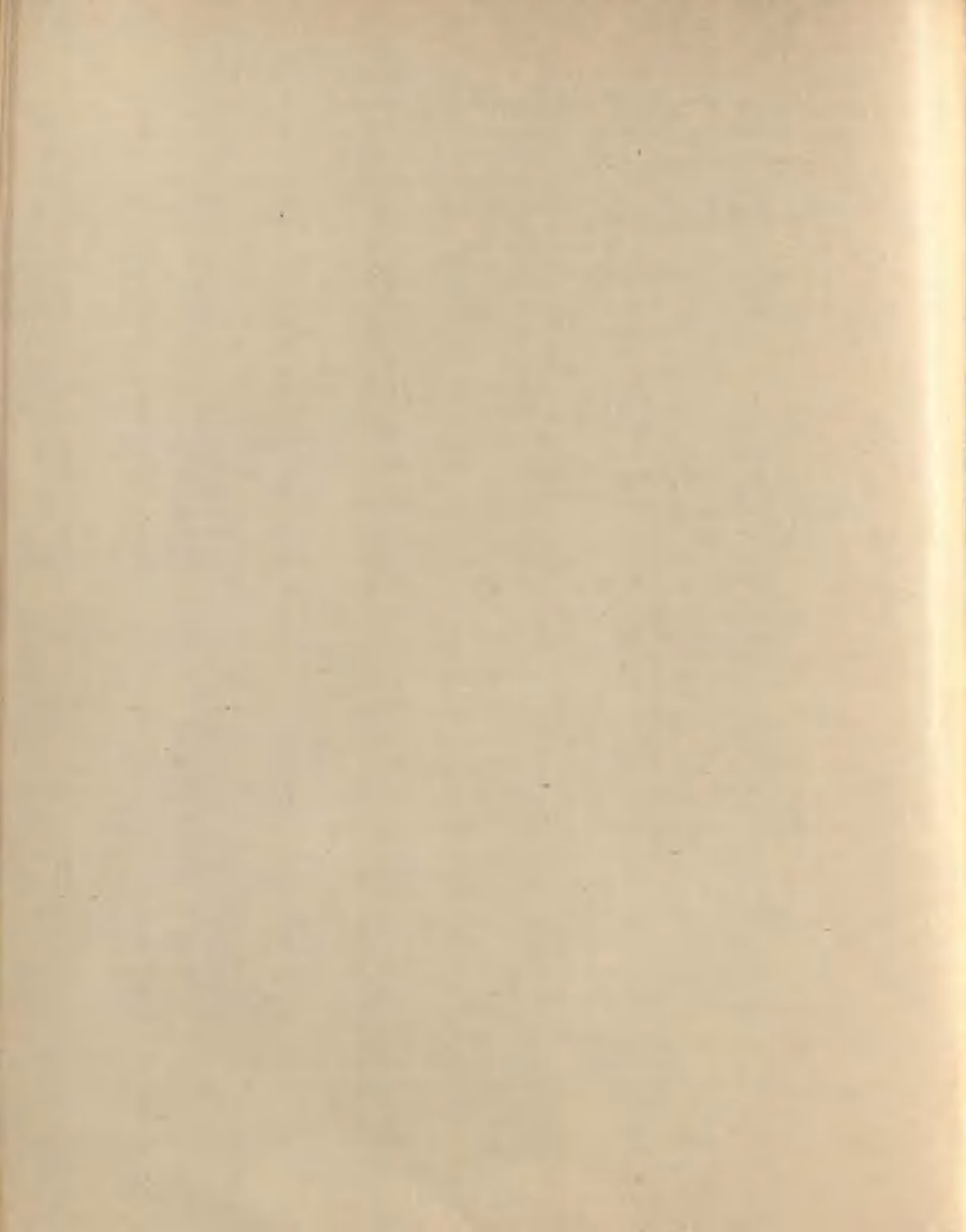
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三

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iii

[illegible]



9 || śrī-Prithivī(vī)varmasya(ṇaḥ) śu(su)taḥ Paṭaṇi¹-khaṇḍa-vishaḥ(yē)||²

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 10 yathā-kāl-ādhyāsi-mahāsāmanta ||³ -śrī-sāmanta ||³ -rājanaka-rā[ja*]putra-kumara(mārā)-
||³
11 māty-utpari⁴-daṇḍanāyaka-vishayapati-gā(grā)mapati(tin)||³ anyā(nyān)ś-cha chāṭa-
bhā(bha)ṭa-
12 sāmanta-rāṭṭrakuṭa-kuṭumvina⁵ ||³ janapadānaḥ(dān) samādisha(śa)ti viditam=astu
13 bhavatā[m*] ḍṭad-vishaya-samandha⁶-grāmō-ya[m*] ||³ Bhēṭhiāringō nāma sa-jala-
sthal-ārā-
14 nya⁷ chatuḥ-si(sī)m-ōpa-adhasrōtra-śahitēna | lakshitaṇ(taś)⁸ -cha ||³ Ara⁹paduṇi-grā-
15 m-ārdhdha(rddha)-Pārāpedra-khātādi-khāmabhāra-samitēna ||³ tasya madhē¹⁰ bhu(bhū)mi-
dasa(śa)kaidi-
16 mākaṁ-nūcha¹¹ śrī-Lōkamādhavasya¹² dataṇ¹³ ||³ apara-ardhdha-ansa¹⁴-bhaṭṭāraka-
Svayambhukē-
17 sarasya¹⁵ ||³ apara-ardhdha-ansa¹⁴ vrāhmaṇānū-cha¹⁶ || śrī-Gōśvā(svā)maṇikasya jē(jyē)-
shṭhapu-
18 traḥ śrī-Gāṅga-Svayambhukasya rūgni¹⁷ śrī-Ēlā ||³ tasya dharma-kīrti[r]-jagati

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 19 parishāpitaṁ-nūcha¹⁸ ||³ ih-aiva Phālguna-māsa-sulka¹⁹-paksha -chaturdaśi(śi) ||³
parili —
20 kshitaṁ-nūcha²⁰ ||³ mātā-pitō(trō)r-ātmanāś-cha ||³ punyā(nya)-pavardhayōḥ²¹ sha(sa)lila-
dhārā-puraḥsa-

¹ (The letter read as *ṣa* looks more like *ḍṣa* or *ḍa*. The name of the *vishaya* may thus be *Padraṣi* or *Padraṣi*, more probably the latter which also occurs below in line 14 as the name of a village. See below f. n. 9.—B. C. C.]

² *Danda* unnecessary. There is a symbol after the *danda*, which resembles the symbol of *ḍa* in the beginning.

³ The sign of punctuation is unnecessary. The sign somewhat resembles the modern Nāgarī letter *ga* without the top bar.

⁴ Read -ōparika-.

⁵ Read *rāṣṭrakuṭa-kuṭumbinaḥ*.

⁶ Read *sambaddha*.

⁷ Read -āraṇyaś-.

⁸ Possibly we have to read *chatuḥ-sīm-ōpalakshitaḥ*. [The reading *adhasrōtra* obviously corresponds to *adhaś-cha-ōrdha*.—B. C. C.]

⁹ This *ra* appears below the line. [Can it be that the intended reading is *aparaṇ Paduṇi-grām-ārāha*—etc. ? See above f. n. 8.—B. C. C.]

¹⁰ Read *madhyē*.

¹¹ Read *mākaṁ cha*. [Can the intended reading be *śā-dāśāś* ? —B. C. C.]

¹² Read *Lōkamādhavāya*.

¹³ Read *dattāḥ*.

¹⁴ Read *apar-ārdh-āmśaḥ*.

¹⁵ Read -āraṇyaś-.

¹⁶ Read *vrāhmaṇānūś-cha*.

¹⁷ Read *rājñi*.

¹⁸ Read *parishāpitaś-cha*.

¹⁹ Read *śukla*.

²⁰ Read *parishāpitaś-cha*.

²¹ Read *pravardhayē*.

21. rēṇa¹ ||² chandr-ārka-sthiti-śama-kāla[m] a-kari(rī)-kṛitya pratipāditō-smābhih-
yataṁ³ ||²
22. śāsana-darashanā[ta]ḥ dharma-gaura⁴vāt-asmād-gauravā cha⁵ ||² na kōna-chipta(t-pa)-
ripanthina(nā)
23. bhavivya⁶ || tathā cha paṭhyatē dharma-ahā(śā)strē Va(Ba)hubhiḥ[r](bhīr)-vaśu(su)dhā
datā⁷ rājāna⁸ Sagar-ādi-
24. bhiḥ ||² yasya yasya yadā bhu(bhū)mi[h*] ||² tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || Mā bhuya
(bhūd-a)phala-saṁ(śa)śukā va[h*]
25. para-datāti⁹ pāṛthivā[h*]¹⁰ || Śha(Sva)-datām(ttām) para-datām-vā(ttām vā) yō harēti(ta)
vashu(su)ndharā[m*] | śa(sa) viśṭhāyā[m*]
26. kṛimī[r-] bhu(bhū)tvā pīṛibhi[h*] saha pachyatē || Śaśṭhim-varisha(Shashṭim varsha)-
śa(sa)haśrā(srā)ṇi śvargam(svargē) mōdati bhu(bhū)-
27. mida[h*] | a(ā)kshēptā ch- ānumantya(ntā) dhā(cha) [tāny*-] ē¹¹va narakam vrajētaḥ(t)
||² śva(sva)-dānāt-phalaṁ kuryā-pa¹²

Third Plate ; First Side.

28. para-datā(tt-ā)nupālanam || Bhu(Bhū)mi[m*] yaḥḥ(yaḥ) pratigrihṇā(hṇā)ti tasya¹³ bhu-
(bhū)mi[m*] prayachchati ||²
29. ubhaū(bhaū) tau punya(nya)-karmāṇau nī(nī)yatau śva(sva)rga-gāminau || atham(Yas-tu)
hārayatē bhu(bhū)mi[m*]
30. mandavudhi(buddhis-)tamā(mō)vṛitā(taḥ) ||² sa vadhō¹⁴ vāruṇai[h*] pāsai(śaiḥ) tiryā¹⁵
-yōnyān-cha jāyatē || A-
31. nyāya(yē)na hari(hṛi)tā bhu(bhū)mīr-anyāyēna tu hāritā || hāratē hārayantaū-cha¹⁶ dahaty
-ā
32. śhatparimam(śeptamam) kulam || Iti kamala-dal-āmva(mbu)-vinḍum(bindu)-lōlā[m*]
śrī(śrī)yam-anu-
33. chintā(nya) [ma*]ṇsya(śhya)-jī(jī)vitam cha | sakalam-idam-udahrī(dāhṛi)taṁ [cha*]
vudhā(buddhvā) na hi puruṣai[h*] pa[ra*]-kīrtayō
34. vīlōpyā[h*] ||² likṣhi(khi)tam-idam mahāsam(sa)ndhivigrahi-śrī-Sāmantēna || utkirṇa-
(tkirṇa) -

¹ Read *paraśaram*.

² The sign of punctuation is unnecessary. The sign somewhat resembles the modern Nāgarī letter *ga* without the top bar.

³ Read *bhīr-yataḥ*.

⁴ This *ra* appears below the line.

⁵ Read *darśanād-dharma-gauratād-asmād-gauratāch-cha*.

⁶ Read *bhavitavyam*.

⁷ Read *datā*.

⁸ Read *rājābhīḥ*.

⁹ Read *para-datt-ānī*.

¹⁰ Second half of the verse missing here but occurs in II. 27-28.

¹¹ This *ē* is initial.

¹² Read *phalam-ānumantya* as found in many instances. This half of the verse should occur in I. 25, as noticed above.

¹³ Read *yaś-cha*.

¹⁴ Read *buddhō*.

¹⁵ Read *tiryag*.

¹⁶ Read *haratē hārayantaś-cha*.

35 ñ-chaḥ¹ śāsanah² kāmsa(sya)kāra- éreshṭhi -śrī -Sāmanta- Śva(Sva)yambhunā Napaḥ³
shu(su)tēna ||

36 lācchhitam(ta)ñ-cha śrī Gōśvā(svā)mipikēna || tachharvam⁴ pramāṇam-iti || [ohha] ||

Third Plate ; Second Side.

37 Bhaṭṭaputra Kēśava || apara Dāupa || punaḥ Śō(Sō)mapā || punaḥ Viṭṭha ||

38 punuḥ(naḥ) Madhusā(sū)dana || punuḥ(naḥ) Dhanaśarma || apara Bhaṭṭaputra-vāstavya-
Gaṇapāti ||

39 Bhṛigudēvaś-cha || apara Dēvasha(śa)rma || apara Savarapaḥ || Durgakhaṇḍi ||
ēbhi(bhyō)

40 brāhmaṇēbhō(bhyō) datam(ttam) || o ||

No. 24.—A BUDDHIST TRACT IN A STONE INSCRIPTION IN THE CUTTACK MUSEUM.

BY A. GHOSH, M.A., PATNA.

The stone-slab containing the following inscription is housed in the Provincial Museum of Orissa, Cuttack. Professor G. S. Das, the Secretary of the Museum, informs me that there is no record in the Museum to show the findspot of the inscription or the year of its discovery. My thanks are due to Professor Das for his permission to edit the inscription in the pages of this journal.

The inscription is engraved on both sides of a slab of stone, 1'6"×1'2"×4", there being 11 lines on the obverse and 10 on the reverse. The letters are neatly and clearly engraved, their average size being $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The characters belong to about the tenth century A. D. and do not call for any special remarks. As regards orthography, attention may be drawn to (1) the use of the *avagraha* sign in *likhiteā-bhyanṭaram* (l. 12); (2) the non-duplication of the consonant after the superscript *r* in *sarva* (l. 2 et passim), *mārga* (l. 6), *dharma* (l. 17), *āntarya* (l. 19); contrast, however, *chūrṇa* (l. 15); (3) the use of *anusvāra* for the class-nasal in *mantra* (l. 7), *abhyāntaram* (l. 12), *gaṇḍha* (l. 14), *bhavanṭi* (l. 16), *saṅgha* (l. 17), *Ānanda* (ll. 18 and 21), *manḍa* (l. 18) and *āntarya* (l. 19); and (4) the use of *r* for *b* throughout.

The text of the inscription is a quotation of some Buddhist *dhāraṇī* followed by a discourse on the use and virtues of the *dhāraṇī*. The tract purports to have been uttered by the Buddha himself to his disciple Ānanda, though I have not succeeded in locating it in the Buddhist texts that I have consulted. It is said in the text that the *dhāraṇī* should be written and thrown inside a *chaitya*, by which act one acquires the virtue of erecting a lae of *Tathāgata-chaityas*. We have archaeological evidence that this practice of enshrining sacred texts was followed all over India. At Nālandā, for instance, besides some bricks inscribed with the *Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra*⁵ or its shorter version *yē dharmā*, etc., there have been found a large number of terracotta tablets bearing on them the text of some *dhāraṇī*⁶. The minuteness

¹ *Vīarga* is superfluous. Read "ñ-cha.

² Read *śāsanā*.

³ Are we to read *Nripa*? [This *Napa* may be identical with *Napa*, the engraver of the Tekkali plates of Anantavarman; see below p. 176, text l. 25.—Ed.]

⁴ Read *tat-sarvam*.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 194 ff.; Vol. XXIV, pp. 20ff.

⁶ Cf. *As. Rep. Arch. Surv., Eastern Circle*, 1915-16, p. 36.

of the characters on these tablets often forbid an accurate decipherment of the inscriptions. But on examining some of them on which the inscriptions are somewhat clear, I found that at least two give the same *dhāraṇī* as is contained in the present inscription, together with a few extra lines at the beginning and at the end.¹

The practice of immuring sacred objects including inscribed religious texts inside votive *stūpas* took a somewhat different form in some Buddhist sites. At Nālandā and Paharpur², for instance, hoards of lumps of clay, encasing two plaques with figures of Buddha, Tārā, etc., or inscribed with the Buddhist formula, have been found within the core of single votive *stūpas*. The origin of this custom seems to be explained by a passage in the *Divyāvadāna*³ in which the Buddha enumerates the different ways of worshipping a *chaitya*, viz., by circumambulation, throwing a lump of clay, placing a heap of *mukta*-flowers, putting a garland, dedicating a lamp and anointing with perfumes.

TEXT.

Obverse.

- 1 धर धर । हर हर । प्रहर प्रहर । महावो(वो)धिवित्तधरे ।
- 2 बुलु बुलु । शतरश्मिचोदिते । सर्वतयागताभि-
- 3 पेकाभिवित्ते । गुणगणमते । बु(बु)डगुणावहासे ।
- 4 मिलि मिलि । गगनतलप्रतिष्ठिते । नभस्तले । श-
- 5 म शम । प्रशम प्रशम । सर्वपापप्रशमने । सर्व-
- 6 पापविशोधने । डलु डलु । महावो(वो)धिमार्गसंप्रस्थि-

¹ The tablets referred to here are two of the six hundred tablets that were found together in 1915-16 in Stūpa Site No. 2 and are now in the Archaeological Museum at Nālandā, bearing the register numbers 2-42 and 2-193. The text of the former is given below :

- 1 ōm namō bhagavatē vipulā-vadana-kāśhan-ākāśhi-
- 2 pta-prabhāsa-kāśhi-pārvā-tathāgatāya namō bhagava-
- 3 tō Śākya-munayō tathāgatāy-ārhatē samyak-saśva(bu)ddhāya
- 4 tat-yathā ōm vō(bō)dhi vō(bō)dhi vō(bō)dhi sarva-tathāgata-gōchara dhara
- 5 haru haru prahara prahara mahā-vō(bō)dhi-chitta-dharō chulu chulu śata-raśmi-saś-
- 6 chōditō sarva-tathāgat-āśīśhikṣitō guṇa-gaṇa-matō va(bu)ddha-guṇ-āvahā-
- 7 sō mili mili gāṇa-tāla-sarva-tathāgat-āśīśhikṣitō na-
- 8 bhāsa-tālō śama śama sarva-pāpa-praśamaś sarva-pāpa-viśōdhanō
- 9 hulu hulu mahā-vō(bō)dhi-mārga-saṃprasthītō sarva-tathāgata-pratishṭhita-
- 10 śuddhō svāhā sarva-tathāgata-vyavalōkitō jaya jaya svā-
- 11 hā haru haru jaya-mukhō svāhā śka-chaitya-kriṭṭa
- 12 śakṣā(śakṣa) kṛitā bhava[m]ti pretitya-samutpādatā
- 13 five illegible letters, followed by a symbol denoting *vajra*.

The portions italicized above are somewhat different from the corresponding portions of the text appearing in the stone inscription edited here. No. 2-193 gives the same text in 11 lines, the only difference being that the word *dhara* (l. 4 above) is repeated twice and that after *jaya-mukhō* (l. 11 above) it repeats the Buddhist formula *yē dharmā*, etc., instead of the portion beginning with *śka-chaitya-kriṭṭa*.

² *Excavations at Paharpur*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 55, p. 83.

³ *Divyāvadāna*, ed. Cowell and Neil, pp. 78-79.

Obverse.

[illegible]

Reverse.

12 12
14 14
16 16
18 18
20 20

- 7 ते । सर्वतथागतप्रतिष्ठितशुद्धे स्वाहा ॥ मूलमंत्रः । स-
 8 र्वतथागतगोचरव्यवलीकिते जय जय स्वाहा । हृदये । ह-
 9 र हुर जयमुखे स्वाहा । उपहृ[द*]यं [॥*] यः कश्चिच्चुर्वा
 10 भिचुणो वा उपासको वा उपासिका वा । अन्यो वा । शः(यः?)
 11 क[श्चित्] आहः¹ कुले पुत्रो वा कुले दुहिता वा² ———

Reverse.

- 12 [ह]मां धारणी[] []लखित्वाऽभ्यंतरं प्रक्षिप्य चैत्य[] क-
 13 [रि]ष्यति ।³ तेनैकेन चैत्येन कृतेन लब्धं तथागत-
 14 चैत्यानां कृतं भवति । ते च चैत्या[.*] सर्वगंधपुष्पधूप-
 15 चूर्णचावर⁴च्छत्रध्वजपताकाभिदि⁵रूपकरणैः पू-
 16 जिता भवन्ति । न केवलं चैत्यमेवमपि तु बु(बु)द्धरत्नं ध-
 17 र्मरत्नं संवरत्नं चैवविधेरूपकरणैः पूजितं भवति ।
 18 एवम्(म्)यानंदं संचिप्तेन देशितं मंदपुण्यानां श्रु-
 19 रि—श्रुत्वा⁶नां मिथ्यादृष्टिवैमतिकाना(नां) यानांतर्य-
 20 कारिणां श्रुत्यायुष्काणां⁷ नरकतिर्य⁸[*]ग्योनियमलोकपरा-
 21 यणानां सत्त्वा(त्त्वा)नामर्थी(?)य य—सा(?)मानंदं गृह्णन्[नां*?] [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 9-21)* Whoever person, (be he) a monk or a nun or a male lay-worshipper or a female lay-worshipper or any son of a noble family or a daughter of a noble family having faith, constructs a *chaitya* after having written this *dhāraṇī* and thrown it inside—by the construc-
 tion of that single *chaitya*, a lac of *Tathāgata-chaityas* will have been constructed by him.

¹ Read कश्चिद्वाहः.

² Read कुलपुत्रो वा कुलदुहिता वा.

³ *Danda unnecessary.*

⁴ Read °चावर°

⁵ Read °पताकादिभि°

⁶ Read °श्रुत्वा नामयु° [Intended reading seems to be °m-āpariśuddhānā. The letter after ri seems to be a malformed *śa* scored out.—Ed.]

⁷ Read °कारिणामन्यायुष्काणां

⁸ Lines 1-9 give the text of the *dhāraṇī* which it is not possible to translate.

Those *chaityas* are worshipped with the accessories of all perfumes, flowers, incenses, powders, *chouries*, umbrellas, flags, banners, etc. Not only a *chaitya*, but the Jewel of the Buddha, the Jewel of the Law, and the Jewel of the Order are worshipped with such accessories. O Ānanda, thus has been indicated in brief by me, for the sake of persons who have small virtues,who are of a wrong disposition due to false sight, who create obstacles (†) in the Vehicle, who have a short life, whose refuge is in hell, in a birth as a lower animal or in the world of Yama, (and) O Ānanda,(of) householders.

No. 25.—TEKKALI PLATES OF ANANTAVARMAN; GANGA YEAR 358.

By R. K. GHOSHAL, M. A., CALCUTTA.

The plates forming the subject of the present paper were received for examination by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, from the Rājā Bāhādur of Tekkali in the Ganjām District of Madras, in whose ownership they lie at present. They were noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*¹ for the year 1935-36. I now edit the inscription for the first time from ink-impressions kindly supplied by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy in charge of the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

According to the information kindly supplied by the office of the Government Epigraphist, these are three sheets of copper measuring approximately 5½" by 2½". Towards the proper right end of each plate, there is a ring-hole, about ⅞" in diameter, through which the plates slide on to a copper ring about ¼" thick and 2½" in diameter. The ends of the ring are soldered on to the protruding bottom of a small circular seal about ⅝" in diameter. It bears in relief on a counter-sunk surface the figure of a bull facing proper left. The weight of the plates along with the ring and the seal is 57 tolas.

The characters belong to the Southern class of alphabets with a sprinkling of northern forms here and there. They generally resemble those of the Alamanda plates of Anantavarman², the Chicacole plates of Satyavarman³ and the Indian Museum plates of Dēvāndravarmā⁴. An important palaeographic feature of the present inscription is that some of the letters show two alternative forms: such, for example, are *n* (Cf. *bhavana* and *anaka*, l. 4), *bh* as in *prabha* (l. 9) and *bhavana* (l. 4), *m* as in *amara* (l. 1) and *chūḍāmaṇi* (l. 5), *v* as in *vata* (l. 10) and *vinaya* (l. 12), and *s* as in *samasta* (l. 9). The conjunct *śri* in l. 16 (in both cases) is also noteworthy.

Among orthographical features worth noticing are the following: (1) both *ś* and *ṣ* have been promiscuously used throughout, (2) medial signs like *ā* and *ḥ* have often been omitted, (3) consonants before or after *r* are occasionally doubled, and (4) *anusvāra* or *visarga* have been left out in a large number of cases.

The language is Sanskrit⁵, with the exception of a verse and a half coming at the end, the whole of the record is in prose. The composition is extremely faulty. There are altogether three plates of which the first and the third are engraved on their inner sides only, while the second one bears writing on both of its faces. Each of the inscribed plates, except the last one

¹ No. 3 of 1935-36; pp. 5 and 59 ff.

² Above, Vol. III, pp. 17 ff. and plate.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 10 ff. and plate.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 73 ff. and plate.

⁵ Stray cases of vernacularisation such as *avachārara* (l. 23), *aihanāśīd* (l. 24) or *aiśīd* (l. 26) that occur are a far too common feature of inscriptions of this age from Kalinga.

which has eight lines, contains seven lines of writing, the complete record thus running to twenty-nine lines. Both the scribe and the engraver have executed their work very carelessly. The inscription is however on the whole in a good state of preservation.

The inscription apparently records the gift of the village of *Siñicharapa* (no district has been mentioned) to a Brāhmaṇa called Viṭhubhaṭa (Vishpubhaṭa), son of Harichandra, belonging to the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra*. The donor was the king Anantavarman, son of Mahārāja Dēvēndravarman, who belonged to the Gaṅga *kula*. The gift, which was issued from Kaliṅganagara, was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse.

The writer of the record was the *Sāmanta* Māṭṭisiri and the engraver was the *Akṣhaśālin* Napa.

The date given (in words) is the Year 358 of the prosperous victorious reign of the Gaṅgas.

The chief interest of the present record lies in the date and the personality of its donor. As has been mentioned above, the record belongs to Anantavarman, son of Dēvēndravarman, and is dated in the Gaṅga Year 358. This date precludes any possibility of identifying the father of the donor of the present record with any other person than Dēvēndravarman, father of Satyavarman. For the last-named, we have an inscription dated in the Year 351¹ of the Gaṅga era. This last date again is fairly near to that of our inscription, viz., 358. I, therefore, suggest that Anantavarman of the present inscription was a brother² of Satyavarman of the Chikacole plates. This satisfactorily adjusts the date of the inscription and finds a place for its donor in the Gaṅga pedigree in the following fashion :

²Dēvēndravarman (III)

Satyavarman (Year 351)	Anantavarman (III) (Year 358)
------------------------	----------------------------------

Of the localities mentioned, Kaliṅganagara occurs frequently in inscriptions of Gaṅga kings. It has generally been identified with modern Kaliṅgapatam or with Mukhalingam, I am however unable at present to locate the village granted.

Palaeographically, the Tekkali plates of Anantavarman may be referred to the third quarter of the 9th century A.D.

TEXT.⁴

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm⁵ Svasty(ti) [||*] Amarapur-ānukāriṇa[h*] śa(sa)rv-artu-sukha-rama-
2 ṇi(pḷ)ṇād=vijayavata[h*] Kaliṅganagarādhdhivaśaka⁶ Mahē-

¹ I follow the revised reading reported (D. R. Bhandarkar, *A List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 303 and f. n. 4) to have been suggested to Dr. E. Hultzsch by Mr. Ramamurti, viz., *śata-tray-aḷapañchāsa(śa)ṣ*. The palaeography of the inscription absolutely contradicts such an early date as the Year 151 as suggested (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 12, text, 35) by Dr. J. F. Fleet. This seems to me to be a definite case of remissness on the part of both the engraver and the scribe.

² [This relationship has already been pointed out in the *An. Rep. on S.-I. Epigraphy*, 1935-36, p. 6.—Ed.]

³ [This relationship has already been pointed out in the *An. Rep. on S.-I. Epigraphy*, 1935-36, p. 6.—Ed.]

⁴ Dēvēndravarman, the father of Satyavarman, and, as I have shown, also of Anantavarman of the present record, has variously been called as D^o III or D^o IV (see, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 75 and f. n. 7). In my genealogical scheme, I have followed D. R. Bhandarkar (*List*, p. 386, column 2, No. 14) and R. D. Banerji (*History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 234) in taking Dēvēndravarman of our inscription as D^o III and his son as Anantavarman III.

⁵ From ink-impressions.

⁶ Denoted by a symbol.

⁷ The intended reading seems to be *Kaliṅganagar-ādhidhivāśaka*. The word *adhivāśaka* should, however, be corrected into *vāśaka*.

- 3 dr(ṇdr)-ācha[l-ā]mala-si(śi)khara-pratiṭi(ah)hi(śi)taśi(sya) sa-chara(rā)cha[ra*]-
 4 gurō[h*] sakala-bha(bhu)vana-nirmma-anēka¹-sūtra-
 5 dhāraśi(sya) śasā(śā)śka-cho(chū)ḍama²ṇi-bhagava-
 6 tō Gōkarṇasamīna³=charaṇa-kamala-ju(yu)gala-
 7 praṇama(pāmā)ḍ=vigata-kālī-kāla-kalaśka[h*] anēk-ā-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 8 hava-sachhō(śkshō)bha-janīta-jaya-sanda⁴ pratāpa(p-ā)vana-
 9 ta-samaśta(śta)-samasta⁵-śama⁶-chakrē(kra)-chūḍḍaṇī⁷-prabha⁸(bhā)-ma-
 10 ōjari(rī)-puja(ōja)-rañjita-vara-charaṇa[h*] sita-kumuda-
 11 kudēdvu(ṇd-ēndv-a)vadāta-yashē(śā) dhvaśt-arati⁹-kula(l-ā)cha-
 12 lō naya-vinaya-daya(rā)-dāna-dānchakelūnya-sarja-
 13 dāṭṭya-śati-tyōg-adhvi¹⁰-guṇa-sampadā(m-ā*)dhāra-bhū-
 14 tō(taḥ) paramamāhēśvarō ma(mā)tā-pitri(tṭi)-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 15 pād-ānuḍhvā(dhyā)[tō] Gaṅg-āmala-kula-tilakō mahāra(rā)-
 16 ja-śrī-Dēvētra(ṇdra)varmma-sūnu-śrī-Anantavarmma-
 17 dēvaṇa(vēna) udaka-pūrvra(rvva)[h*] kṛitvā sūriya(ryya)-grab-ōpara(rā)gō
 18 sapradata¹¹ | ¹²Kāṇḍīya-gōtra-Harichandra-sū-
 19 nu-Vīṭhubhaṭṭēṇa(na) upā[r*]jitaḥ vā[i?] |
 20 Śīpīcharaṇa-gra(grā)mō=¹³ya[h*] rō[ka?]-kuṭuvina¹⁴
 21 ..i sada-bala-bhūmi-chaturāṅghaṭa(r-āghāṭa)-¹⁵chbēda-

Third Plate.

- 22 si(śi)l-āukitaḥ ta(ākēna)śa(sa)hita[h*] | Ga[n*]gēya-va[h*]-
 23 śa-pravadhvamāna-vijutya¹⁶-rājya-savachhrara¹⁷-sa(śa)ta-
 24 rṭṭīpi-aṭhavanāśād¹⁸ || likṭitaḥ-idaṁ Māṭṭisiri-śa-
 25 matēṇa¹⁹ | utkirṇaṇ²⁰ akhasālina²¹ Napēṇa | ada-

¹ Read -nirmmaṇ-aika-.

² Note the northern form of m.

³ Read Gōkarṇasamīnaś-.

⁴ Read -sandaḥ.

⁵ The word samasta is repeated needlessly.

⁶ Read -śamanta-.

⁷ Read -chūḍḍamāni-.

⁸ Note the northern form of bh.

⁹ Read dhvaśt-ārati-.

¹⁰ Read -dāṭṭīya-śury-audāryya-śatya-tyōg-ādi-.

¹¹ Read sapradattaḥ.

¹² This might be restored as Śāṇḍīya rather than as Kāṇḍīya.

¹³ The letter ga was subsequently inserted, rather below the line of writing.

¹⁴ Read kuṭumbinaḥ. [Reading may be Rō[kū]kuṭumbina dāi-sada, etc., i.e. in addition to the village, the gift seems to have consisted of 200 kahas of land belonging to the cultivator Rōkū (?) and also a tapāka.

The name of the village appears to be Vāisipīcharaṇa. In fact the mark after Vāi would show that the word is meant to be continued in the next line. Perhaps it was meant to be an agrahāra village which was mostly inhabited by the Brahmins of the White Yajurveda belonging to the Vājasaneyī charaṇa.—Ed.]

¹⁵ This word appears to have been engraved somewhat above the proper line of writing.

¹⁶ Read -pravarddhāmāna-vijaya-.

¹⁷ Read -sachchātara-.

¹⁸ Read -tray-āṣṭapañchāśat, or better -trayaḥ s-āṣṭapañchāśat.

¹⁹ Read -śamantēna-.

²⁰ Read utkirṇam.

²¹ Read akhasālinaḥ.

- 26 na acahaṁ || vātōtapi | Vya(vyā)sa-gītā-silōkā bhuvaṭi¹ [|*]
 27 *Yaśya(sya) yaśya(sya) yada(dā) bhūmi tasi(s-tasya) tasya tadā phala[m*] [|*] *Sa-data
 28 para-datarm-vā⁴ yō harēti(ta) vasu[n*]dharā[m*] [|*] sa viṭhayā⁵ kṛimi-
 29 ri putvā⁶ pitṛibhi[h*] śa(sa)ba da(pa)chyatē (||)

No. 26.—DONGARGAON STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAGADDEVA; SAKA 1034.

By PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

In October 1939 Mr. M. G. Deshmukh, M.A., my former student and a research scholar of the Nagpur University, told me about a stone inscription at **Dōṅgargāon**, a village about 10 miles from Pusad in the Yeotmal District of Berar. I gave him the necessary materials for taking an estampage of the record. He copied it with the assistance of Mr. Tatvavadi, Tahasildar of Pusad. His estampage, though not perfect, was sufficiently clear to show that it was a record of the time of the Paramāra prince Jagaddēva, which had not been noticed in the late Rai Bahadur Dr. Hiralal's *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*. I published a short note on its contents and historical importance in the local papers in February 1940. As the estampage taken by Mr. Deshmukh was not sufficiently good for reproduction, I requested the Government Epigraphist for India to copy the record for me. In compliance therewith Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra kindly supplied me with excellent estampages from which I edit the record here.

Dōṅgargāon is, as its name signifies, situated on a hill. There are two old temples here, one of which is in a fair state of preservation. The other one is very much dilapidated. Its *maṇḍapa* alone is now standing, the *garbhagriha* having fallen into ruins. The present inscription is incised on the architrave of the door of the old *garbhagriha* of this temple. The writing covers a space 4' 3½" broad and 7½" high, and consists of eight lines. It has suffered a good deal by exposure to weather, some *akṣaras* in the first and last lines and at either end of the remaining ones having now become almost illegible. Besides, the stone was not originally well dressed and the technical execution of the record also is not satisfactory. It is, however, possible to read with patience and perseverance almost the whole of it except about a dozen *akṣaras* which have become altogether illegible in lines 1, 5, 7 and 8. The characters are Nāgarī, regular for the period to which the record refers itself. The size of the letters is '7' in the first six lines, but is reduced to '6' in the seventh line and to '5' in the eighth for want of space. Worth of note is the use of double *prishṭha-mātrās* in several places. In other inscriptions of the same period, one of the two *mātrās* denoting the medial *ai* and *au* is usually placed on the top of a letter, while the other becomes a *prishṭha-mātrā*. This is noticed in the present inscription also in *puṇy-ōdayāy-aitai* in l. 7. But in all other cases both the *mātrās* of the medial *ai* and *au* appear as *prishṭha-mātrās*.⁷ In many cases the letters *p* and *y* as well as

¹ Read *ślōkā bhavanti*.² The engraver has carelessly left out the first half of this oft-repeated verse, viz., *Bakubhīr-varudhā datā rājābhīḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ*.³ Read *Sa-datām*.⁴ Read *-datām vā*.⁵ Read *viṣṭhāyām*.⁶ Read *kṛimīr-bhūtvā*.⁷ I have noticed a similar use of double *prishṭha-mātrās* in an old Marāṭhī manuscript of the Mahānubhāva sect from Berar.

l and n have closely similar forms; b, as distinguished from v, is indicated in one place by a rectangular sign almost identical with that for p, see *babbāva*, l. 2; in all other cases, it is denoted by the sign for v. The sign of the *avagraha* occurs twice in l. 4. The language is Sanskrit and the record is, on the whole, correctly written. It evinces here and there the poet's fondness for alliteration. Except for the customary obeisance to Śiva in the beginning and the usual imprecation, the particulars of the date and the name of the writer at the end, the inscription is metrically composed throughout. It contains fourteen verses, all of which are numbered. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities of the reduplication of a consonant following r and the use of v for b.

The inscription belongs to the reign of the Paramāra prince Jagaddēva. The object of it is to record that Jagaddēva granted the village *Ḍoṅgaragrāma* to the Brāhmaṇa Śrinivāsa and that the latter erected there a temple which he dedicated to Śiva for the religious merit of his father Śrinidhi. The inscription was written by Viśvasvāmin. The date is given in the last line as the full-moon *tithi* of Chaitra in the Śaka year 1034 (expressed in decimal figures only), the cyclic year being Nandana. This date corresponds to Friday, the 15th March A. D. 1112. It does not admit of verification, but it may be noted that the cyclic year corresponding to the expired Śaka year 1034 was Nandana according to the southern lunisolar system. This is the only dated record of the reign of Jagaddēva and the only Paramāra inscription found in Berar. Another inscription¹ of Jagaddēva's reign was discovered some years ago at Jainad in the Adilābād District of the Nizami's Dominions, but it is undated.

By way of introduction the inscription gives the genealogy of the king Jagaddēva. Like other Paramāra records it mentions that the royal family was descended from the eponymous hero Paramāra who was born from the sacrificial fire of Vasishtha when the latter was enraged by Viśvāmitra forcibly seizing his *kāmadhenu*. In his family which by its noble warlike deeds surpassed the solar and lunar races, was born Bhōja who resembled Rāma by his noble qualities. We are next told that when the Malava country sank under the attacks of three enemies, Udayāditya, the brother (*bhrātā*) of Bhōja, came to its rescue. This is the first record in which the relationship of Udayāditya to Bhōja is so clearly stated. Some Paramāra inscriptions² describe Udayāditya as meditating on the feet of Bhōja, but they do not mention how he was related to Bhōja. The Nagpur Museum stone inscription³ dated Vikrama Samvat 1161 has indeed been known for a long time to refer to Udayāditya as a *bandhu* of Bhōja, but as *bandhu* signifies in Sanskrit the sense of a distant relative as well as that of a brother, Udayāditya was supposed by scholars to be remotely related to Bhōja.⁴ The aforementioned Jainad inscription mentions Bhōja as the *pitṛeya* (uncle) and Udayāditya as the father of Jagaddēva. This clearly implies that Udayāditya was a brother of Bhōja, but as a stone inscription⁵ at Udayapur gives an altogether different genealogy for Udayāditya from that of Bhōja, namely, that he was the son of Gyātā, grandson of Gōṇḍala and great-grandson of Śūravīra of the Paramāra family, it was supposed that Udayāditya belonged to a minor branch of the Paramāra clan and was a distant cousin of Bhōja.⁶ The present inscription which uses the word *bhrātā* to indicate the relationship leaves no doubt that Udayāditya was Bhōja's real brother. The evidence of the Udayapur inscription which is a very late record⁷ has to be rejected in view

¹ Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 54 ff.

² See, e.g., the Shēṅgaḍh inscription of Udayāditya, above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 132 ff.

³ Above, Vol. II, pp. 180 ff.

⁴ This view was first expressed by Prof. Kielhorn and has since been adopted by others.

⁵ J. A. S. B., Vol. IX, p. 549.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 56.

⁷ It is dated Vikrama Samvat 1562. See D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 134.

of the testimony of three very early documents, viz., the Nagpur Museum, Jainad and Dōngargāon inscriptions.

The present record states in verse 5 that Udayāditya rescued the Mālava country when it was attacked by three kings. The invaders are not specifically mentioned here, but from verse 32 of the Nagpur Museum stone inscription we learn that two of them were Karṇa and the king of Karṇāṭa.¹ As I have shown elsewhere,² this Karṇa was the homonymous Kalachuri king, the son of Gāṅgēyadēva, who ruled from A. D. 1041 to circa 1072. Karṇa invaded Malwa twice. In this first invasion which occurred soon after the death of Bhōja, his ally was the Chaulukya king Bhīma of Gujārāt.³ Jayasimha, the successor of Bhōja, who was dethroned, solicited the aid of the powerful Chālukya king Sōmēśvara I-Āhavamalla. The latter sent his son Vikramāditya VI who turned back the invaders and reinstated Jayasimha. About fifteen years later,⁴ Karṇa again attacked Malwa. The political situation in the Deccan had considerably changed in the meanwhile. Āhavamalla was dead and was succeeded by his eldest son Sōmēśvara II. The latter was, however, apprehensive of his ambitious younger brother Vikramāditya VI and therefore must have readily allied himself with the mighty Kalachuri Emperor Karṇa and helped him in his invasion of Malwa. This time the allied arms attained greater success. The Nagpur Museum stone inscription states that the lord (*śāmin*), who was plainly the Paramāra king Jayasimha, was submerged when the Karṇāṭa king, Karṇa and other princes joined (one another from different sides) like mighty oceans. Kalachuri inscriptions do not generally mention this event, because they nowhere give a detailed account of Karṇa's conquests. The recently discovered Rawah stone inscription⁵ of the time of Karṇa also does not mention it, though it describes Karṇa's campaigns against other kings, but that is evidently because the event occurred long after A. D. 1048-49 which is the date of that inscription. Karṇa's extermination of the royal family of Malwa is however mentioned in an Apabhraṃśa verse to which I have drawn attention elsewhere.⁶ The Chālukya records are not altogether silent about this achievement of Sōmēśvara II. The Sudi stone inscription dated Śaka 996 (A.D. 1075) mentions the Chālukya king as 'a blazing fire to the ocean that is the race of the Mālavyas'.

It is nowhere specifically stated who was the third invader of Malwa. But it seems probable that the reference is to the Western Gāṅga chief Udayāditya. From several records⁷ in the Kanarese country we know that this Udayāditya and the valiant Hoysaja prince Eṇṇayaṅga joined Sōmēśvara in his attack on Malwa. Eṇṇayaṅga in particular is said to have

¹ Above, Vol. II, p. 185. In verse 32 of this inscription Kielhorn read *mah-ārṇava-śpama-mīlat-Karṇāṭa-Karṇa-prabhūm-urvipāla-kadarthitām*. Kielhorn's edition of the inscription is not accompanied by a facsimile of the record, but the late Mr. C. V. Vaidya ingeniously suggested that the correct reading should be *Karṇāṭa-Karṇa-prabhūm-urvipāla*. (See his *History of Medieval Hindu India*, Vol. III, pp. 169-70, n.) I have examined the original in the Nagpur Museum. The medial vowel of the *akṣara* following *pra* is clearly *ri*, not *a*, and the following *akṣara* also is *tya*, not *ma* as read by Kielhorn. It is plain therefore that the Mālava country was invaded by a confederacy of more than two kings.

² Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 107, n. 1.

³ Mērutunga's *Prabandhaśālinī*, tr. by Tawney, pp. 74 ff.

⁴ As shown below, Karṇa's ally this time was Sōmēśvara II who ascended the throne in Śaka 991. Karṇa was succeeded by his son Yaśahkarṇa in circa A.D. 1072. His campaign in Malwa must therefore be dated in circa A.D. 1070.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 101 ff.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*, p. 107.

⁷ D. C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty* p. 128.

trampled down the Mālava army, plundered the Mālava king's hill fort and burnt and devastated Dhārā. Jayasinha succumbed to this powerful attack and for a time it seemed as if the Paramāra kingdom was completely wiped out. The terrible disaster that befell the Mālava country on this occasion is graphically described in the Nagpur Museum stone inscription which likens it to the catastrophe of world-destruction when mighty oceans sweep over and submerge the earth. In this hour of need Udayāditya, the brother of Bhōja, rose to the occasion. He routed the enemies' forces and rescued the Mālava country just as the Primeval Boar had uplifted the earth at the time of *pralaya*. The latter part of the Udayapur stone inscription of the time of Udayāditya,¹ which has recently been discovered, states that Udayāditya inflicted a crushing defeat on the lord of Dāhala who could have been none other than the Kalachuri Karṇa.

The present inscription states further that though Udayāditya had several sons² he longed to have one more who would be after his heart. He therefore devoutly prayed to Śiva and by the god's favour obtained the son Jagaddēva. After Udayāditya's death, the inscription proceeds to state, Royal Fortune offered herself to Jagaddēva, but he renounced her in favour of his elder brother, being apprehensive of incurring the sin of *parivitti*³ (i.e. marrying before an elder brother marries). Two other sons of Udayāditya are known from inscriptions, viz., Lakshmadēva and Naravarman who succeeded him one after the other. Jagaddēva is mentioned in certain Hoysala records⁴ as the king of Malwa. As his name is not mentioned in other Paramāra inscriptions, he was supposed to be identical with Lakshmadēva⁵ whom the Nagpur Museum stone inscription mentions as the son and successor of Udayāditya. The present inscription, however, makes it plain that Jagaddēva was different from both Lakshmadēva and Naravarman and that, though he could have easily ascended the throne of Malwa, he relinquished it in favour of his elder brother Lakshmadēva.

Jagaddēva was probably the youngest son of Udayāditya. The description in verse 8 suggests that he was a favourite son of his father and was nominated by him as his successor. According to the *Rās Mālā*⁶, Udayāditya had two wives, one of the Wāghelā clan and the other of the Sōlāṅki. The former bore to him a son named Raṇadhavala and the latter Jagaddēva⁷. Raṇadhavala was the elder son and the heir-apparent. Jagaddēva was younger by two years. As Udayāditya was completely under the influence of Raṇadhavala's mother who ill-treated Jagaddēva, the latter left Malwa and took military service under Siddharāja-Jayasinha of Gujarāt. He served him for eighteen years, but when he came to know that Siddharāja was planning an invasion of Malwa, he returned to his native country where he was affectionately welcomed by his father who nominated him as his successor. After his father's death, Jagaddēva ascended the throne of Malwa and ruled for 52 years.

¹ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State for 1925-26*, p. 13. This clearly shows that the king Karṇa who was responsible for the destruction of Jayasinha was the Kalachuri and not the Chaulukya king of that name.

² The text has *tasya satva-apī putrāṣu* which shows that Udayāditya had at least three sons at the time.

³ *Parivitti* is used here in the sense of *parivādana*, for the word generally denotes an elder brother who remains unmarried. See *Manusmṛiti*, adhyāya III, v. 171. Manu says that in such cases both the elder and younger brothers, the girl married by the younger brother, the person who gives her in marriage and the officiating priest all go to hell. *Ibid.*, adhyāya III, v. 172.

⁴ See, e.g., *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. II, p. 168.

⁵ D. C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p. 142.

⁶ *Rās Mālā*, ed. by H. G. Rawlinson, Vol. I, pp. 117 ff.

⁷ The editor of the *Rās Mālā* spells the names as Rāṇdhuvu and Jug Dev.

The foregoing account of Gujarāt bards cannot, of course, be accepted in its entirety, but it is to a certain extent corroborated by the present inscription. The tenor of the description in verse 6, for instance, suggests that Jagaddēva was a half-brother of Lakshmadēva who perhaps bore the *biruda* of Rapadhavala. He seems also to have been nominated by Udayāditya as his successor, but the present inscription leaves no doubt that he never ascended the throne of Malwa¹.

When Jagaddēva relinquished his claim to the throne of Malwa in favour of his elder brother Lakshmadēva, he seems to have gone to Kuntala in search of 'fields and pastures new'. The present inscription states in verse 9 that the king of Kuntala treated Jagaddēva very affectionately. He called him the first among his sons, the lord of his kingdom, his right arm, nay, his very self. This king of Kuntala was plainly the contemporary king of the later Chālukya dynasty who was Vikramāditya VI (A. D. 1076-1126). He seems to have appointed Jagaddēva to govern the country to the north of the Gōdāvari which he had then recently wrested from the Paramāras. This territory was for some time the battle ground of contending powers. During the time of the Rāshtrakūṭas the Narmadā was apparently the southern boundary of the Paramāra kingdom. When Siyaka attempted to invade the Rāshtrakūṭa territory, he was opposed by Khōṭṭiga, the contemporary Rāshtrakūṭa king, on the bank of the Narmadā². The latter was however defeated by the Paramāra king who followed up his victory and stormed the Rāshtrakūṭa capital Mānyakhēṭa. Subsequently the Gōdāvari seems to have been fixed as the southern boundary of the Paramāra kingdom. This state of things continued for some time even after the last Rāshtrakūṭa king had been overthrown by Tailapa II, the founder of the later Chālukya dynasty. This appears plain from the account of Mērutuṅga who states that when Tailapa harassed Muñja by sending raiders into his country and the latter determined to march against him, his prime minister Rudrāditya advised him to make the river Gōdāvari the utmost limit of his expedition and not to advance beyond it³. After Muñja was defeated and taken captive, the Chālukyas seem to have advanced northward and conquered much of the territory previously held by the Rāshtrakūṭas, but they were soon driven out by Sindhurāja, the brother and successor of Muñja. The *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* of the Paramāra king's court-poet Padmagupta describes this achievement of Sindhurāja in the following words:—'who (*i.e.*, Sindhurāja) with his sword red with missiles recovered his kingdom (*svarājya*) which had been occupied by the lord of Kuntala who overran all directions just as the sun, whose harbinger is Aruṇa, assumes possession of the day that was before enveloped in dense darkness spread in all directions⁴.' The *svarājya* recovered by Sindhurāja must have been the southern portion of the Paramāra kingdom including the northern parts of Mahārāshṭra and Vidarbha which had been annexed by Tailapa. Since then we get some Paramāra records from that part of the country. A copper-plate inscription found at Kalvan in the Nāsik District records a grant of land to a Jain sage at the *tirtha* of Kālakālśvara, 10 miles west of Kalvan, while the surrounding country was governed by Yaśovarman, a feudatory of Bhōja⁵. Towards the end of Udayāditya's reign the Chālukya Emperor Vikramāditya VI made an incursion into Vidarbha and occupied parts of it for some time. A stone inscription

¹ The authors of the aforementioned Hoysala inscriptions also had apparently no accurate knowledge of the status of Jagaddēva.

² Above, Vol. XXI, p. 47.

³ *Prabandhachintamani*, Tawney's tr., p. 33.

⁴ *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*, Canto I, v. 74.

⁵ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 69 ff. The inscription does not indicate any anarchical state of things as supposed by the editor.

dated Śaka 1008 (A. D. 1087) found at Sitābaldī, a suburb of Nagpur, states that the Rāshṭra-kūṭa Dhādībhāṇḍaka was governing the country as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI.¹ Curiously enough this is also the last known date of Udayāditya's reign. When Jagaddēva came to the court of Vikramāditya VI, he seems to have been placed by the latter in charge of Berar and the northern portion of the Nizam's Dominions. As already stated, there is another inscription of his reign, namely that found at Jainad in the Adilābād District of the Nizam's Dominions. Jainad is only 65 miles almost due east of Dōṅgargāon.

The territory to the east of the Wardhā river was however soon reconquered by the Paramāras. The Nagpur Museum stone inscription which seems originally to have belonged to Bhāṇḍak in the Chāṇḍā District² mentions that Lakshmadēva, the son and successor of Udayāditya, endowed a temple, evidently at Bhāṇḍak, with the gift of two villages. The surrounding country continued in the possession of Naravarman, the brother and successor of Lakshmadēva, as the Nagpur Museum stone inscription belongs to his reign. It is dated Vikrama Sāvat 1161 (A.D. 1104-5), i.e., about eight years before the present inscription of Jagaddēva's reign.

From other records also we know that Jagaddēva was an ally of Vikramāditya and took an active part in his military campaigns. Mērutunga states that Jagaddēva, though honoured by Siddha (i.e., Siddharāja-Jayasīṃha of Gujarāt), was earnestly invited by the glorious king Paramardin and so he went to the country of Kuntala.³ It is well known that Paramardin was a *viruda* of Vikramāditya VI. The Jainad inscription mentions Jagaddēva's victories in Āṇḍhra, Chakradurga and Dōrasamudra which were evidently won in the cause of Vikramāditya VI. Jagaddēva's invasion of Dōrasamudra is attested to by Hoysaḷa inscriptions also. We are told that the Emperor (Vikramāditya VI) sent Jagaddēva at the head of a large Chālukya army to invade the Hoysaḷa country.⁴ He penetrated as far as Dōrasamudra, the Hoysaḷa capital, but was there defeated by Ballāla I, Viṣṇuvardhana and Udayāditya, the valiant sons of the Hoysaḷa king Ereyāṅga.

The self-abnegation, chivalry and liberality of Jagaddēva made him far-famed. 'There is no country, village, world or assembly where Jagaddēva's fame is not sung day and night,' says the present inscription. That this is not an altogether empty praise is shown by the numerous tales about his bravery and munificence which are recorded by Gujarāt chronicles.⁵ The *subhāshita* No. 1261 in the *Sārṅgadharapaddhati* seems to praise the liberality of this very Jagaddēva.

According to the *Rās Mālā* Jagaddēva lived to the age of eighty-five. Before his death he is said to have placed his son Jagaddhavalā on the throne, but no records of his reign have yet come to light. The Paramāras, however, continued to hold parts of the Central Provinces long after the time of Jagaddēva. Their capital was Chāṇḍā which is probably identical with Chāṇḍā, the chief town of the Chāṇḍā District of the Central Provinces. Two stone inscriptions⁶ found at Ambā near Mōminābād in the Bhīr District of the Nizam's Dominions mention a Paramāra king named Bhōja,⁷ the ruler of Chāṇḍā, who was defeated by Khōlēsvara, the

¹ Above, Vol. III, pp. 304 ff.

² Hirālāl thought that the inscription originally belonged to Bībhāri, but this is incorrect. See above, Vol. XXIV, p. 117, n. 5. As I have shown there, some of the places mentioned in it can be identified in the Chāṇḍā District.

³ *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, Tawney's tr., p. 186.

⁴ *Ep. Carā.*, Vol. II, p. 168.

⁵ See, e.g., *Rās Mālā*, Vol. I, pp. 117 ff.; *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, pp. 186 ff.

⁶ G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan* (Marāṭhī), Vol. I, pp. 64 and 74.

⁷ This Bhōja is different from the homonymous Śiṣhāra prince, the ruler of Kolhāpur, who was overthrown by Śiṅghapa. *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 524.



Left side.



Right side.



general of the Yādava Emperor Siṅghapa. One of these inscriptions is dated Śaka 1150 (A.D. 1228-29). Another stone inscription written in old Marāṭhi has been discovered at Bhāṇḍak (called Bhadrāpara therein), now a village 16 miles north-west of Chāṇḍā. It records the *jīrṇōddhāra* (renovation) of a temple dedicated to Nāga-Nārāyaṇa. The name of the Rāpā Pavāra (Paramāra) who was ruling there is now illegible. The inscription contained a date in the Śaka era, but the last two figures of it are now lost owing to the breaking off of the upper right hand corner of the stone. Rai Bahadur Hiralal conjecturally read it as 1308.¹ This is the last record of the Paramāras found in the Central Provinces and Berar.

There is only one place-name in the present inscription, viz., Ḍōṅgaragrāma which is plainly identical with Ḍōṅgargāon where the inscription has been found.

TEXT.²

- 1 [चो³] नमः शिवाय । कुर्वन्वः पातु जगतां प्रभवस्थितिसंज्ञि(ह)तौः । तिसः
 ॐ ॐ ॐ — — ॐ विश्वं यच्च [सु]वर्त्तकः⁴ । १। अस्त्वर्जु(र्जु)द इति ख्यातः
 प्रतीक्षां दिशि पर्वतः मेखलाद्यन्तसंचारिकूर्मराजदिवाकरः । २। कामधेनुं
 [हृतवते]
- 2 विश्वामित्राय कुप्यतः । वसिष्ठान्तच होमान्मौ परमारो व्यजायत । १। तदन्ते⁵
 चचचरितैः पुष्प(ष्प)वन्तान्वयाधिके । बभूव भोजदेवाख्यो राजा रामसमी
 गुणैः । २। ततो रिपुत्रयस्कन्दैर्मग्नां मालव[मिदिनीम्] । ३-
- 3 हरमुदयादित्वस्तस्य भ्राता व्यवर्तत । १। यस्याच्छया दिशाः कौर्त्वा भुवनानि
 परैर्गुहाः । [काष्ठाः] परा व(व)लादेव काव्यैर्व्याप्यन्त चार्थितः । २। तस्य
 सन्धपि पुत्रेषु स्वसम्मतसुतेषुणः । हराराधनतो जज्ञे जगद्देवो म[हौ]-
- 4 पतिः । ३। दिवं प्रयाते पितरि स्वयं प्राप्तामपि श्रियम् । परिवर्त्तिभयश्चक्ष्मा
 योऽयजाय न्यवेदयत् । ४। पुत्राणाम्यमोऽसि राज्यविषयस्वामी भुजो दक्षिणः
 सर्वास्त्रेव हरितु जङ्गम [र]-
- 5 यक्षीमा जयो मूर्त्तिमान् । आत्मेवेति च सप्रसादमुदितो यः कुन्तलच्छासता
 ताद्रूप्यन्दधदेव दक्षिणदिग्गजहारतां पुष्पति⁶ । १। अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिनो यस्मिन्वा(न्वा)णैः
 स्वर्णैश्च वर्षति । दैन्यसैन्य[निधिं] मुक्ता — —⁷

¹ In his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* Hiralal gives the date as Friday, the 10th of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa in the Śaka year 13[08] bearing the name Kāhaya which he says corresponds to Friday, the 16th November A.D. 1386. But my personal examination of the stone has shown that the reading is incorrect in one respect, viz., that the *tithi* was of the *bright* fortnight. The date, if the reading of the year is correct, would correspond to Friday, the 30th November A.D. 1386.

² From inked estampages.

³ Metre of verses 1—3: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁴ Metre: *Sārdūlakriṣṭita*.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Read तर्पदे.

⁷ Read तेषाम्—.

- 6 [हि]तमुपासते¹ १०। न स देशो न स ग्रामो न स लोको न सा सभा ।
न तत्रादिवं यच्च जगद्देवो न गीयते ११। आचन्द्रार्के शासनीकृत्य तेन
क्षमापलेन श्रीजगद्देवानाम्ना । पु[ष्पाधारे]² डोङ्गरग्रामनामा ग्रामो दत्तः
श्रीनि[वा]सहि-
- 7 ज्ञाय³ १२। तद्वत्तडोङ्गरग्रामे श्रीनिधे[ः] श्रेयसां निधेः । विद्यावृत्तनिवासेन
श्रीनिवासेन [सु]नुना⁴ १३। पितुः पुण्ड्रोदयायैतत्कारितं शिवमन्दिरम् ।
आकार्प कल्पतां भूमेर्भूषणाय निरत्ययम् १४। अथ देवाय ग्रामे[स्त्रि]न्यथ
[श्रीनिवासप्रहि-?]
- 8 [व्याघात] कृत्वातिविष्य —⁵ यो हर्तुमिच्छति स पञ्चमहापातकैर्लिप्यते । शकसंवत्
१०३४ नन्दनसंवत्सरे चैद्यां शासनं लिखितमिति । लेखको विश्वस्वामि[नो]
[1*] १०३४ तथाकिं १५ [1*]

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Salutation to Śiva !

(Verse 1) May Śiva, causing the three states of the creation, maintenance and destruction of the worlds.....protect you !

(V. 2) In the western quarter there is a mountain known as Arbuda, round the girdle (i.e., the middle part) of which from one end to the other revolve the lord of tortoises⁶ and the sun.

(V. 3) Through Vasishṭha who became angry with Viśvāmitra who had taken away (his) *kāmadhēnu* (cow of plenty), there was born Paramāra from the sacrificial fire on that (mountain).

(V. 4) In his family which by its heroic deeds surpassed the races of the sun and the moon⁷ there was born a king named Bhōja who resembled Rāma in excellences.

(V. 5) After (him) there flourished his brother Udayāditya who uplifted the earth which had sunk under the attacks of three enemies.

(V. 6) The quarters and worlds were perforce occupied by his pure fame, the caverns by his enemies and the farthest directions by the poems of his supplicants.

(V. 7) To him who, though he had (several) sons, desired to have (another) son after his heart, was born the king Jagaddēva through (his) devotion to Hara.

¹ Metre of verses 10 and 11 : *Anuakṣaḥ*.

² Read पुष्पाधारे.

³ Metre : *Śālini*.

⁴ Metre of verses 13 and 14 : *Anuakṣaḥ*.

⁵ One *nakṣara* is illegible here. [The text form अथ देवाय to हर्तुमिच्छति seems also to be in verse.—Ed.]

⁶ I.e. Viṣṇu in his tortoise incarnation.

⁷ *Pushpavanta* means both the sun and the moon, see above, Vol. XXII, p. 60.

(V. 8) When his father went to heaven, he, renouncing for fear of (*incurring the sin of*) *parivṛtti*¹ Royal Fortune who had offered herself to him, presented her to his elder brother.

(V. 9) 'You are the first among my sons, the lord of my kingdom, my right arm, such a victory incarnate in all regions, (*nay*), my very self'—He who was thus graciously addressed by the lord of Kuntala, is adorning the southern direction, having attained that very position.

(V. 10) When he showers gold and arrows on (*his*) supplicants and enemies, they giving up their treasure of poverty and forces (*respectively*), wait upon him without any apprehension.

(V. 11) There is not that country, that village, that community, that assembly (*or*) that (*place*) where Jagaddēva is not praised day and night.

(V. 12) That king, named the illustrious Jagaddēva, has granted by means of a charter (*and*) as a source of religious merit, the village *Ḍoṅgaragrāma* to the Brāhmaṇa Śrīnivāsa (*to be enjoyed by him*) as long as the moon and the sun will endure.

(Vv. 13-14) In that *Ḍoṅgaragrāma* granted by him, Śrīnivāsa, the abode of learning and character, (*who*) is the son of Śrinidhi, the store of blessings, has caused (*this*) temple of Śiva to be constructed for the attainment of religious merit by (*his*) father. May it, faultless as it is, serve to adorn the earth until (*the time of*) world-destruction.

(Lines 7-8) He who would desire to appropriate after causing obstruction and snatching away what has been given by Śrīnivāsa to the god in this village, would be contaminated by the five great sins!

In the Śaka year 1034, the cyclic year Nandana, on the full-moon day of Chaitra, this charter has been written. The scribe is Viśvasvāmin. (*In the year*) 1034 (*on the fifteenth tithi of Chaitra*), also in figures 15.

No. 27.—SIX SAINDHAVA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM GHUMLI.

By DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

The six copper-plate grants, which I am editing here, were discovered early in 1936 near Ghumli in the Nawanagar State of Kathiawar in the course of digging on the road side. They were briefly noticed by the Government Epigraphist for India in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for the year 1936-37, pp. 102-05. M. M. Shastri Hathibhai Harishanker has published their text along with brief notes in his *Report on the Twelve Copper-plate Inscriptions found at Ghumli*. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist for India, very kindly sent to me a good set of the ink-impressions of these plates with a request to edit them in the *Epigraphia Indica*. I am doing so accordingly. Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, made to me a number of valuable suggestions in connection with the present paper, which have been incorporated in it. I am grateful to him for his kind help.

The twelve copper-plates found at Ghumli contain the six records edited here, A consisting of three plates, C of one, and B, D, E, and F of two each. All of them record grants made by the rulers of the Saindhava family, which is at present known to have been ruling at ancient Bhūtāmbilikā or modern Ghumli from c. 740 to 920 A. D. The original name of the capital, which is uniformly spelt as Bhūtāmbilikā in our records, used to be popularly

¹ I.e. marrying before an elder brother marries. A man who did so was believed to go to hell.

contracted into Bhūmilikā, as shown by the Dhīnīki plates of Jāikadēva.¹ Bhūmilikā was later on contracted into Bhumli, and the present name Ghumli is a mere variant of it.

As very little is known at present about the history of the Saindhavas of Ghumli, it will be convenient to discuss it here in a connected manner in the light of the valuable information supplied by the present six charters and other contemporary epigraphs. This will obviate the necessity of repetition, while editing the different charters. The dynasty was ruling in Western Kāthiāwār, with its capital at Bhūtāmbilikā or Ghumli, which is situated about 25 miles north-east of Porbandar in a gorge of the Barda hills. Though once the capital of a fairly prosperous dynasty for about two centuries, its present site is nothing but a heap of ruins. All is now a jungle, where once a multitude of human beings resided. Very little remains at present as evidence of its former glory save a few remnants of a royal palace, a huge image of Hanumān with a large bathing reservoir by its side and some ruins of insignificant temples². To judge from the present ruins, ancient Bhūtāmbilikā was about a mile in length and about half a mile in breadth. Its population may, therefore, have been about 15,000. The ground-plan of the town resembles a widespread fan. The ramparts of the town were strong and massive and were surrounded by a deep ditch.

Before the discovery of the present plates, very little was known about the Saindhavas of Saurāshṭra. The earliest reference to them is in a grant of the Gujarāt Chālukya ruler Pulakēśi Janāśraya, dated in the year 490 of the Traikūṭaka era, corresponding to A. D. 738-9, where they are mentioned among the kings defeated in the Arab raid that was repulsed at Naosari by the Chālukyas³. The next reference to them is in the Gwalior *Prasāsti* of Bhōjadēva, the 8th verse of which describes the Saindhavas as being overwhelmed by the Pratihāra emperor Nāgabhaṭa⁴. Nothing, however, was known about the precise locality of the Saindhava kingdom or the history and achievements of any particular ruler of the house. The Morbi plate, issued by king Jāika whom we can now assign to this dynasty, was known,⁵ but as the plate recovered was the second one of the set, it could not be ascertained to which dynasty the grantor belonged.

The discovery of the present copper-plates now enables us to state definitely that the Saindhavas, who are referred to in the above records, were ruling in Western Kāthiāwār. Charter F of the present set, issued by Jāika II in Gupta Era 596 or A.D. 915-6 gives us the longest genealogy of the family. According to it, king Pushyadēva, who flourished seven generations earlier, was its founder. The name of the family is given here as *Jayadratha-vaṁśa* (l. 2). All the other charters, however, state that *Saindhava* was the name of the family. This discrepancy can be easily explained. According to the *Mahābhārata* king Jayadratha, the son-in-law of Dhṛitarāshṭra, was a ruler of the *Sindhu-dēśa* or Sindh. So those rulers who claimed descent from him could be described both as hailing from Sindh (Saindhava) and as ornaments of the Jayadratha family (*Jayadratha-vaṁśa-lēkhara*). In the earlier charters the first name is preferred, while in the latest one, the last one is introduced. The reason for this is not far to seek. As will be shown presently, Pushyadēva was probably an immigrant in Kāthiāwār from Sindh; so though he himself claimed to be descended from Jayadratha, he was known to his contemporaries as a Saindhava ruler. This name, therefore, was long in vogue. Later on when the tendency to claim an origin from a Puranic hero became quite

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 155.

² *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. V, (1839), pp. 73-80.

³ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part I, p. 109.

⁴ *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1903-04, p. 231.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, pp. 257-8.

common in the 9th and 10th centuries, Jāika II reverted to the original name of the family, viz., *Jayadratha-vamśa*.

The time of Pushyadēva, the earliest ruler of the dynasty, can be only approximately determined. His grandson's great-grandson has issued Charter A in G. E. 513 (A. D. 832-3); he may, therefore, be presumed to have ruled from c. G. E. 415 to 435 (c. A. D. 734-754).¹

We have now to consider the question whether this Pushyadēva is to be identified with the chief **Pushyēṇa** whose clay seal was found at Wala (ancient Valabhī) in Kāthiāwār. The legend on this seal reads as follows:—

- 1 *Ā Jayadrathād-avyavachchhinna-rāja-*
- 2 *vaṃśasya śrīr-mahā [r]āj-ā[h]ivarma[ṇah]*
- 3 *sūnō[r]-mahārāja-mahā[sēnā-]*
- 4 *pati-Pushyēṇa[sya]*²

It will be seen from the above legend that the seal belonged to *Mahārāja Mahā[sēnā]pati Pushyēṇa*, son of *Mahārāja Ahivarman*, who claimed an uninterrupted descent from Jayadratha. Pushyadēva, the founder of the dynasty which has issued the present charters, is also described as an ornament of the Jayadratha family in Charter F. The name Pushyadēva of our charter is merely a paraphrase of the name Pushyēṇa of the seal, as both the terms *ina* and *dēva* indicate a lord or a king in Sanskrit. The variation in the spelling of the name need not therefore be regarded as throwing any impediment in the way of the proposed identification. Just as we have common variations like Gōvindadēva and Gōvindarāja we may as well have parallel forms like Pushyadēva and Pushyēṇa, as both *dēva* and *ina* denote a ruler.

As against the proposed identification it is possible to argue that the characters of the seal of Pushyēṇa are somewhat earlier than those of the middle of the 8th century A. D., which is the probable time of Pushyadēva. There is some force in this argument; especially the *mātrā* for medial *ā* would undoubtedly suggest that the record belongs to the 6th century A. D. Letters *ma*, *na* and *ha* on the seal, however, show a form which is seen to be current in the Valabhī records of the middle of the 8th century A. D. The *mātrās* for medial *ā* may therefore be instances of the survival of archaic forms, which we very often meet with in ancient Indian palaeography. It is not impossible that Pushyēṇa may have selected these archaic *mātrās* to render forgery difficult. All things considered, it therefore looks very probable, though not absolutely certain, that *Jayadratha-vamśa-śekhara* Pushyadēva, the founder of the Saindhava house, is identical with Pushyēṇa of the Wala seal, who claimed an unbroken descent for his family from Jayadratha. The legend of the seal is in some places defective, but if the restoration proposed by Bühler is correct, it would appear that like many other founders of ruling families, Pushyadēva began his career as a general and ended by founding a feudatory principality. He seems to have been a feudatory of the Maitrakas of Valabhī. The same was probably the case with his son Kṛishṇarāja, at least during the first half of his reign.

According to tradition, Bhūtāmbilikā, i.e. Ghumli, where the present plates were discovered, was the old capital of the Jethvā Rājputrs, whose present representatives are the Rāṇās of Porbandar. There are various theories in the field about the origin of the term Jethvā. Dr. Wilson has traced the origin of the name to the term **Jāt**, and has suggested tribal consanguinity between the Jāts and Jethvās.³ Jackson thinks that the Jethvās are very probably

¹ See the genealogical table on p. 106.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 145; see also *ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 274-5.

³ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part 1, p. 145.

descended from the White Huns; he holds that the term Jeṭhvā is probably derived from Yetha, the shortened Chinese form of Ye-ta-i-li-to or Epthalite, which was the name of the ruling class of the White Huns.¹ According to the bardic tradition, the clan has derived its name from Jeṭha, the 95th ruler in the traditional genealogy of the rulers of Porbandar.² M. M. Shastri Hathibhai Harishanker thinks that the Jeṭhvās were so called because they represented the senior branch of the Saindhavas of these grants. In support of this view he points out how charters A and B prove the supersession of the senior line of Kṛishṇarāja by the junior branch of Jālka I and observes: 'The descendants of Jālka as coming to the throne of Bhūmli were probably called Bhūmlīas and the descendants of Kṛishṇarāja, who was *jjēshtha*, were called Jeṭhvās'.³

That all the above theories about the origin of the Jeṭhvās are fanciful and untenable can now be conclusively proved. The description of the founder of our house as the crest-jewel of the Jayadratha family and the claim made in the legend on his seal that he was directly descended from Jayadratha make it clear that the rulers of Porbandar eventually came to be known as Jeṭhvās, not because they belonged to any foreign stock like that of the White Huns or Jāts or represented the senior line of the Saindhavas, but because they claimed the epic hero Jayadratha as the founder of their family. Sanskrit Jayadratha becomes Jeṭha in Prākṛit through the intermediate forms Jairath and Jaiath. Vā was added at the end of the term Jeṭha under the influence of the 'quantity law' of phonetics.

The theory of their descent from Jayadratha is, however, quite unknown to the modern Jeṭhvās, whose present representatives, the Rāpās of Porbandar, trace their origin to Hanumān, the famous hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Hanumān also is the emblem on their flag.

The emblem of the Saindhavas of Bhūtāmbilikā is, however, fish. This was but natural also; they claimed to be the masters of the western ocean and so must have proudly claimed fish to be their emblem, as did their contemporaries the Pāṇḍyas of the extreme south. The difference in the seal emblems however need not go against the well established tradition that the Jeṭhvās of Porbandar originally hailed from Bhūtāmbilikā. The emblem on the seal or banner may have changed in later times. That the Jeṭhvās also had once fish or *makara* as their emblem on their banner would appear very probable from the fact that in their genealogy Makaradhvaja figures immediately after Hanumān, the founder of the family. This mysterious personage, Makaradhvaja, appears so early in their genealogy simply because Makara or fish was on their *dhvaja* or banner in early times, as Hanumān was in later days. The change of the emblem from fish to Hanumān may have been due to the Jeṭhvās becoming in later times the devotees of Rāma and his faithful servant Hanumān. That in early medieval times the kings of Bhūtāmbilikā venerated Hanumān along with Makara is rendered very probable, as pointed out by Bühler, by the circumstance that on the brackets of one of the ruined temples at Ghumli, the monkey emblem appears side by side with that of the fish.⁴ Further support is lent to this view by the presence of a huge image of Hanumān near the remnants of the old palace in the ruins of Ghumli. In later times when the sea voyage became forbidden and the Jeṭhvās lost their command over the sea, the figure of Hanumān must have begun to appeal to them more than that of the fish. This must have led to the eventual abandonment of the fish emblem. During the period of our charters, however, the fish emblem was the only emblem of the dynasty; it invariably appears in the case of each of our five complete sets of copper-plates either on the

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*; Vol. VIII—*Kāthiawār*, pp. 621-2.

³ M. M. Shastri, *The Report on the Twelve Copper-plate Inscriptions found at Ghumli*, p. 6.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 153.

seal or at the end of the last plate. It also appears at the end of the genuine Morbi and the spurious Dhīnīki plates of king Jāika, who belonged to the same house.¹

We have seen above that Pushyadēva, the founder of the Saindhava dynasty, flourished between c. 515 and 535 G. E. (c. 734 and 754 A. D.). He began his career as a military commander and ended by founding a feudatory family. Though he claimed to belong to Jayadratha family, he and his descendants were generally known as Saindhavas, probably because they were among the emigrants from Sindh who had to leave that province after its conquest by the Arabs in 712 A.D.

A copper-plate grant of the Gujarāt Chālukya ruler Pulakēśi Janāśraya, dated in the year 490 of the Traikūṭaka era (A.D. 738-9), describes an Arab raid that had just then taken place and shows how it had overpowered the Saindhava, Kachchha, Saurāshṭra, Chāpa and Gurjara chiefs.² It is almost certain that the Saindhavas who are mentioned here have to be identified with the family of our charters, whose founder Pushyadēva was at that time just trying to settle down in some northern corner of Kāthiāwār. The chief who suffered from the Arab raid was probably Pushyadēva himself, as the approximate period of his reign is A.D. 734-754.

The Saindhavas were at that time mere feudatories as their own charters, as well as those of their contemporaries, would clearly show. They could therefore hardly have dreamt of claiming for themselves any imperial position or titles; in fact they never claimed these at any time in their career. And yet the Dhīnīki plates, purporting to be issued in *Saṃvat* 794 (A.D. 738) refer to their grantor, king Jāikadēva, as an imperial ruler enjoying the titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mohārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*.³ This Jāikadēva was no doubt intended to be a Saindhava chief, for his capital was Bhūmilikā and seal emblem the fish. The long genealogy of the Saindhavas given in Charter F reaches back to the second quarter of the 8th century A.D. but knows of no chief named Jāikadēva ruling at that time. It is therefore clear that the **Dhīnīki grant is a forgery**; this conclusion is also supported by some other circumstances like the palaeography of the plates and the non-occurrence of the eclipse on the date given in the plates. The data of the Dhīnīki plates therefore cannot cast any doubt on the conclusion above arrived at, viz. at c. 740 A.D. Pushyadēva and not Jāikadēva was the ruling Saindhava king, and that he was a mere feudatory.

Pushyadēva or Pushyēṇa was succeeded by his son **Krishṇarāja** and the latter by his son **Agguka I**, whose rule may be approximately placed in the periods from 435 to 455 G. E. (A.D. 754 to 774) and from 455 to 475 G. E. (A.D. 774 to 794) respectively. During the reigns of these two monarchs also, Kāthiāwār suffered a good deal from Arab invasions. As these were naval invasions coming direct from Sindh, and as the Saindhavas were in those days the leading Hindu naval power of Kāthiāwār, they must have borne the brunt of attack. It must be said to their credit that they eventually came out victorious from the struggle and did not succumb to it like the Maitrakas of Valabhi. In c. 760 A.D. Hasham, the governor of Sindh, sent Amrū bin Jamāl with a fleet of barks to the coast of Barada and the invasion was repeated 20 years later. The Muslim historians tell us that though the last expedition succeeded in capturing the town of Barada, sickness swept away a great portion of the army and the remaining were swept away in a shipwreck on the coast of Persia. The experience was so bitter that, we are told, the Muslims were deterred from making further attempts at aggrandisement in that direction.⁴

¹ [It may be recalled that the emblem on Jayadratha's banner was a bear, *mrūḥa*.—B. C. C.]

² *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part I, p. 109.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 151.

⁴ Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 444. There is some doubt about the spelling of the name of the place attacked but Dowson feels satisfied that the spelling is really Barada.

The town of Barada attacked by the Muslims may have been either the village Bardia, which is ten miles to the north-west of Porbandar, or Bhūtāmbilikā itself, which is situated in the vicinity of the Barada hills. From the Muslim version of the expedition it appears that though the Muslims were successful in the beginning, they had eventually to leave the country. For aught we know, the sickness of the army may have been as much responsible for this evacuation as the bravery of the Saindhava defenders. It is really a pity that Charters A and B, which take the genealogy back to the time of Agguka I, should have indulged in merely a general description of his bravery, instead of giving us a vivid account of this definite historic achievement. In Charter F, however, we have a vague reference to the repulsing of the Muslim invasion, when we are told that Agguka showed the greatness of Varāha when he easily rescued his country, which was being drowned in an ocean of naval force sent by powerful enemies (ll. 4-5). The naval supremacy of the Saindhavas, to which five of our charters expressly refer, must have been of great help to them in driving back the Arabs. This achievement of theirs was indeed noteworthy, when we remember the modest size of their principality.

Agguka I was succeeded by his son **Rāpaka**, who may be presumed to have ruled from c. G. E. 475 to 495 (A. D. 794 to 814). M. M. Shastri Hathibhai Harishanker has attributed Charter C (his Plate A) to this ruler; it will, however, be shown in the introduction to that plate how this attribution is untenable. We have so far recovered no grant given by this ruler.

No contemporary grants of the first four rulers of the Saindhava family have so far been recovered, but there is no doubt that they were mere feudatories as stated above. The epithet *Apara-Surāshṭrāmaṇḍala-maṇḍana* used in connection with the members of this family in most of its genuine records shows that its sphere of influence never extended much beyond Western Kāthiāwār. It would, however, appear that they had developed considerable naval strength, for our charters invariably describe them as the masters of the Western Ocean. The Mers, who were prominent among the subjects of the Saindhavas, were well known for their maritime activities. Arab historians admit that they were a great maritime power in Kāthiāwār during the 8th and the 9th centuries.¹ They must obviously have enabled their rulers, the Saindhavas, to rule the Western Ocean. The title *Apara-samudr-ādhipati* taken in all our complete charters by the Saindhavas is therefore no empty boast. In seeking to retain the command over the seas, the Saindhavas had shown a foresight evinced by few rulers of ancient India.

Two sons of king **Rāpaka** figure in Charters A and B. Of these **Kṛishṇarāja II** was the elder and **Jālka I** was the younger. They were half-brothers, for **Jālka** is expressly described as a *vaimātrō bhṛātā* in Charter A. **Kṛishṇarāja II** succeeded his father in due course in c. 495 G. E. (A. D. 814). A large number of florid epithets have been used to describe his glory and valour in Charter A and one or two of them undoubtedly refer to some contemporary political events. He is described as full of enthusiasm in troubling the host of his enemies, the Chāpins, in l. 15 of Charter A. The same observation has been made in almost identical words about his younger brother **Jālka I** and the latter's two sons, kings **Chāmunda** and **Agguka**. These four rulers were ruling from c. 814 to 874 A. D., as will be shown,² and they all seem to have been at war with the Chāpins or the Chāpas. There were two Chāpa families ruling in Northern Gujārāt and North-east Kāthiāwār at this time. The one founded by **Vanarāja** was ruling at **Apahilapaṭṭana** since c. 765 A. D., while the other to which king **Dharaṇivarāha** of the **Haḍḍālā** plates of the Śaka year 836 belonged, was ruling at **Wadhwan** since c. 850 A. D. Since in all our records the Saindhavas describe themselves as the lords of Western Saurāshṭra

¹ Elliot and Dawson, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 114 and pp. 519-31.

² See the genealogical and chronological table, p. 196.

only, it is almost certain that the Chāpa enemies of kings Chāmuṇḍa and Agguka (c. 849 to 874 A. D.) were Chāpa kings Vikramārka and Adḍaka of Wadhwan, who were the great-grandfather and grandfather respectively of king Dharaṇivarāha. If there were no ancestors of Vikramārka ruling at Wadhwan before his time, then the Chapa enemies of Kṛishṇarāja II and his brother Jālka I, who ruled from c. 814 to 849 A. D., would be Chāpa rulers Yōgarāja and Ratnāditya of the Aṇahilapaṭṭana dynasty, who were ruling during the first half of the 9th century A. D.¹ The fact that as many as four successive Saindhava kings are seen to be at war with the Chāpas would show that there was a hereditary feud between these two neighbouring dynasties, as was the case between the Pallavas and the Chālukyas or between the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Pratihāras. The fights, however, must have been mostly of the nature of frontier skirmishes.

Charter A describes king Kṛishṇarāja II as a ruler who had, like Bharata propitiated Rāma by his steady and proper behaviour (l. 15). This statement has also been made with reference to his brother Jālka I and the latter's son Agguka in Charters B and D. It is almost certain that a *double entendre* is intended to be conveyed by the expression *Bharata iv-āchalad-uchita-samārādhitā-Rāmaḥ*. The identity of king Rāma to whom kings Kṛishṇarāja and Jālka I had shown unswerving loyalty is not difficult to find out. These rulers were ruling from c. 814 to 849 A. D., as will presently be shown; the overlord to whom they were devotedly loyal must be the Pratihāra emperor Rāmabhadra, who ruled from c. 833 to 836 A. D. From the 8th verse in the Gwalior *prasasti* of Pratihāra Bhōja I we learn that the Saindhavas were among the rulers signally defeated by the Pratihāra emperor Nāgabhaṭa II,² who is known to have ruled from c. 805 to 833 A. D. The Saindhava kings, who must have felt the brunt of the rising Pratihāra power under Nāgabhaṭa II, must have been Rāpaka I (c. 794 to 814 A. D.), Kṛishṇarāja II (c. 814 to 824 A. D.), and his younger brother Jālka I (c. 824 to 849 A. D.).³ It would appear that the campaign in Kāthiāwār was entrusted by Nāgabhaṭa II to the crown-prince Rāmabhadra, who, on its successful termination, seems to have been appointed Viceroy over the western provinces by his father Nāgabhaṭa. After their defeat by the Pratihāras, Kṛishṇarāja II and Jālka I appear to have remained loyal to the royal Viceroy Rāmabhadra and are, therefore, fittingly described as propitiating Rāma by their steady and proper behaviour. This statement has been made also in connection with Agguka, son of Jālka I, in Charter D, though he was not a contemporary of Rāmabhadra either as a crown-prince or as an emperor, the period of his reign being c. A. D. 849 to 869.⁴ It is, however, not difficult to explain how this mistake has taken place. In our present set of charters, a number of epithets have been bodily transferred from one ruler to another in several places. The use of *Bharata iv-āchalad-uchita-samārādhitā-Rāmaḥ* in the case of Agguka would be an illustration of this tendency.

From the time of Kṛishṇarāja II (c. 820 A. D.), the Saindhavas became the feudatories of the Pratihāras as shown above. The Pratihāras, however, were not able to exercise the same rigorous control over their administration as they had imposed upon the government of many of their other feudatories. The Ūnā plates of Balavarman⁵ show that the members of the feudatory Chālukya house, which was ruling contemporaneously with the Saindhavas as a feudatory of the Pratihāras in Southern Kāthiāwār, could not make any land-grants without the consent of the officers of the imperial government. The grant of Dharaṇivarāha,⁶ who was ruling as a Pratihāra feudatory at Wadhwan in Northern Kāthiāwār, shows that he did

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 193.

² *An. Esp. A. S. I.*, 1903-04, p. 280.

³ During the reign period here assigned to Jālka I, the period of his regency is also included.

⁴ See below p. 194.

⁵ *Ante*, Vol. IX, pp. 1 ff.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 193.

not or perhaps dared not omit to mention the name of his feudal lord, Mahēndrapāla, through whose favour he was enjoying his principality. All the Saindhava grants, including the Morbi plate of Jāikadēva, have, however, been issued without any permission, express or implied, of the imperial power or its local representatives. The *dūtaka* of Charter B is no doubt an officer named Pratihāra Kṛishṇa. There is nothing to indicate that he was a local representative of the imperial power. The utmost that can possibly be said is that he may have belonged to the same ethnic stock to which the Pratihāra emperors belonged. He was, however, no doubt an officer serving under Jāika I and executing his orders. He owed no allegiance to the Pratihāras, nor was he responsible to them like Dhūka of the Ūnā plates, who is found signing the charter of the feudatory king Balavarman on behalf of his imperial master.¹ Probably Kṛishṇa, the *dūtaka*, was holding the office of the *Pratihāra* (chamberlain) in the royal court, as was the case with many other *dūtakas*.²

It is also worth noting that if we leave the veiled reference to their loyalty to emperor Rāmabhadra, the Saindhavas nowhere acknowledge the Pratihāras as their overlords. When however we remember that eastern, southern and northern Kāthiāwār was under the suzerainty of the Pratihāras from the time of Nāgabhaṭa II to that of Mahēndrapāla, when we note how the Pratihāras claim to have defeated the Saindhavas, and when due allowance is made for the fact that the Saindhavas never claim to be anything more than mere feudatories, the conclusion becomes irresistible that their overlords were no other rulers than the imperial Pratihāras of Kanauj even during the latter half of the 9th century and onwards. They were, however, able and clever enough to secure for themselves a much larger share of internal autonomy than was ever conceded to their eastern and southern neighbours. The valuable assistance which the Saindhava navy could give to the Pratihāras in their struggles with the Arabs was probably the main reason for this preferential treatment.

Let us resume our account of the reign of Kṛishṇarāja II. He is described in Charter A as ridiculing Duryōdhana and drinking the blood of Duśśāsana like Bhīma. It is possible that here also there may be a pun and a veiled reference to Kṛishṇarāja's fight with some real historical kings named Duryōdhana and Duśśāsana, hitherto unknown to us. This, however, is not very probable; for the expression showing comparison to Bhīma has been used also with reference to Jāika I in Charter B, Agguka in Charter D and Chāmuṇḍa in Charter E. All these kings could not have fought with the same rulers Duryōdhana and Duśśāsana. It is therefore very improbable that any historic event, lie concealed in the above comparisons.

Kṛishṇarāja is further described as a ruler who had pleased the inhabitants of Parvata, and who therefore resembled Śaṅkara, who was a source of delight to the relations of (Himālaya) Parvata (mountain). The expression containing the above description has been used with reference to three other rulers, Jāika I and his sons Chāmuṇḍa and Agguka. The inhabitants of the mountainous regions who were pleased with these four rulers were obviously the residents of the territory round about the Barada hills, in the vicinity of which Bhūtāmbilikā, the Saindhava capital, was situated. It is therefore clear that this city had become the Saindhava capital at least as early as the reign of Kṛishṇarāja I (c. 820 A.D.). Unless we assume that the draftsman of Charter F is guilty of anachronism, we shall have to concede that Bhūtāmbilikā was the Saindhava capital even as early as the time of Pushyadēva, for he has been described in that Charter as *Bhūtāmbilik-ābhidhāna-nagari-gariyaḥ*, etc. (l. 1).

The tradition represents the Jethvās as ruling at Morbi before they were established at Ghumli. Our charters are however silent on the point. Nor does the Morbi plate of Jāikadēva

¹ See Balavarman's plates *ante*, Vol. IX, p. 6, text l. 36; see also Avaniarman's plates, *ibid.*, p. 9, text l. 52.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 291, text l. 8., Vol. XIX, p. 304, text l. 27.

support the above tradition. This plate was issued in A.D. 904, that is to say, long after Bhūtāmbilikā had become the Saindhava capital; nor does it state that Morbi was the original home of the Jethvās. For aught we know, if the first Morbi plate is discovered, it will be found to have been issued from Bhūtāmbilikā like all other Saindhava charters; it may have been taken to Morbi by the donor or his descendants.

Kṛishṇarāja died comparatively young; for Charter A shows that his son and successor Agguka II was a young boy at his death, and that the administration had to be carried on by his uncle Jāika. Since this charter is issued in 513 G. E. (A.D. 832-3), and since by that time the plan of usurpation of Jāika was almost complete, we may place the death of Kṛishṇarāja II in c. 505 G. E. (c. 824 A.D.). He thus had a short reign of about ten years only.

Poor Agguka, the son and successor of Kṛishṇarāja II, shared the usual fate of minor rulers, who have the misfortune of having as their guardians ambitious and unscrupulous uncles. Agguka had such an uncle in Jāika and he was his step-uncle too. In Charter A, ll. 23-24, Jāika no doubt boasts that though Kamalā (Royal Fortune) was anxious to be united to him in preference to Agguka, her rightful lord, he spurned her wily overtures and decided to be the disinterested guardian of his young and inexperienced nephew. This profession however is belied by the indications given by other parts of the charter; he does not give the usual titles of a reigning feudatory to his nephew but takes them for himself. The grant of the village also has been made, not in the name of the minor heir, but in that of the so-called regent himself. In the colophon of the charter, its writer also refers to Jāika, and not to Agguka, as the reigning king. It is therefore clear that the plans of usurpation of Jāika were almost complete when Charter A was issued in A.D. 832-3. The actual usurpation took place before the issue of Charter B, where we find Jāika I mentioning himself as the ruling king, and omitting all reference to his elder brother and his son in the genealogy. This charter is unfortunately not dated, and so we can get only an approximate idea of the time of usurpation. We have already seen that at the time of the issue of Charter A in 513 G. E. the usurpation was almost complete except in name; the actual supersession could not have been delayed probably beyond 515 G. E.

It would appear that Jāika I allowed Agguka to rule as a feudatory under himself after he had usurped the throne, exercising jurisdiction over a portion of his kingdom. For we find Agguka's son Rāṇaka issuing the land-grant mentioned in Charter C. Unfortunately this charter is incomplete and so its date is not known. We would not be far wrong if we assume that after his supersession in c. 515 G. E. (835 A. D.), Agguka continued to rule as his uncle's feudatory for another 25 years. His son Rāṇaka may therefore be taken to have ruled from c. 540 to 560 G. E. (c. 859 to 879 A. D.).

Let us now revert to the career of the usurper Jāika I. He and his descendants eventually became the leaders of the Saindhava family. As shown already, he ascended the throne in c. 515 G. E. (c. 834 A. D.). As he succeeded an elder brother and his minor son, he may be presumed to have ruled only for about 15 years, i.e., up to c. 530 G. E. (A. D. 849). As shown already, he continued to remain a loyal feudatory of the Pratihāra emperor Rāmabhadra. In his reign also there were several skirmishes with his eastern neighbours, the Chāpas of Wadhwan.

Jāika I died in c. 849 A. D., leaving behind him two sons, Chāmūṇḍarāja and Agguka. Charters D, E and F make it absolutely clear that the little Saindhava kingdom was further subdivided between these brothers on the death of Jāika I. Rāṇaka, a grandson of Jāika I, through his son Agguka, is seen to be issuing Charter D in 555 G. E.; 12 years later, i.e., in 567 G. E., another grandson of Jāika I, named Agguka, through his son Chāmūṇḍarāja, is found to be giving Charter E. In the genealogy of Charter F issued in 596 G. E., Agguka and Rāṇaka of Charter D are altogether passed over; Jāika I is stated to have been succeeded by his son

Chāmundaśarāja and the latter by his son Agguka III and this last by his son Jāika II. It is therefore clear that both the sons of Jāika I founded separate ruling houses.

Our charters do not make it clear as to which of the two sons of Jāika I was the elder one. It would however appear that Agguka was the younger one, as he and his son are passed over in the genealogy of Charter F. In Charter D Rāpaka, the grantor, is stated to have been placed upon the throne by his father Agguka in his own lifetime. This may probably be due to Agguka's apprehension that his elder brother may resume his principality after his death.

Since Charter D of king Rāpaka is issued in 555 G. E. and Charter E of his cousin Agguka in 567 G. E., it is possible to argue that there was no further subdivision of the Saindhava kingdom after the death of Jāika I. Rāpaka, the grantor of Charter D, may have died soon after that charter was issued in 555 G. E. and may have been succeeded by his uncle Chāmundaśarāja; the latter after a naturally short reign may have been succeeded by his son Agguka, the grantor of Charter E, some time before 567 G. E. As against this view, it may be pointed out that Rāpaka of Charter D had a grown-up son named Jāika, who was acting as Yuvarāja in 555 G. E. In the normal course of events, therefore, his succession could not have devolved upon his uncle. It is further to be noted that in Charter E issued in 567 G. E. there is a statement made in ll. 5-6 that the Saindhava family had at that time 'numerous branches and leaves', *aparimita-smigdhātara-patra-sākhā-saṁchaya-sālī*. It is interesting to note that this statement does not occur in the earlier charters of the Saindhava family. It would therefore show, in the light of the further evidence of Charters C and D, that there were at least three branches of the Saindhava family ruling in Western Kāthiāwār during the third quarter of the 9th century A. D. The Saindhava kingdom was no doubt a small one, but this tripartite division need not only on that account be pronounced as improbable, as the example of the Patwardhans ruling in the Southern Marāṭhā Country at present would show. The small patrimony of this Sardar family of the Peshwas, hardly equal to a normal district in British India, has been divided into four petty kingdoms of Sangli, Miraj, Mirajmalā, and Kurundwād.

Members of all the three Saindhava houses are seen to be issuing their grants from Bhūtāmbilikā. Though there is some evidence of mutual jealousy, we do not find them fighting with one another. It would therefore appear that they were all staying at Bhūtāmbilikā, their ancestral capital, but ruling over different parts of their ancestral kingdom, more like members of a federation than as rulers of separate states. Our charters supply some evidence about the manner in which the ancestral territories were divided among the three branches, but it is very difficult to interpret. Charter C would show that the district of **Pachchhatrī** was under the seniormost branch of Kṛishnarāja,¹ while Charter D would indicate that the district of **Suvarṇa-maṇjarī** was allotted to the juniormost branch of Agguka.² But Charters B, E, and F show that both the above districts were included in the kingdom of the branch founded by Jāika I. We can reconcile these conflicting statements only by assuming that the seniormost and juniormost branches were ruling not over the whole but part of the two districts mentioned above, and that the leading family founded by Jāika I held sway over portions of both of them.

Let us now resume the history of the family. It will be convenient to finish first the account of the **juniormost branch of Agguka**. This ruler succeeded his father Jāika I in c. 530 G. E. (c. 849 A.D.); his reign may therefore be placed between 530 and 550 G. E. (c. 849-869 A.D.). In Charter D issued by his son Rāpaka, this ruler has been described in adjectives which have been used for his predecessors in earlier grants; they therefore do not enable us to get a clear idea of his personality or achievements.

¹ Cf. the expression : *yathā mayā sa-bhujyamāna-Pachchhatrī-vishay-śantapātri* in Charter C, l. 18.

² Cf. the expression : *yathā mayā sa-bhujyamāna-Suvarṇamaṇjarī-vishaya* in Charter D, ll. 27-8.

Agguka was succeeded by his son **Rāpaka**. His copper-plate grant, Charter D of our series, has been issued in 555 G. E. (A. D. 874-5). We may therefore place his reign between c. 550 G. E. and 570 G. E. (c. 869-889 A. D.). From his charter we learn that his father had abdicated in his favour and participated in his coronation himself. The probable implication of this statement has been already discussed on the preceding page. The description of this ruler in Charter D does not enable us to form any opinion about his achievements, as it is all conventional. Nor does it throw any light on contemporary history.

Already in 555 G. E. (A. D. 874-5) **Rāpaka** had a grown-up Yuvarāja named **Jāika** who figures as the *dātaka* of Charter D. It is not known whether this prince succeeded his father. His name has been omitted in the long genealogy given in Charter F issued in 596 G. E., but that may be due to his having belonged to a collateral branch. There are no indications of the independent existence of this branch having come to an end with **Rāpaka**, and we may therefore well assume that the crown prince **Jāika** of Charter D ruled from c. 570 to 590 G. E. (A. D. 889-909).

Let us now resume the history of main Saindhava branch, which was continued by **Chāmunda-rāja**, the eldest son of **Jāika I**. This ruler may be presumed to have ruled from c. 530 to 555 G. E. (c. 849 to 874 A. D.). Charters E and F describe this ruler; his description is however all conventional and useless for the purpose of reconstructing sober history.

Chāmunda-rāja was succeeded by his son **Agguka III**. As he has issued Charter E in 567 G. E., we may place his reign from c. 555 to 580 G. E. (874 to 899 A. D.). Charters E and F no doubt introduce some new expressions in the description of this ruler. No specific historic events have however been mentioned, and so we can say hardly anything definite about his achievements.

Agguka III was succeeded by his son **Jāika II**. As he has issued Charter F in 596 G. E., his reign may be safely placed from c. 580 to 600 G. E. (c. 899 to 919 A. D.). His charter compares him with a number of gods and heroes, but mentions not a single historic exploit.

King **Jāika** of the Morbi plate is most probably to be identified with this ruler.¹ That plate was issued in 585 G. E. when this ruler was on the throne. As only the concluding plate of the Morbi grant has been recovered, the names of the family and ancestors of king **Jāika** are not known. The fish emblem at the end of that plate would however show that he belonged to the Saindhava family. Ll. 5-7 of the Morbi plate of **Jāika** are identical with ll. 31-2 of the Charter F in our set. Both the charters have been composed by the same individual, **Jhōjjha**. **Dēddaka** the engraver of the Morbi plates was a brother of **Madhusūdana**, the engraver of our Charter F of **Jāika II**, as both of them have been described as sons of **Śaṅkara**. It is therefore almost certain that the Morbi plates of 585 G. E. were issued by the same **Jāika**, who has issued our Charter F in 596 G. E. Had there not been another **Jāika**, son of king **Rāpaka** of Charter D, ruling at this time in the 3rd Saindhava branch, the above identification would have become a mathematical certainty. We have however seen that the rule of this **Jāika** has to be placed from c. 570 to 590 G. E. He could therefore well have issued the Morbi plates of 585 G. E. with the fish emblem at the end. We however notice from Charters E and F that **Jhōjjha**, the composer of these records, was a protégé of kings **Agguka III** and **Jāika II** belonging to the main Saindhava branch. It is this very person who has composed the Morbi record. This circumstance would show that king **Jāika** of the Morbi record is more likely to be **Jāika II**, son of

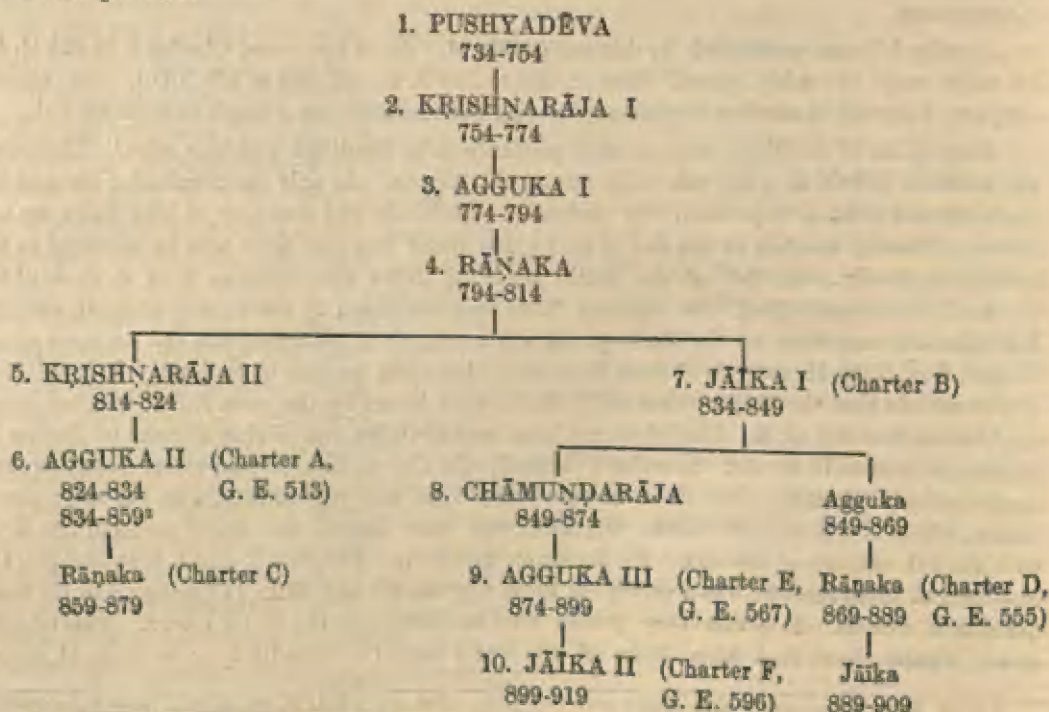
¹ R. G. Bhandarkar reads this king's name as **Jāika** (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, pp. 237-8). This is no doubt a possible reading, but the form of the second letter of this name as given in Charter D, l. 7 of this set shows that the name was really **Jāika**.

Agguka III of the main branch, than king Jāika, son of king Rāpaka of the third Saindhava branch.

We shall now briefly consider the extent of the Saindhava kingdom. From c. 850 A.D. the Chāpas had been established at Wadhwan in Northern Kāthiāwār as is made clear by the Haḍḍālā grant of Dharaṇīvarāha.¹ The ancestors of the Chālukya chief Balavarman had been established in Southern Kāthiāwār a few decades earlier, as their Ūnā grants show. The kingdom of the Saindhavas could therefore not have extended beyond the western portion of Kāthiāwār. They themselves also do not claim to be ruling over any larger area, as the description of their family *Apara-Surāshtrā-maṇḍala-maṇḍana* in our grants shows. Villages granted by them are also all situated in Western Kāthiāwār.

Many of the rulers, whose history has been discussed above, are described as having distinguished themselves on battle-fields. These wars may refer either to their naval conflicts with the Arabs of Sindh or to ordinary skirmishes with their eastern neighbours. As already pointed out above, they were the feudatories of the Pratihāras, but they do not seem to have taken any part in any of the famous campaigns of their imperial sovereigns. The Ūnā plates show that Bāhukadhavala, the grandfather of the grantor, had taken active part in the campaigns of his overlord against the Pālas and the Rāshtrakūṭas. The Saindhavas do not seem to have emulated the example of their neighbours in the south-east. They probably felt that they need not exhaust their limited resources in order to strengthen the power of their imperial masters.

We now append below a genealogical tree of this family along with its branches. The names of the rulers of the **main branch** are given in BOLD type. Approximate time of their rule is given in each case in A. D. Charters issued by different rulers are shown after their names with years in Gupta Era.



¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 193 ff.

² This is the time of his rule as a feudatory of his uncle, Jāika I and cousin Chāmundarāja.

Very little is known at present about the history of the Saindhavas subsequent to the middle of the 10th century A. D. Bhūtāmbilikā continued to prosper for at least another three hundred years; for when Lieut. Jacob had visited the site of Ghumli in 1838 he could trace in its ruins inscriptions dated in the years 1062 and 1229 A. D.¹ The bardic account which attributes the ruin of the city to a Muslim invasion from Sindh in c. 1313 A. D., therefore, seems to be substantially correct.²

A.—Grant of the time of Agguka II; [Gupta] Śaṁvat 513.

This grant has been engraved on a set of three copper-plates, which have been held together by two rings passing through two holes near the edge. The ends of the rings have been soldered together, and one of them has been impressed with a seal bearing the emblem of a fish, which was the insignia of the dynasty. The size of the first plate is $13\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{1}{4}''$, of the second, $13\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{1}{4}''$, and of the third, $13\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{1}{4}''$. The total weight of the plates, rings and the seal is 326½ tolas. The engraving of the record is very deep and shows on the back of each plate. That is probably the reason why the central plate does not as usual bear the inscription on both the sides.

There are 12 lines on the first plate, 15 on the second and 18 on the third. After the first plate was inscribed, it was realised that the record could not be finished in three plates unless not only was the number of lines per plate increased, but also the size of the letters reduced. Both these steps were taken by the engraver, as can be seen by a glance at the plates. The engraving has been well done and mistakes are few. They have been indicated in the text and notes and no further comment is necessary here.

The characters of the record are proto-Nāgarī ones and bear a general resemblance to those of the Rādhanpur plates of Gōvinda III,³ which were issued from northern Gujarāt 24 years earlier. The forms of the letters *na*, *ra* and *ka* of the latter record slightly differ from those in the present one; but they are similar to those in Charters D, E and F of this series.

The language of the record is Sanskrit and its style is of the courtly poetry. It is very florid and abounds in long compounds; the writer spares no pains in producing a remarkable array of alliterative phrases. There is an abundance of similes and metaphors, though they are of the usual hackneyed type. There are several expressions with a *double entendre*, as is the case with the works of Bāṇa and Subandhu. Our record may be confidently cited as a good example of poetic prose, written in a style, which has always excited admiration of the Pandit educated in the old fashion.

The above observations about the language and style hold good of all the charters that are being edited here. It may therefore well be concluded that the Saindhava rulers, who had in their secretariate officers of such remarkable literary ability, must have been great patrons of Sanskrit literature. The fact that the *dūtaka* of the present charter is a poet named Bāla would show that men of literary attainments could get responsible posts in the Saindhava administration.

The colophon at the end of the record tells us that its composer was Kapila, son of Vikkaṭa, who was an ornament of the Śakas. Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār were under the Śaka rule for more than three centuries and this must have resulted in the settlement of a large

¹ J. R. A. S., Vol. V, pp. 75 and 77.

² Kathiawar Gazetteer, p. 625.

³ *Ante*, Vol. VI, p. 244-5.

Śaka population in these provinces. Our record would show that even when four centuries had elapsed since the disappearance of the Śaka rule, the Śakas retained some individuality of their own and could be distinguished from the general population. Probably they had formed a caste of their own, but were otherwise completely Hinduised. When this separate Śaka caste completely merged in Hindu society is not known at present.

Though a Śaka, Kapila, the composer of our record, shows a remarkable command not only over Sanskrit language but also over its difficult *kāvya* style. And this need not cause any surprise, for as early as the second century A. D., we find Rudradāman, the third king of the Śaka house of Chashtana, claiming that he was a master of Sanskrit grammar and logic and could compose both prose and poetry of a very high order.¹ The available evidence would thus show that, though foreigners, the Śakas conceived a great fascination for Sanskrit language and culture and became its patrons and devotees at least in Kāthiāwār.

The usual imprecatory verses apart, the record is in prose with the exception of two verses occurring at its fag end. The first of these gives us information about the name and family of the composer and the second one summarises the contents of the grant by mentioning once more the names of the grantor, the grantee, the village granted and the time of the grant. Since the donee speaks of himself in the first person in this verse, it may be well doubted whether it really formed part of the original record. In copper-plate charters, we do not usually come across the phenomenon of the donee himself stating at the end that he had got the grant from such and such a king on such and such an occasion. It would appear that the last verse was probably composed by the donee himself and added in the space available at the bottom of the plate.

The orthography calls for only a few remarks. In a conjunct of which *r* is the first member, the second letter is usually doubled; cf. *garvea* in l. 3. (2) The *anuvāra* before *śa* is indicated sometimes by a guttural nasal as in *vaśśa* in l. 7 and sometimes by the dental one as in *vaśśa* in l. 34 and in *bhraśśa* in ll. 35-6. (3) The rules of *sandhi* are usually followed, but there are a few mistakes in this connection; cf. *karavālaiva* for *karavāla iva*, l. 6, *dharmmah mūrttimān* for *dharmmah mūrttimān*, ll. 10-11, etc.

The copper-plates record a grant of a village made in the reign of the Saindhava king Agguka II, son of Krishnarāja. The actual grantor is, however, Jālka, the uncle of the ruling king who was a minor when the grant was made. This is rendered quite certain by ll. 23-4 of the record, which state that though embraced by the goddess Kamalā, who was anxious for dalliance on his chest, Jālka thought that his nephew ought to be protected and reared by him. At the time of the issue of the charter, Jālka therefore professed to be a mere regent, administering the government on behalf of his minor nephew. Agguka however was a mere puppet; for the charter does not give him any legal titles whatsoever. The regent on the other hand is described with all the usual titles of a ruling feudatory. How he eventually superseded his nephew has been already discussed above in the general introduction (*ante*, p. 193).

The grant is dated; it was made in Samvat 513 on the 12th day (of an unspecified month) on the occasion of Uttarāyana. As the dates in the remaining charters of this series, when given, are expressly declared to be referring to the Gupta era, there can be no doubt whatever that the date of this charter is also to be referred to the same era. The Uttarāyana of 831 A. D. took place on Pausa *krishṇa* 1, of 832 A. D. on Pausa *krishṇa* 12, and of

¹ *Ante*, Vol. VIII, p. 44. *Saśāntītiha-gāndhārva-nyāy-ādyaṇām vidyānām mahatīnām pāraṇa-dhāraṇa-vijāna-prayōg-āraṇa-vipula-kīrtinā sphuṭa-laghu-madhura-chitra-kānta-labdhāzmayōktī-ālanakṛita-gadya-gadya*

833 A. D. on Pausa *krishṇa* 7. It is therefore clear that our grant was made on Pausa *krishṇa* 12 of the Gupta Saṁvat 513, which corresponds to **Sunday, the 22nd of December 832 A. D.** The date of the charter is given at its end and in numerals only. The symbols for the numerals are rather unusual, but a comparison with those in charter F, where the date is given both in words and in numerals, makes it quite clear that the correct reading is 513.

The grantee of the record was **Mādhava, son of Kalyāṇa**, who was a Rīgvēdin Brāhmaṇa of the Sāṁkṛitya *gōtra* and a resident of **Sōmēśvara**, which is obviously to be identified with famous Sōmanātha. He was given the whole village of **Ḍhaṅkatīrtha** and one tenth the share of the village of **Gulamikā** in order to enable him to perform the usual Brahmanical rites and sacrifices. These villages were situated in the district of **Pachchhatrī**, which was being governed by the grantor himself. Pachchhatrī, the headquarters of the district, is probably to be identified with the modern village **Pāchhtardī**, six miles to the west of Ghumli. **Ḍhaṅkatīrtha**, the village granted, is obviously the same as **Dhāṅk** in Gondal state, situated about 25 miles east of Ghumli. Dhāṅk is situated on the outskirts of a hill of the same name and figures as a holy place in Jain tradition.¹ I am unable to identify Gulamikā, one tenth of whose revenues were also assigned to the donee.

A large number of officers are mentioned in this record, while the grant is being announced by the king. They are the following: 1. *Mantri*, 2. *Purōhita*, 3. *Amātya*, 4. *Janapada*, 5. *Yuvarāja*, 6. *Rājasthāniya*, 7. *Pramātri*, 8. *Balādhikṛita*, 9. *Uparika*, 10. *Vishayapati*, 11. *Śaulkika*, 12. *Dussādhasādhanika*, 13. *Chōrōddharanika*, 14. *Vaikshēpika*, 15. *Chāra* and 16. *Bhaja*. All these officers are mentioned in Charters B and D also. In Charter C, Nos. 4 and 7 are omitted but *Sēnāpati* has been added; in Charter E, Nos. 1 and 2 are dropped; in Charter F, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 6, 9 and 11 are not mentioned and *Dēsādhipati* has been added. Among these officers the functions of Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 10, 11, 13, 15 and 16 are quite clear. No. 4 *Janapada* cannot obviously refer to people in general; it probably refers to representatives of people or members of the Janapada assembly, though one would like to have a more convincing evidence about the existence of such a body at this period. No. 6 *Rājasthāniya* means a viceroy, No. 8 *Balādhikṛita* denotes the commander-in-chief; No. 9 *Uparika* was a provincial viceroy under the Gupta administration, superior in status to *Vishayapati* or the district officer, who is here also mentioned after the *Uparika*². No. 12 *Dussādhasādhanika* probably denoted those officers of the *Chōrōddharanika* class, who were entrusted with the difficult task of apprehending dacoits and other dangerous criminals. I am unable to offer any suggestions about the function of No. 14 *Vaikshēpika*.

Most of these officers are mentioned in charters issued by each of the three branches of the Saindhava kingdom. The original kingdom was a small one and its branches must have been quite tiny; one may therefore well doubt whether even the parent kingdom had all these officers working in its administration. This suspicion becomes stronger when we remember that in Charter F, which is the most business-like and carefully drafted document of this series, a large number of these officers are omitted. It is interesting to add that the officers dropped out in this charter are just those whose existence otherwise appears to be doubtful. One wonders whether in this small kingdom *Mantrins* would have existed as a class of officers separate from the *Amātyas*; they are omitted in this record. A viceroy presupposes a large kingdom, which the Saindhavas did not possess; *Rājasthāniya* is omitted in Charter F. There was no room for both the *Vishayapatīs* and *Uparikas* in the Saindhava administration; the latter of them have been omitted in Charter F. It would therefore appear that some of the officers mentioned in

¹ *Vividhkalpatīrtha*, edited by Sri-Jinaprabhasuri, p. 1.

² [The office of *Uparika* has been discussed above, Vol. XXIV, p. 134 and also in the *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, Calcutta, 1940, pp. 231-33, where it has been explained to correspond to that of a Magistrate.—B. G. J.]

our grants did not really function in the Saindhava administration ; they are merely mentioned to make the list exhaustive.

Among the commoners to whom the grants have been announced, only Brāhmaṇas and traders are mentioned. This would show that as early as the 9th century A.D. Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār had developed their present commercial traditions and that merchants had come to be recognised as a class as important as the Brāhmaṇas. The bracketing of the Vaiśyas with the Śūdras in the Gītā and the Dharmaśāstra literature would thus be giving us not a correct idea of the position which the merchant class occupied in a commercial province like Kāthiāwār.

TEXT¹

First Plate.

- 1 ॐ² स्वस्ति [1*] स्वस्ति लकामरावतौ सभर्वा र्विभूता म्विलिकाभिधाननगरी गरीयोपरस्व-
(सु)राद्राम-
- 2 गङ्गलमङ्गनोपरसमुद्राधिपतिरासीत्संपूर्णप्रकाशशरद्विशकर् रश्मिप्रतानविशदनिजयशोरा-
- 3 शिः(गि)श्यामव्रितसगर्व्यचुसामन्तसौमन्तिनोवदनारविन्दद्युतिः प्रलयकालविजृम्भितज्वलनज्वा-
लावली-
- 4 कल्याणव्यप्रसरत्प्रतापः स्वहृदयसमोहितहितविभवदानहेलाजलाह्लादितसकलसुहृद्भक्तैः सम-
- 5 ररसभरधरोदुरोर्जितजितप्रणतवैरिशिरोरत्नपुष्पमाणस्फुरच्चरणनखमयूखचित्रपा-
- 6 दपीठप्रान्तः करवालै(ल इ)वापवर्जितसहजकलङ्कशङ्कः परिवाररचानपेक्षितस्वष्टष्टशक्तिरन-
ष्टाभि-
- 7 मुखापतद्विपलवर्तित्विहामूलप्रणतोत्तरोत्तरप्रवृद्धाग्रशालिश्रीमत्सैन्यववङ्ग(वंश)शेखरः समधि-
- 8 गताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्तश्रीमदङ्गुलः [1*] तस्य जननमस्य चरितवन्द्यानन्दविजयसमूह-
मोह-
- 9 हारिहारवृत्तपालितप्रजासमुद्रवच्छरच्छशधरकरनिकरधवल्यशोराशिराशिषां परमविसं-
- 10 वादि स्थानमास्थाननिविष्टेष्टसामन्तचक्रकमरचादाब्धोदय(द्य)द्वापिकीर्त्यमानकीर्तिः प्राचादि-
वधस्यः⁴
- 11 मूर्त्तिमानिव निजजनपदपुण्यसम्भारः सकललोकपरिशुद्धिहेतुस्थिरसरस्वतीसङ्गतिसेव्यतया
- 12 सुचिरमचलितमर्यादो नतिजलोपिलीपितदुष्टचिह्नितः समुद्रकरणमुद्भव-

¹ Edited from ink impressions.

² Indicated by a symbol.

³ Read either *dāna-jala-hīlā*, or *samāhlādita* instead of *jai-ahlādita*, as is done in Charters B and D. The reading of Charter E, *dāna-phala-samāhlādita* is the best.

⁴ Sandhi rules have not been always followed in this charter.

A.—GRANT OF THE TIME OF AGGUKA II; [GUPTA] SAMVAT 513.

१ सुविप्रसिद्धं नाम गौरीशंकरं हिमालयसिद्धं कृष्णं चतुर्भुजं शिवं ध्यात्वा
 २ यत्नं कृत्वा परममहाविष्णुं गौरीशंकरं परमेश्वरं नमस्कृत्य उच्यते ॥ १ ॥
 ३ निःश्राव्यं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥
 ४ कलात्रयं पुराणत्रयं चतुर्भुजं हिमालयसिद्धं कृष्णं चतुर्भुजं शिवं ध्यात्वा
 ५ परमेश्वरं उच्यते ॥ ३ ॥
 ६ वृषींशं चतुर्भुजं शिवं ध्यात्वा परमेश्वरं उच्यते ॥ ४ ॥
 ७ शिवं ध्यात्वा परमेश्वरं उच्यते ॥ ५ ॥
 ८ शिवं ध्यात्वा परमेश्वरं उच्यते ॥ ६ ॥
 ९ शिवं ध्यात्वा परमेश्वरं उच्यते ॥ ७ ॥
 १० शिवं ध्यात्वा परमेश्वरं उच्यते ॥ ८ ॥
 ११ शिवं ध्यात्वा परमेश्वरं उच्यते ॥ ९ ॥
 १२ सुविप्रसिद्धं नाम गौरीशंकरं हिमालयसिद्धं कृष्णं चतुर्भुजं शिवं ध्यात्वा

14
16
18
20
22
24
26

[illegible]

Second Plate.

- 13 णेषु च चापघटितरटदटनिनियतगुणसङ्गिभार्मणगणप्रोत्सारितारातिरुन्मीलित-
- 14 मलमूलदुषरितपरिणामी रणरणकदानदक्षचक्षुर्विज्ञेपी विपक्षनारीणां श्रीराणकस्मृतीभवत्त-¹
स्यापि
- 15 चापिरिपुसार्थकदर्शनासमर्थप्रोत्सर्पदुत्साहभरी भरत इवाचलदुचितसमाराधितरामी भार-
तमल-
- 16 चि(ढ)तीयपार्थ इवापार्थकीकृतजगदुदितकीर्त्तिदुर्द्धरधनुर्द्धरी वृकीदर इव सततरुधिरपान-
करणास्मुरणीकृत-
- 17 दुग्धसनीसक्तदुपहसितदुयी(यी)धनघ सर्वतः स्वगर्वतः समुत्सारितरिपुतिमिरनिकरो दिन-
कर इव वर्द्धमा-
- 18 नतेजीराशिरशिशिरप्रतापसन्तापितातिद्वेषसपन्नयनः शार्ङ्गधन्वेव पृ(प्रि)यसत्वीतिदूरविचित्र-
नरकीपद्र-
- 19 वाशङ्कः शङ्कर इवाभिनन्दितपार्ष्वतीयजनो जनोदितसहजपुरुषकारातिरेककरदौकृतप्रतिरा-
ज्यभूमृदुत्करः(र)
- 20 ऐच्छि कृपाणपाणिरपि रिपुभिरभिभवोद्धूतभयस(सं)भ्रान्तनयनैर्ब्रयनैपुणसाभ(फ)ल्यप्रकटीभव-
त्युष्णसम्भारी भा-
- 21 रतीमाधुर्यसमानन्दितसकलप्रणयिजनी जननीचरणारविन्दवन्दनसंवर्द्धितकीर्त्तिप्रतानीतनुतनु-
शोभाभा-
- 22 विततरुणीजनमनःप्रसरी(रः) श्रीकृष्णराजाभिधानीतिधन्यस्तनयोभूतस्य² भ्राता वैमाची
ज्येष्ठं तत्कुतमुचितकु-
- 23 लक्ष्मागताक्रान्तसिङ्गा(सिंहा)सनमपि परित्यज्य श्रीमदगुकार्थं ख्यातपौरुषपुरुषजयिस-
त्वधामवल्लस्थलीलीलाला-
- 24 लसया कमलया निष्कङ्कमालिङ्गितो³ अयमेव निजपितृप्रवर्द्धितमदीयलालनपालनयोग्य
इति समरगत-
- 25 शातितशत्रुशौटीर्यो धैर्यनिधिरधीराणां रणेषु रचिता क्षतकलिकलङ्कीकृचिमदानाभ्यासा-
भ्यर्णोक्तकर्णवर्ण-

¹ Read -bhavat | Tasya=āpi.² Read=bhāt | Tasya.³ Read nishankham=ālingit= 'yam=eva.

26 नः स्वपुपि पूषेव विकसितपद्माकरः सत्क्रियाप्रवर्तितसकललोकस्य कश्चनापरोप्येतत्स-
मोस्ति नास्तीति कौ-

27 तूहलिन्वा यत्कीर्त्त्या जगद्भूम्यते स समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्तश्रीजार्दक-

Third Plate.

28 स्रव्णनिवात्कीयान्मन्त्रि(न्त्रि)पुरोहितामात्यजनपदयुवराजराजस्थानीयप्रमादबलाधिकृतोप-

29 रिकविषयपतिशौल्किकदुस्साधसाधनिकचोरोडरणिक्वैत्तेपिकचारभटादिसमस्तराजपुरुषा(पां)-

30 न्स्त(स्त)त्रिवासिब्राह्मणोत्तरान्बणिहत्तरकुटुम्बिनस्समनुबोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा
मया स्वमुच्यमानपच्छचीप्रावे(दे)-

31 शिकठङ्कतीर्थाभिधानयामस्स(स्स)सीमापर्यन्तो गुलमिकाभिधानयामस्य दशान्शे(शंशे)न
सहित[:*] सीमेश्वरवास्तव्यचातु-

32 व्व्यसामान्यसांज्ञत्यसगोचवद्भुचसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणचतुर्व्वेदमाधवाय कल्याणपुत्रायोदकातिसर्गेण
द्वादश्या-

33 मुदगयने दत्तो बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रब्रह्मजयो'क्षर्षणार्थं मातापितृरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशो-
भिद्वहये [1*] श्रुतो-

34 स्येनं भुञ्जतो न केनचित्परिपन्थना कार्या [1*] भाविभिरपि वृपतिभिरस्मदङ्ग(दङ्ग)-
जैरन्यैर्व्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमभिवा-

35 च्छद्विरनित्यान्यैस्वर्याणि मानुष्यकमपि प्रबलमारुताहतपद्मिनीपचनिहितजललवलीलमाकलय्य
दुःपरिहरश्च(श्च)-

36 श्च(श्च)चणिकश्च जीवितमालोक्यातिप्रचुरकदर्यनासञ्चितमर्थजातमनिलसङ्गिदोपशिखाचञ्चलमा-
लोच वाच्यताचु-

37 तिकामैरमलमण्डलशरदिन्दुद्युतिधवल्यशोवितानच्छब्रनभोभागमात्मानमिच्छद्विरतिस्त्रच्छमनो-
भिरात्मच्छ-

38 न्दतोयमयम'क्षद्व्यंदायोनुमन्तव्यो(व्यः) [1*] व्यासादिसुनिनिगदितभूमिहरणपापपरिपाक-
जनिताश्च यामीर्यातना म-

39 नसि निधाय पूर्व्वधार्मिकनृपपरिकल्पितपञ्चमहापातकसमयश्चावणाञ्च चिन्तयित्वा भूयो
भूयो याच्यमानैरिदं न प्रश्न-

* Read either *kṛtyā* or *kṛtyā*.

* The letters *yama* are repeated through inadvertence.

- 40 तत्रं च्युतिकारोपदिष्टं [1*] पष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1*]
 प्राच्छेत्ता चातुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा
- 41 यो हरेत्तु वसुध्वरां(राम्) [1*] गवां शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुः प्राप्नोति कित्तिव(त्वि)षः(पम्)
 [1*] बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः[1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य
 तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥
- 42 यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि [1*] निर्मात्यवान्तप्रतिमानि
 तानि कौ नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ विन्ध्याटवीश्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः[1*]
 कृष्णाह-
- 43 यो हि जायन्ते ब्रह्मदायापहारकाः[1*] ॥ स्वहस्तोयं समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासा-
 मन्तश्रीजार्दकस्य श्रीराणकपुत्रस्य [1*] दूतकोच महत्तमबालकविः [1*]
- 44 श्रीजार्द(इ)केमलयशः[1*]प्रसरामविश्वे र्वि(वि)श्वामितामगुरुबभुजने स्वराज्यं(ज्यम्) [1*]
 भुञ्ज(भुञ्ज)त्यदोलिखदिह स्वधिया प्रसूतो यो विक्रटाक्ष कपिलस्तिलकः शका-
 नां(नाम्) ॥
- 45 यौजयसेनो मद्यं ग्राममदादृष्टीर्यनामानं(नम्) [1*] गुलमयिकाग्रामदद्याग्र(शं)सहित-
 मतिभक्तिरुदगयने ॥ संव ५०० १० ३

B.—Grant of king Jālka I.

This grant has been written on a set of two copper-plates, which have been inscribed on one side only. The plates have two holes near the edge, intended for the two rings to secure them together. Only one of these rings has been preserved and its ends have been soldered together and impressed with a seal with the emblem of the fish, which was the insignia of the dynasty. The weight of the plates together with the ring and the seal is 348½ *tolas*. The size of each plate is 13½" × 10".

There are 18 lines on the first plate and 19 on the second. The engraving has been nicely done and the duct of the handwriting is graceful. The characters and language of this charter are similar to those of Charter A. The record is in prose with the exception of the imprecatory stanzas, and the concluding verse, which is identical with the penultimate verse of Charter A. The composer of this record is the same Śaka Sanskrit poet Kapila, who had drafted Charter A.

As far as orthography is concerned, attention may be drawn to the occurrence of *upadhmaniya* in ll. 30 and 35 in the expressions *duḥparihara*² and *hantuḥ prāpnōti* respectively.

The charter records a village-grant made by Mahāsāmanta Jālka I, son of king Rāpaka. He is identical with the same person who had issued Charter A as regent for his nephew, Agguka I, who was then the *de jure* king. In the genealogy of this grant, however, there is no reference to Agguka or his father who was the elder brother of Jālka I, both of whom were expressly mentioned as the occupants of the Saindhava throne in Charter A. The reason is not

¹ The shortening of *i* is required for metrical reasons; the correct spelling is Jālka.

² [The same occurs also in Charter A, l. 35. The form should, however, be *duḥparihara*.—Ed.]

far to seek. We have already seen how Jālka I had almost become a *de jure* king in Gupta Samvat 513, when Charter A was issued. By the time of the issue of the present charter, the usurpation was complete, and Jālka must have issued instructions to his secretariate that the names of his elder brother and his son should be eliminated from future copper-plate genealogies in order to remove all traces of his usurpation from the ken of the posterity.

The present charter is not dated, but for reasons already explained above in the general introduction (*ante*, pp. 193-194), its time of issue will probably be as early as 515 G. E. (834-5 A. D.)

The grantee is a Sāmavēdin Brāhmaṇa of the Vatsa *gōtra*, **Bhaṭṭasvāmika** by name, who was a son of **Kulachandra**. The revenues of the village of **Dadhipadraka** were assigned to him in order to enable him to perform the usual scriptural sacrifices without feeling any anxiety for his livelihood.

The village **Dadhipadraka** was situated in the district of **Pachhchatri**, which is the same as **Pāchhtardi**, 6 miles west of Ghumli, as shown already. The boundaries of Dadhipadraka have been given and they enable us to state that the village has either disappeared or changed its name to **Deolia**, which is now a village 13 miles north-east of Ghumli. For to the east and north of this village are the river **Varatu** and the village **Shedkāi** respectively which are obviously identical with the river **Varatrōyī** and the village **Sēḍhākhāikā**, which also were to the east and north of the village Dadhipadraka, which was granted to the donee. **Bhillamāla**, which was the original place of residence of the donee is to be identified with modern **Bhīnmāl**, which is 80 miles to the north of Patan and 40 miles to the east of Mt. Abu.

The occasion of the gift was the performance of the *Pushyasnāna* ceremony by the king. From the *Bṛihatsamhitā* of Varāhamihira we learn that this ritual was recommended to kings by astrologers of old for the purpose of averting disaster and promoting prosperity, both of themselves and of their kingdom¹. A number of deities were invited at the bath, which was given usually at a holy place. The water was mixed with numerous medicinal and auspicious drugs. Any day of the month, when the moon was in the lunar mansion of Pushya, could be selected for the purpose; but the most suitable time was the full-moon day of the month of Pausa. It is most probable that Jālka II utilised the first Pausa month after his usurpation for this purpose in order to avert the possible visitation of divine wrath at his unjustifiable conduct.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

1 ॐ स्वस्ति [1*] स्वस्तिलकामरावतीसम्भर्षिभूताम्बि(म्बि)लिकाभिधाननगरीगरीयोप-
रसुराष्ट्रामण्डलम्-

2 एतन्नोपरसमुद्राधिपतिरासीत्संपूर्णप्रकाशशरविशाकररश्मिप्रतानविशदनिजयशोराशिः(शि)श्याम-

¹ नासि धीके स उपाती यी छनेन न ज्ञास्यते । संमर्षं चापरं नासि यदध्यादतिविच्यते ॥
अधिराज्यादिनी राक्षः पुत्रजन्य च कांचनः । तापूषंमभिवेके च विधिरप प्रजस्यते ॥

² From ink-impressions.

³ Indicated by a symbol.

- 3 लितसगर्वशसुसामन्तसौमन्तिनीवदनारविन्दयुतिः प्रलयकालविजृम्भितज्वलनज्वालावलीकस्या-
नल्पप्रसर-
- 4 व्यतापः स्वहृदयसमौहितहितविभवदानहेलासमाज्ञादितसकलसुहृन्नोकः समररसभरधरो-
रोर्जितजित-
- 5 प्रणतवैरिशिरोरत्नधृत्यमाणस्फुरच्चरणनखमयूखचितपादपीठप्रान्तः करवालै(ल इ)वापवर्जि-
तसहजकल-
- 6 इशङ्कः परिवाररत्नानपेक्षितस्फटशक्तिरनष्टाभिमुखापतद्विपक्षचितिविहामूलप्रणतोत्तरोत्तरप्र-
वृद्धा-
- 7 यशालित्रीमल्लैन्धववङ्क(वंश)शेखरः स समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्तश्रीमदङ्गुकः [1*]
तस्य जननमस्यचरितवन्द्या-
- 8 निन्द्यद्विजसमूहमोहहारिहारिवृत्तपालितप्रजासमुद्भवच्छरच्छशधरकरनिकरधवल्यशोराशिराशिषां
पर-
- 9 मविसंवादि स्थानमास्थाननिविष्टेष्टसामन्तचक्रक्रमरत्नादाक्षोदय(द्य)द्वयापिकीर्त्यमानकीर्त्तिः
साक्षादिव धर्मः(श्री)
- 10 मूर्त्तिमानिव निजजनपदपुण्यसम्भारः सकललोकपरिगृहिहेतुस्त्रिरसरस्वतीसङ्गतिसेव्यतया
सुचिरमच-
- 11 लितमर्यादो नतिजलोपिलोपितदुष्टचेष्टितः समुद्रकरणिसुहृद्वरणेषु च चापघटितरटदटनि-
नियत-
- 12 गुणसङ्घिर्मार्गगणप्रोत्सारितारातिरुन्मीलितमलमूलदुस्वरितपरिणामी रणरणकदानदक्षचक्षु-
र्विचक्षेपो
- 13 विपक्षनारीणां श्रीराणकस्मृतोभवत्त¹स्वापि चापिरिपुसार्थकदर्यनासमर्थप्रोत्सर्पदुष्काहसभरो²
भरत इ-
- 14 वाचलदुचितसमाराधितरामो भारतमङ्गलि(ठ)तौयपार्थ इवापार्थकीकृतजगदुदितकीर्त्तिदुर्ह-
रधनुर्हरो वृकी-
- 15 दर इव सततरुधिरपानकरणास्फुरणीकृतदुग्धासनीसक्तदुपहसितदुर्योधनश्च सर्व्वतः स्वग्रव्वतः
समुत्सारित-

¹ The usual punctuation mark at the end of the sentence is omitted here.

² Read -utsāha-bharō.

- 16 रिपुतिमिरनिकरी दिनकर इव वईमानतेजोराशिरशिशिरप्रतापमन्तापितातिष्ठमसपन्नयनः
शार्ङ्गधन्वेव प्रियसखी-
- 17 तिटूरविजितनरकोपद्रवाशङ्कः शङ्कर इवाभिनन्दितपार्व्वतीयजनो जनोदितसहजपुरुषकारा-
तिरेककरदौक्त-
- 18 तप्रातिराज्यभूषदुत्करः(र) ऐजि कृपाणपाणिरपि रिपुभिरभिभवीकृतभयसंभ्रान्तनयनैर्नयनैपुण-

Second Plate.

- 19 साफल्यप्रकटीभवत्पुण्यसम्भारो भारतीमाधुर्यसमानन्दितसकलप्रणयिजनो जननीचरणार-
- 20 विन्दवन्दनसंबर्द्धितकीर्त्तिप्रतानोतनुतनुशीभाभाविततरुणीजनमनःप्रसरस्सस(म)धिगताग्रेपमहा-
शब्द-
- 21 महासामन्तयौजाईकस्सर्व्वानेवात्मीयान्मन्त्रि(न्त्रि)पुरोहितामात्यजनपदयुवराजराजस्थानीयप्रमाद-
वला-
- 22 धिक्कृतोपरिकविप्रयपतिशीलिकदुस्साधसाधनिकचोरीडरणिकवैलेपिकचारभटादिसमस्तराजपु-
रुपा(पां)-
- 23 न्स्त(स्त)त्रिवासिब्राह्मणीत्तरान्वणिश्चहत्तरकुटुम्बि(म्बि)नस्समनुबोधयत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं यथा
मया स्सभुज्यमानपच्छ-
- 24 क्षौप्रावे(दे)शिकपूर्व्वप्रसिद्धदधिपद्राभिधानस्समस्स(स्स)सीमापर्यन्तस्साघाटच्च तच्च चाघाट-
नानि । यच्च पूर्व्वतो वर-
- 25 क्षौयी नदी दक्षिणतश्चोष्णाणकाभिधानो भट्टग्रामः पश्चिमतस्सोण्टूरकग्राम उत्तरतोपि
वाडग्रामकग्रामः
- 26 सेटाखाइका चया(चाय)हारः[*] एवं समस्ताघाटपरिच्छिन्नः क्षौभिन्नमालवास्तव्यतच्चा-
तुर्व्वयसामान्यवस्स-
- 27 सगीतच्छान्दीगसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणभट्टस्वामिकाय कुलचन्द्रपुत्रायोदकातिसर्ग्व्वेण पुण्यस्नानविधौ
- 28 दत्तो बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रब्रह्मकृत्योत्सर्पणार्थं मातापिक्षीरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशीभित्तये [*]
यतोस्ये(स्ये)नं भुञ्जतो न के-

* Read either *krityō* or *krigō*.

B.—GRANT OF KING JAIKA II.

ॐ सुखि सुखिना कामा मावरी यमपुत्रादि याद्विज्ञातिना कामिना नवरात्री वरी या एव सुखा सुखमात्रमात्र
२ २
३ ३
४ ४
५ ५
६ ६
७ ७
८ ८
९ ९
१० १०
११ ११
१२ १२
१३ १३
१४ १४
१५ १५
१६ १६
१७ १७
१८ १८

१०
 २२
 २४
 २६
 २८
 ३०
 ३२
 ३४
 ३६

- 29 नचित्परिपत्यना कार्या [1*] भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिरसदृश(दंश)जैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यं
भूमिदानफलमभिवाञ्छद्भिरनित्यान्यैश्चर्याणि मा-
- 30 नृपकमपि प्रबलमारुताहतपद्मिनीपद्मनिहितजललवलोलमाकलय्य दुःपरिहरभ्रम(भंग)-
चणिकञ्च जीवितमालीका-
- 31 तिप्रचुरकदर्शनासञ्चितमर्थजातमनिलसद्भिदीपशिखाचञ्चलमालीच वाच्यताच्युतिकामैरमल-
मण्डलशरदिंदुयु-
- 32 तिधवल्लयशोवितानच्छन्नभोभागमात्मानमिच्छद्भिरतिस्रच्छमनोभिरात्मच्छन्दतीयमयम'सदृश-
दायोनुमन्तव्यो(व्यः) [1*] व्यासादि-
- 33 मुनिनिगदितभूमिहरणपापपरिपाकजनिताश्च यामौर्यातना मनसि निधाय पूर्वधार्मिक-
नृपपरिकल्पितपञ्चमहापा-
- 34 तकसमयश्चावणाञ्च चिन्तयित्वा भूयो भूयो याच्यमानैरिदं न प्रसर्तव्यं स्मृतिकारोप-
दिष्टं(ष्टम्) [1*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिदः ।
- 35 आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरत्
वसुन्धरां(राम) । गवां शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुः प्राप्नोति किल्बिषं(षम्) ॥ स्वहस्तो-
- 36 यं समधिगताग्नेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्तश्रीजार्दकस्य [1*] तदादिष्टदूतकोच प्रतिहारकृतः
[1*] श्रीजार्द(इ)के'मलयशःप्रसरास-
- 37 विश्वे र्वि(वि)खासितामगुरुवन्धुजने स्वराज्यं(ज्यम्) [1*] भुञ्जत्यदोलिखदिह स्वधिया प्रसूतो
यो विक्रटाक्ष कपिलस्त्रिलोकः शकानां(नाम्) ॥

C.—An incomplete grant of King Rāṇaka.

This charter was originally engraved on two plates, but only the first of them has been recovered. It is much bigger in size than the other plates of this find, being $16\frac{1}{2}'' \times 12\frac{1}{2}''$ in dimensions. Its weight is $317\frac{1}{2}$ tolas, which is almost equal to the combined weight of the three plates of Charter A. There are two holes at the bottom intended for the two rings for holding the plates together. The second plate as well as the two rings are untraceable.

There are 22 lines engraved on this plate. The engraving on no other plates of this set is so shabby, slipshod and careless as that on this plate. Every line teems with mistakes and consideration of space renders their enumeration impossible here. They can be seen in the text and the appended footnotes. Apart from mistakes of engraving, there are mistakes of pronunciation

* Letters *yama* have been wrongly repeated.

* The shortening of *t* is required for metrical purpose. The real spelling is *Jāṭha*.

like *shyāmalita* for *śyāmalita* in l. 2, *sunū* for *sānu* in l. 11, *jaśō* for *yaśō* in l. 1, *yanō* for *janō* in l. 7, etc. Then there are mistakes of grammar, too, like *samabhavaḥ* for *samabhavat* in ll. 10-11. The draftsman also has made his own humble contribution to the prevailing chaos by framing a sentence at the end of the plate (ll. 18-22), the syntax of which is very defective.

The form of some characters of this record is considerably different from that of the Charters A and B. *Ma* and *na* are quite indistinguishable; cf. *simantini* in l. 2. The forms of the characters *ga* and *sa* are also somewhat different from those in Charters A and B. There are two forms of *ha*; both of them can be seen in the word *mahāmahindhra* in l. 14.

The record contains a grant of *Mahāsāmanta Rāpaka*, who was a son of king *Agguka* and a grandson of king *Kṛishṇarāja*. In his *Report on Twelve Copper-plate Inscriptions found at Ghumli*, M. M. Shastri Hathubhai Harishanker has advanced the view that *Rāpaka*, the grantor of this plate, should be identified with *Rāpaka*, the father of *Jāika I*, who according to the genealogy given in Charter F, was a son of *Agguka* and grandson of *Kṛishṇarāja*. He therefore regards this charter as the earliest of the present set. It is also possible to argue that the unusually large size of the copper-plate might probably indicate that it belongs to an earlier period, when the size of the copper-plates of its charters was not yet standardised by the secretariate of the dynasty. This argument is of course not very strong.

In view of the genealogical data of Charter F, the above view undoubtedly appears as the most plausible one, but there are serious difficulties in accepting it. A comparison of the text of the present charter with that of Charters A and B makes it clear that it presupposes the knowledge of the latter and is based upon them. Thus the expression *kēl-āhlādita-sakala-suhṛil-lōkaḥ* in l. 3 of the present charter gives no meaning whatsoever; it is an unintelligent abbreviation of *sva-hridaya-samākṛita-kṛta-vibhava-dāna-kēlā-samāhlādita-sakala-suhṛil-lōkaḥ* of Charters A and B, l. 4; similarly *karavāla ivā parivāra-nirapēkshaḥ* in l. 5 of this charter presupposes a knowledge of *karavāla ivā āpavarjita-sahaja-kalaṅka-śaṅkaḥ parivāra-rakṣa-ānapēkṣita-spashṭa-dṛishṭa-taktiḥ* of Charter A, l. 6 and Charter B, ll. 5 and 6. The present charter is thus later than Charters A and B, and cannot be therefore attributed to *Rāpaka*, the father of the donor of Charter B, though the names of his father and grandfather were *Agguka* and *Kṛishṇarāja* respectively.

It is no doubt possible to rebut the force of the above argument by contending that the present charter does not presuppose a knowledge of Charters A and B, but that all of them are based upon a still earlier grant, which served as the prototype for all the three charters. This contention is however purely hypothetical and will continue to remain so, till an earlier grant is actually discovered and shown to be the prototype of the drafts of the three charters.

There is another and a more serious objection to M. M. Shastri's view. If we accept it, the approximate time of king *Rāpaka*, the donor, would be 794-814 A.D.¹ Now the concluding five lines of the record would show that queen *Kṣhēmēśvarī* was his wife. This *Kṣhēmēśvarī* was very probably either a daughter or a sister² of the *Chāpa* king *Kṣhēmarāja* or *Kṣhēmēśvara*, the son of *Yōgarāja*, who is traditionally known to have ruled from 841 to 880 A.D.³ It is not very likely that a daughter or a sister of a king, who was ruling from c. 841 to 880 A.D., could have been married to another whose reign period is known to be c. 794 to 814 A.D. *Kṣhēmēśvara* was no

¹ *Ante*, p. 106. See the genealogical table.

² Kings *Harshagupta* and *Mahāsēnagupta* of the later Gupta dynasty had sisters named *Harshaguptā* and *Mahāsēnaguptā* respectively.

³ *Prabandhachintāmaṇī*, p. 14 (Singhi Jain Granthamala ed.).

doubt a man of about 40 at the time of his accession, but even this circumstance does not render the marriage of a daughter or a sister of his with Rāṇaka possible.

If Rāṇaka, the donor of our charter is not the same as Rāṇaka, the father of Jāika I, as suggested by the genealogy in Charter F, with whom then are we to identify him? The answer to this question is supplied by the data in Charter A. That charter was issued by Jāika as regent, when Agguka, the son of his half-brother Kṛishṇarāja, was ruling as a minor. Rāṇaka, the grantor of our plate, was a son of this Agguka. It would be seen that the names of his father and grandfather were Agguka and Rāṇaka respectively, as was the case with the grantor of our plate. A glance at the genealogical and chronological table given on p. 196 shows that the approximate time of the rule of this Rāṇaka was A.D. 859 to 879. It was thus possible for him to marry Kshēmēśvarī who was presumably a daughter of the Chāpa king Kshēmarāja, since the latter is known to have ruled from c. 841 to 880 A.D.

As against the view here proposed, it is possible to argue that it requires us to suppose that the Saindhava kingdom, which was already very small, was divided into as many as three branches during the latter part of the 9th century A.D. Known facts about divisions and subdivisions of kingdoms in India would show that there was nothing very unusual in it. The testimony of Charter F would further show that our hypothesis is almost inevitable; for ll. 5 and 6 of that charter show that during the latter half of the 9th century the Saindhava family-tree had a number of branches (*śākhā-saṁchaya*). We should not therefore be surprised if the data available at present showed that there were three branches ruling simultaneously at that time.

It is interesting to note that the claim to the overlordship of western Saurāṣṭra has not been advanced in this charter on behalf of the grantor, as has been done in the remaining charters of this set. This was probably due to the fact that after the usurpation of Jāika I, the branch of Kṛishṇarāja, though representing the senior line, was reduced to a humble status and did not wield much power and influence. To judge from the present charter, it would appear that it could not command the services of good poets and engravers also. The literary scholars of the day seem to have preferred the patronage of Jāika and his descendants, who had become the leading members of the Saindhava family.

The present charter is not dated, but since the grantor was a son of Agguka II, who was a minor in 513 G. E., we may presume that it may have been issued in c. 550 G. E. If the grant was in memory of a departed queen of the donor, as seems to be the case, then its date may probably be about a decade later. The present charter was thus very probably granted in the same decade in which Charter D, dated 555 G. E., was issued.

The charter records the donation of the village **Bhōṭālūkā** situated in the district of **Pachchhatrī**. The name of the donee does not occur in the first plate, which alone has been so far recovered. The concluding four lines of the first plate contain a part of the record, which described its object. Besides being incomplete, this portion is rather obscure, and so we cannot get a definite idea on the subject. If the emendations suggested by me in the text are correct, the record would seem to sanction a grant for the purpose of erecting a temple in memory of queen Kshēmēśvarī, who appears to have married the donor in a *svayamvara*. Or, it may be that the grant was made at the request of queen Kshēmēśvarī; this alternative, however, appears to me as less probable.

As observed already, Kshēmēśvarī was very probably a daughter of king Kshēmarāja of the Chāpa dynasty, who was a western neighbour of king Rāṇaka and ruling almost contemporaneously with him. M. M. Shastri has advanced a curious suggestion in this connection; he thinks that Kshēmēśvarī may have been a queen of Chāpa king Kshēmēśvara of **Apahilapattapa**, living

at Ghumli in separation from him.¹ There is nothing in the record to bear out this suggestion. The concluding sentence is no doubt difficult to construe; but it is almost certain that the word *ātmiyāyāḥ* in l. 18 has to be construed with *rājāi-Kāśmēśvāryāḥ* in l. 22; Kāśmēśvari was thus a queen of the donor. L. 19 describes her as superior to thousands of women in her character. She therefore was not likely to be a lady living in a kind of judicial separation from her husband; such women were held in contempt by Hindu society. In ll. 21-22, the donor is referring to her constancy to the marriage vow taken in the presence of the sacred fire. She must therefore have been his own wife, and not the wife of a contemporary of his living in separation at his capital.

The village granted was Bhēṭālikā, situated in the district of Pachchhatrī. As its boundaries are not given, it is difficult to identify it with certainty. M. M. Shastri has suggested that it should be identified with *Vaḍāla*, which is now a railway station on the Junagad State Railway, about 7 miles north of Junagad.² There is, however, another village named *Bhāṭāla*, about 24 miles north-north-east of modern Pāchhtardī, whose name has a greater phonetic resemblance to that of Bhēṭālikā. It is more probable that this may have been the village granted.

TEXT.³

First Plate.

- 1 ॐ⁴ स्वस्ति [1*] भूताम्बि(म्ब)लिकातः [1*] आशी(सी)संपूर्णप्रकाशशरनि(त्रि)शा-
कररश्मी(श्मि)प्रतानविष(श)दनियजसो(निययशो)-
- 2 राशिष्या(श्या)मलितसमस्तशत्रुसामंतसौमंतिनौवदस्त्रा⁵रविन्दु(न्द)युतिः प्रलयकालविजृम्भितज्व-
- 3 लनज्वालावलीकल्पप्रु(प्र)तापप्रसर(रो) हेलाह्लादितसकलसुहृद्वोकः प्रणमदु(दू)र्जितानेकसर-
- 4 मनीर्यितमहाभियनराजंनो⁶विस्ततदीर्घोष्णनिश्वासपवनस्पर्ष(र्ष)निर्मलतरोमवन(व)स्वदर्पण-
- 5 च्छायाः(यः) पृथिव्यामाद्यौ(यै)भूतः[*] करवालैव⁷ परिवारनिरवपेक्षः⁸ केवल एव
निर्वु(र्व्यू)टानेकसमरसाहस-
- 6 महोत्सवः श्रीमत्सैन्यववंशप्रसृतः समधिगताशेषमह(हा)सामंतश्रीकृष्णराजः [1*] तस्य प्र-
- 7 यितानेकगुणगणसमाह्लादितसज्जनजनमन[*]प्रसर[*] केवलं जननिजभुजवीर्योपार्जितप्रणति-
यनो⁹
- 8 प्रभुज्यमानलक्ष्मी(क्ष्मी)विभवती(स्त्री)ल्लोत्खातकरवालनिशितहा(धा)राविस्फुरत्किरणनिवहदूरो-
क्षा-

¹ M. M. Shastri, *Report on Twelve Copper-plate Inscriptions found at Ghumli*, p. 9.

² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

³ Edited from ink-impression.

⁴ Indicated by a symbol.

⁵ The letter looks like *khnā*; read *vadanā*.

⁶ Read -*samara-nirjita-mahābhijana-rājany-ō*.

⁷ Read *karavāla* *iva*.

⁸ The letter *va* in this word is superfluous, read *nirapēkṣaḥ*.

⁹ Read *pranayajana*.

SIX SAINDHAVA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM GHUMLI:
C.—AN INCOMPLETE GRANT OF KING RANAKA.



- 9 रितरिपुतिमिरनिकरो बहुडा(धा) दुर्धारवैरिकरिक(कं)ठनिर्दलितनिपतनंदेमल¹मुक्ताफलचर्चि-
- 10 तसंग्रामभूमि² अनवरतप्रवृत्तदानार्द्रोक्तकरो दिग्ज³ इवात्मजः श्रीमदनुकाभिधानः स-
- 11 मभवः(वत्) [1*] तस्य 'सुनूरनवरतनिपतन'च्छरशा(सी)त्कारसू(शू)न्योक्ततरिपुडरापिडो⁴ अनारतप्र-
- 12 ज्वलदूर्जितप्रतापानलमुष्टसकलद्विषदिभ्यनसमूह[:*] परिभ्रमःनि(मन्नि)र्मलज(य)शःप्रत्यय-
दंति-
- 13 दंतस्व(स)दावदातद्व(ध)वलीकृतसकलदिक्कु(क)चक्रवालः संकल्पोचितफलनिकरच्छायोपे-
- 14 तो महामहिम्न⁵ इव प्रकामान(ने)कद्विजसमाश्रयो नाम्नाः(न्ना) समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दम-
- 15 हासामंतश्रीराणकः भू(स)विदित[:*] सर्वान(ने)वाक्मीयां(यान्) स्वान्मन्त्रि(न्नि)प(पु)री-
हितामात्यसेनापतियुवराज-
- 16 राजस्यानौयवलाधिकृतोपरिकविम(ष)यपतिशौखिकदुःसाध्यसाधनिकचोरोदरगिकवैचेपिकभट्ट-
(ट)चार-
- 17 भटादिसमस्तराजपुरुषांतं⁶निवासिनः ब्राह्मणोत(त्)रा[न्*] वर्णिक(न्न)हत्तरकुटुम्बि(म्बि)नः
समनुबोद्ध(ध)यत्यस्तु व[:*] सं-
- 18 विदितं यथा मया स्वभुज्यमानपच्छचीविप्रयां(या)न्तःप्रा(पा)तिभेटालिकाभिधानग्रामः(म)
आत्मीयाया[:*] प्रचुरतरविम-
- 19 लगुणगणविजितान्यस्त्रीसहस्र(सं) चरितां(तं) स्वभावचरितमानसेन विचार्याव्यभिचार्यं
तीर्थ(र्थं) कौलपुत्रं(न्न)माकल-
- 20 य्य स(सं)यममवडा(धा)र्यार्थ्यजनपृती(प्रीति)जननमती¹⁰उत्तमालोच्य¹¹शौचं विलोक्य सकल-
लोकभू(प्र)-

¹ Read -*nipalad-amala*.

² Read -*dhāmīr-anavarata*.

³ Read *dig-gaja*.

⁴ Read *śūna*.

⁵ The letter *na* in this word is superfluous; read -*nipatach-chhara*.

⁶ Read -*dhārāpīṭhō-nārata*.

⁷ Read *mahā-mahidhra*.

⁸ Read *purushāms-tan-nivāsīnō*.

⁹ The word *charita* is used in the sense of *tushṭa*.

¹⁰ Read -*jananam mti*.

¹¹ This reading is rather doubtful. The letter preceding *cha* has a faint resemblance to a defective *śa*.

21 त्वचा'निष्ठता(ता) इ(ध)मिष्ठता(ता) स्थाननियमस्य प्रसाद[*] प्रासादारोपणस्येति
कृत्वाग्निसा-

22 चिकाचीणप्रौतिरक्षणनिमित्तवयय^१ कृतपरिण[य*]नाया राज्ञीश्रीदेवमेध्वर्या

D.—Grant of Rāpaka of a subordinate Saindhava branch, G. S. 555.

This grant has been engraved on a set of two copper-plates, each of which is 12½"×9" in size. Near the edge of the plates there are two holes intended for the rings to secure the plates together. Only one ring has been preserved. Its ends are however not embossed with any seal. The fish emblem of the dynasty appears at the end of the inscription on the second plate. This method of putting the seal of the dynasty immediately at the end of the inscription is followed in the remaining charters of this series, as also in some other plates issued by its later members. In a way it is no doubt a better method to prevent additional matter being interpolated in the documents in the space lying vacant at the end of the record, as was done by the grantee of Charter A. The seal emblem on the ring does not prevent such a tampering with the original record.

The weight of the plates together with the ring is 331 *talas*. 24 lines are engraved on the first plate and 22 on the second. Though the duct of the handwriting of the present charter is graceful, its engraving has been done very carelessly. As a consequence it teems with mistakes, though they are not so numerous as those in Charter C. The left side of the first plate has not been properly dressed. The engraving instrument has slipped from the engraver's hands in several places. In l. 36 however the engraver has corrected a mistake and inserted the letter *mā* (*ma*), which was accidentally omitted, just below the line near its proper place.

The observations made about the language and characters of Charter A hold good about this record also. Only a few additional remarks are necessary. The form of *sa* of this record is of the normal type and differs from that in Charter B, where it can be hardly distinguished from that of *ma*. The distinction between the forms of the letters *s* and *ś* is real, though rather subtle. The form of the letter *rtha* in *sārtha* in l. 7 is noteworthy. The mark for an *avagraha* appears in a few places, e.g., *garīgō-* *para* in l. 1, *Dubbāsantō-* *sakrid* in l. 9, etc., but it is omitted in most cases. The mistakes of *sandhi* are quite numerous in the record. The punctuation is very defective, the punctuation mark being unnecessarily inserted in several places; see ll. 11, 12, 16, 20, 31, 37, 38, etc.

The charter is partly in prose and partly in verse. The metrical portion consists as usual of the imprecatory verses occurring at the end, and of two verses coming thereafter giving the date of the record and the name of the composer. In ll. 30-1, there are two more verses in the *Āryā* metre,² which give the names of the donees. These verses are not easy to detect, because some of the adjectives qualifying a noun in the first of them occur in the earlier prose portion. The composer of the record is **Vakula**, son of **Viṭṭhaka**.

* Read *pratyaksha-nishkathā*.

¹ It is difficult to construe this sentence satisfactorily; I would tentatively suggest the following construction:—स्थाननियमस्य प्रसादारोपणस्य प्रसादः सकलजीवमन्त्रनिष्ठता इमिष्ठता इति कृत्वा

² Read *-nimittāya*.

³ My attention was drawn to these verses by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra.

The grantor of the present charter is **Mahāsāmanta Śrī-Rāpaka**, who was a grandson of king **Jāika I** of Charters A and B through his son **Agguka**. Ll. 21-24 of the record inform us that **Agguka**, the father of the donor, eventually subdued the desire for pleasures, which he had long enjoyed, and decided to crown his son himself, noticing how **Lakshmī**, the goddess of Royal Fortune, had become eager to be united with his son **Rāpaka**, who had become quite capable of bearing the burden of administration. The coronation of the son took place in the lifetime and under the supervision of the father. How **Agguka**, the father of **Rāpaka**, was probably not the eldest son of his father **Jāika I**, and how his abdication in favour of his son was probably due, less to *vaṛāgya* and more to an apprehension that his elder brother **Chāmuṇḍarāja** may resume his principality after his death, has been already shown in the general introduction (*ante*, pp. 193-194).

The date of the present charter is given in words in l. 44; we are told that it was issued when five hundred and fifty-five years of the **Gaupta-samaya** had elapsed. As the name and day of the month are not given, the precise date cannot be ascertained. We can only say that it was issued sometime in A.D. 874-5.

The village granted by the charter was **Pippalapadra**, situated in the district of **Savarṇamañjarī**. Half of its revenues were assigned to a group of temples dedicated to **Hari**, **Hari-daśva** (the sun), **Vināyaka** and the **Divine Mothers**, which were erected on the outskirts of the city by **Śivarudra**, who was a *karpāṇin*, i.e., an ascetic dressed in rags. The donee of the other half of the village is curiously enough not specified; we are told that it was assigned to *kasmaichin=maṭha-patayē*, to a certain head of a *maṭha*. This *maṭha-pati* was probably not the chief priest in charge of the temple, where these deities were installed; for then the wording should have been *etan=maṭha-patayē*.¹ L. 32 also refers to the separate enjoyment of the property by the group of the temples and the chief of the *maṭha*. The chief of the *maṭha* was also to utilise the property for the upkeep of the temple and its worship; he was therefore associated probably with another temple. Like numerous temples and *maṭhas* of the medieval period in South India, this *maṭha* may also have been a religious and educational establishment; our record, however, has nothing to say on the point.

Of the places mentioned in this grant, **Pippalapadra**, the village granted, must have been one of the numerous villages in western **Kāthiāwār** which bears at present the name of **Piplia**. It is not possible definitely to identify **Savarṇamañjarī** the headquarters of the district in which this village was situated. It may be one of the villages bearing the name **Sompur**, which exists at present in northern **Kāthiāwār**. Or, it may be the village **Sōnwāriā**, which is 12 miles north-east of **Ghumli**. The latter identification looks phonetically more probable, but there is one circumstance going against it. The village **Dadhīpadra**, given in Charter B, was so close to **Sōnwāriā**, that one would expect it to be located in **Savarṇamañjarī** district, and not in **Pachchhatrī** district as that charter states. I am unable to identify **Dēpḍanībhaṭṭa** village, to which the first donee belonged.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

1 ॐ स्वस्ति [1*] स्वस्ति लकामरावतीसंभवर्द्धिस्वर्द्धिभूतांबिलिकाभिधाननमरौगरीयोपरसु-
राद्रामण्डलमण्ड-

¹ An alternative reading *etan=maṭh-adhipatayē* would have suited the exigencies of the metre as well.

² From ink-impressions.

³ Indicated by a symbol.

- 2 नोपरसमुद्राधिपतिरासील्लपूर्णप्रकाशशरन्निशाकररश्मिप्रतानविशदनिया(ज)यशोराशिः(शि)श्या-
मलितसगर्वश-
- 3 क्षुसामन्तसीमन्तिनोवदनारविन्दद्युतिः प्रलयकालविजृम्भितज्वलनज्वालावलीकक्षानल्पप्रसरत्य-
तापः स्वह-
- 4 दयसमीहितहितविभवदानहेलासमाह्लादितसकलसुहृलोकः समररसभरधरोदुरोर्जितजितप्रण-
तवैरिशिरो-
- 5 रा(र)त्नष्टम्भाणस्फुरच्चरणनखमयूखचित्रपादपीठप्रान्तः करवाल इवापवर्जितसहजकलङ्क-
शङ्कः प-
- 6 रिवाररक्षानपेक्षितस्यष्टदृष्टशक्तिरनष्टाभिमुखापतद्विपचक्षतिविहामूलप्रणतोत्तरोत्तरप्रहृष्टायशा-
लिश्री-
- 7 मल्लैश्वर्यवंशशेखरः समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्तश्रीजार्दकः [1*] सुतोभवत्तस्यापि
चापिरिपुसार्यकदर्थ-
- 8 नासप्रयः प्रोक्षर्पदुष्काहभरो भरत इवाचलदुचितचरितसमाराधितरामो भारतमल्लसृ(ढ)-
तीयः(य)पार्थ इवापार्थकीक-
- 9 तजगदुदितकीर्तिः(र्त्ति)दुर्धरधनुर्धरो वृकोदर इव सततरुधिरपानकरणास्फुरणीकृतदुःशास-
नोऽसकृदपसहि(हसि)तदुर्योधन-
- 10 च । सर्वतः स्वगर्वतः समुत्कारितरिपुतिमिरनिकरो दिनकर इव प्रवर्द्धमानतेजोरा-
शिरशिशिरप्रतापसंतापितासि-
- 11 हससामन्तसपन्नयनः शार्ङ्ग(ङ्ग)धन्वेव¹ पृ(प्रि)यसत्योति[दूर*]विचित्रनरकोपद्रवशङ्कः ।²
शङ्कर इवाभिनन्दितपार्वतीयजनो ज-
- 12 नोदितसहजपुरुषकारातिरेककरदौकृतप्रातिराज्यभूभृदुत्करः ।³ ऐचि कृपाणपाणिभिरपि रिपु-
भिरभिभवोद्भू(डू)तसम्भा-
- 13 न्तनयनैर्नयनैपुणसाफल्यप्रकटीभवत्पुण्यसंभारः(रो) भारतीसमानन्दितप्रणयिजनो जननीचरणा-
रविन्दवन्दनस(सं)-
- 14 स्व(व)र्द्धितकीर्त्तिप्रतानोऽतनुतनुशोभाभाविततरुणीजनमनःप्रसरः समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहा-
सामन्तश्रीमदगुकः [1*]

¹ What looks like a medial 3 sign here is due to the slipping of the instrument.

² The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary here.

[illegible]

- 15 तस्माच्च शक्तियुतः शंकरादिव शिखिवाहनः श्रुतिविशुद्धमानसी मुरारिनाभिपद्मादिवः(व)
कमलयीनिः सकललोकलोच-
- 16 नानन्दकरः क्षीरसागरादिव रजनीकरः कलिकलङ्कमलिनीकृतं कृतयुगसंभवं सञ्चरित-
चित्रमिवोन्मूलयितुं ।¹ धर्मादिवाजा-
- 17 तद्युः समुत्पन्नः(नः) समासवप्रणयिजनो(न)मनःसमौहितार्थसकललोकसंपादनक्षमः क्षधि-
(पि)तविपक्षव(व)ध्वमललोचना-
- 18 नवरताश्रुजलसंतापशमितकोपानलप्रसरो निरतिशयनिश्चितनिस्तं(स्त्रिं)श्रविद्युज्जतापरिचिप्तवर्धि-
रिपुमेघवन्द-
- 19 स्यन्दद²नवरतरक्तोदविन्दुधार(रा)सारतयासक्तदुपदर्शिताकालजलदट्टट्टिविभ्रमोनभ्रदोषापगमा-
सादितोदयो भा-
- 20 नुरिवानुरक्तमण्डलो विपक्षभूध्वस्तकन्धस्तसान्द्रारुणपादय ।⁴ मेरुविव स्थितिमान(न्) ।⁴
विवुधजनानन्दितमानसव
- 21 स्यादुज्जलोदन्वानिव गभीरो मधुररसाशंसितगुणसमृद्धिव । यव जीवि(व)तैव पित्रा
चिरक(का)लोपभुक्तानां विषय(या)-
- 22 णां निवृत्ताभिलाषेण सांप्रतमयमेवाखण्डलसमानधामा महावराह इव भुवो मण्डल-
भरधुरा वोदु(दुं) स-
- 23 मयं इति मन्यमानेन तत्समागमोत्कण्ठितां च राजलक्ष्मी(क्ष्मी) परिकलयता समलि-
(सुत्ति)समङ्गलकलशेन स्वपाणि-
- 24 नाभिषिष्य सिद्धा(सिंहा)सनमधिरोपितः समधिगताशेषम[हा³]शब्दमहासामन्तश्रीराणकः
सर्वा-

Second Plate.

- 25 नैवात्मीयान्ध्रचिपुरोहितामात्यजनपदयुवराजराजस्थानीयप्रमात्रि(व)वलाधिकृतोपरिक-
- 26 विषयपतिशौक्लिकदुःसाधसाधनिकचोरोदरार्णकवैत्रेपिकचारभटादिसमस्तराजपुरुषान्(पां)-
- 27 त(स्त)न्निवाभिब्राह्मणोत्तरान्वणिस्रहत्तरकुटुम्बिनः समनुवोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यया
मया स्वभुज्यमानसुवर्ण-
- 28 मंजरीविषयसंगृहीतपिप्पलपद्माभिधानग्रामस्थार्द्धममुना देण्डनीभट्टग्रामभुवा भट्टशंसुधर-
पौत्रेण पू-

¹ The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary here.

² Read -*sampāda*.

³ The correct form is *syandamāna*.

⁴ The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

⁵ Between the letters *ti* and *ra*, there is space for one letter, where probably a letter was first engraved and then erased.

- 29 एर्णस्तुना वसिष्ठगोत्रेण बहुचसन्नह्वारिणा शिवरुद्राभिधानेन कर्णटिना वाद्यालीपरि-
सरमनु सन्निवि*]-
- 30 शिताभ्यः ।¹
हरिहरिदम्बविनायकमावभ्यो भक्तिभारमुद्वहता ।
दत्तं करभोगयुतं सहदण्डदशापरार्धं चा(च) ॥१*॥
अस्यैवा-
- 31 परमहं ग्रामस्य तथै[व*] कश्चरीपेतं(तम्) ।
कश्चेचिन्मठपतये देवान्तयपालनारतये ॥२*॥
एवमिमं स[म*]स्तमपि ग्रामं भुञ्ज-
- 32 तो देवकुलानां मठस्य वायुपजनसरस च² खण्डस्फुटितादिमांसाचमाचरतो न केन-
चिद्देशाधिपतिना परिपंथ-
- 33 ना कार्या । भाविभिरपि भद्रनृपतिभिरक्षदंशजैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवगच्छद्भिः-
(द्वि)रनित्यान्यैश्चर्याणि ।³
- 34 मातुष्यकमपि प्रवलमारुताहतपद्मिनीपत्रनिहितजललीलमाकलय्य दुःप(दुष्य)रिहरभ्रंशं
क्षणिकञ्च जीवि-
- 35 तमालीक्ष्यातिप्रचुरकदर्थनासंचितमर्थजातमनिलसंगिदीपशिखाचंचलमालीक्ष्य ।⁴ वाच्यतायुति-
कामैरम-
- 36 लमण्डलगरदिन्दुद्युतिधवलयशोवितानच्छन्नभोभागमात्मानमिच्छद्विरतिस्त्रच्छमा⁵(म)नोभिराल-
ङ्गं(च्छं)दतीयमस-
- 37 इर्मदायोतुं(तु)मन्तव्यः ।⁶ व्यासादिमुनिनिगदितभूमिहरणपरिपाकजनिताश्च यातना मनसि
निधाय पूर्वधार्मिक-
- 38 नृपपरिकल्पितपञ्चमहापातकसमयथावणां च चिन्तयित्वा भूयो भूयो याचमानैरिदं
न प्रश्नार्त्तव्यं ॥⁷ शु-
- 39 तिकारोपदिष्टं(ष्टम्) ॥ पटिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । पाच्छेना(त्ता)
चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥३*॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा

¹ This punctuation mark is intended to separate the preceding prose portion from the following two verses.

² Read *cōpy-uparāna-sarashā cha*.

³ For *-māmanācha*, read *-samakāra*.

⁴ This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

⁵ This letter *mā* (*ma*), which was left out, has been later engraved below the line under the letter *mā*.

- 40 यो हरेतु(त्तु) वसुधरां(राम) । गवां शतसहस्रस्य हतुः(न्तुः) प्राप्नोति नि(कि)न्वि(न्वि)-
षं(षम) ॥४*॥ विन्ध्याटवौष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । कृष्णाह-
- 41 योभिजायन्ते देवदायापहारकाः ॥५*॥ लोहचूर्णाश्मचूर्णं च विषञ्च जरयेन्नरः ।
ब्रह्मस्वं त्रिषु लोकेषु कः पुमान्न-
- 42 रयिष्यति ॥६*॥ यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्क[रा*]णि ।
निर्मात्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम सा-
- 43 धुः पुनराददीत ॥७*॥ बहुभिर्बुधैः भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य
यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥८*॥
- 44 संवत्सरपंचगतीं संपंचपंचाशतं समधिरुह्य । गोमे सप्यति समये ग्रामं श्रीराणकः
प्रादात् ॥९*॥ स्वहस्ती-
- 45 यं समधिगताग्नेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्तश्रीराण[क*]स्य ॥ श्रीराणके मञ्जीमृति विद्वक्-
सूनी च लिपिक-
- 46 रे वकुले । स्वयमव दूतकीभूद्यवराजो जां(जा)ई(इ)^१कः श्रीमान् ॥१०*॥^२

E.—Grant of king Agguka III; Gupta Samvat 567.

This grant has been engraved on a set of two-copper plates, which were once secured together by means of two rings passing through two holes pierced near the edge. Only one of these rings has been preserved at present. There is no fish seal of the dynasty embossed at the place where its ends have been joined together as is the case with the rings of Charters A and B. We find the fish emblem appearing at the end of the charter on the second plate as is the case with Charters D and F.

The size of the first plate is $14\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9\frac{3}{8}''$ and that of the second $14\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9\frac{1}{2}''$. The weight of both the plates together with the extant ring is 386½ tolas.

There are 18 lines on the first plate and 19 on the second. Generally speaking the characters are similar to those of Charter D, but the form of the letter *ka* is slightly different. It is interesting to add that the characters of this charter show a close resemblance to those of the Onā plates of Avanivarman II,³ issued 16 years earlier from South Kāthiāwār. The engraver of the charter was a good calligraphist, and his flourishes of medieval *ē, ai, ō* and *dau* are graceful. There are however several mistakes in engraving and they become very numerous in the last four or five lines. At two places, however, in ll. 13 and 17, two accidentally omitted letters, *ka* and *na* respectively, have been engraved just below their proper place.

¹ The shortening of *i* is required for metrical purpose.

² There is a circular symbol between two sets of *daṇḍas* at the end of the line.

³ *Ante*, Vol. IX, plate between pp. 130-131.

With reference to orthography, attention may be drawn to the use of the *avagraha*. In some cases like *pri(pri)ya-satyô-'tidūra*- ll. 9-10, its use is normal, but in two cases it has been used when a preceding *ā* has been coalesced with a succeeding *a*; cf. *Bhūtāmēlik-ā'bhidhāna*- l. 1 and *sāratay-ā'sakrid*, l. 16.

The language of the charter is ornate Sanskrit. The writer Jhōjjha, who was a son of Mādhava, has introduced some new similes and metaphors, which to some extent relieve the monotony which cannot but be felt by a reader of the present series of charters. This same writer has composed Charter F of the present series issued in Gupta Saṁvat 596, and the Morbi plate of Jāika issued in Gupta Saṁvat 585. Jhōjjha obviously seems to have lived to a ripe old age.

The present charter records a village-grant made by Mahāsāmantādhipati Agguka III of the main Saindhava house, who was a son of king Chāmuṇḍarāja and grandson of Jāika I. We have already discussed the circumstances, which make it very probable that Agguka III represented the senior of the two lines founded by the two sons of Jāika I (*ante*, pp. 195-196). We may only add here that the title of Agguka III *Mahāsāmantādhipati* is more exalted than that of his cousin Rāpaka of Charter D, which is merely *Sāmantādhipati*.

The date of the present grant is given in words in its penultimate verse, which states that it was made on a new moon day when five hundred and sixty-seven autumns had elapsed according to the Gupta era. As the month of the new moon is not given, the precise date of the grant cannot be found; it must have been issued sometime in A.D. 886-7.

The donees of this grant were two brothers, Rudra and Sāgara, sons of Guhēśvara, who were Yajurvedin Brāhmaṇas of Vatsa *gōtra* residing at Gōmūtrikā situated in the district of Kāryāyātakachchha. The grant was given to the donees not for their own individual use, but for being utilised for the purpose of the local Brāhmaṇa assembly, of which they were probably trustees or leading members; cf. *brahma-saṁśad-upabhōgyatāyai*, l. 25. The precise purpose of the grant is not stated; it is however probable that the Brāhmaṇas of Gōmūtrikā, which appears to have been a holy place, may have been maintaining some educational institutes or temples or both, and the grant may have been intended to meet the expenses in that connection.

The village granted was Harishēpāpaka, situated in the district of Svaraparnajari. Its boundaries not being given, it cannot be identified with certainty; but it is probably the same as the modern village Hariāsana, situated in Nawanagar state as has been suggested to me by the Dewansaheb of Porbandar after a careful enquiry. I am unable to identify the village Gōmūtrikā from which the donee hailed or the district of Kāryāyātakachchha, in which it was situated.

In l. 23 of the present charter there are a large number of fiscal terms mentioned in connection with the revenues of the village granted, the purport of which is difficult to make out. It would appear that some of them like *caṇṇāṅki* and *chāngolā* are Sanskritised forms of Prākṛit words. They are not to be met with either in Sanskrit or Prākṛit dictionaries. *Bhāga-bhāga-kara* and *da'āpgrādha-daṇḍa* are usual expressions in land grants and require no comment. *Dāsi* in old Gujarātī denoted a customs officer; so *sarova-pāt-ābhyaḡāmi-dānya* would probably denote octroi duties on articles imported. *Pātra* means a boat, and so *pōtrā* may denote the tax on articles imported in boats. *Mārgaka* might denote some levy realised from persons who had got back their lost articles, or it may be a levy on goods collected on the roadside (before they entered a city), as suggested to me by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 ॐ² स्वस्ति [१*] स्वस्त्व(स्ति)लकालकासम्भवर्द्धिभूताम्बि(म्बि)लिका³ऽभिधाननगरीगरी-
योपरसुराद्रामण्डलमण्ड-
- 2 नीपरसमुद्राधिपतिरासौत्सपूर्णशरनिशाकररश्मिप्रतानविशदयशोराशिश्चामलितसगर्वसामन्तसौ-
मन्तिनीवद-
- 3 नारविन्दद्युतिः प्रलयकालविजृम्भितज्वलनज्वालावलीकल्पानल्पप्रसरत्पतापः स्वहृदयसमी-
हितहितविभवदान-
- 4 फलसमाह्ला(ह्ला)दितवन्भुजनः समररसभरोदुरीर्जितजितप्रणतवैरिगिरीरत्नदृष्टमाणस्फुरच्चरण-
नखमयूखख-
- 5 चितपादपीठमात्त(न्तः) करवाल इवापवर्जितसहजकलङ्कशङ्कः परिवाररक्षानपेक्षा(क्षा)-
तिस्सष्टदृष्टशक्तिरपरिमितस्त्रिध-
- 6 तरपक्षशाखासङ्ख्यशालिश्रीमत्सैन्धववंशशेखरः समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्ताधिपतिश्री-
जार्ङ्कः [१*] सुतोभव-
- 7 तत्स्यापि चापिरिपुसार्यकदर्यनासमर्थप्रोत्थर्यदुक्ताहभरो भारतमङ्गः(ङ्ग)द(स्तु)तीयः(य)पार्थ
इवाशाववीकृतजगदुदितकीर्त्तिर्दुर्ध-
- 8 रघनुर्धरो वृकोदर इव सततरुधिरपानास्फुरणीकृतदुःशास'नोसक्तदपहसितदुर्योधनस्य सर्वतः
स्वगर्वतः समुत्था-
- 9 रितरिपुतिमिरनिकरो दिनकर इव वर्धमानतेजोराशिरशिशिरप्रतापसंतापितोत्तुंगच्छाभदंगः
शार्ङ्गधन्वेष्ट पृ(प्रि)यस-
- 10 त्वोऽतिदूरविचित्रनरकोपद्रवाशङ्क्य श(शं)कर इवाभिनन्दितपार्वतीयजनो जनोचितसहज-
पुरुषकारातिरेककरदीप्त-
- 11 तप्रातिराज्यभूभृत्(द्) भारतीमाधुर्यसमानन्दित'सकलप्रणयिजनमनःप्रसरः समधिगताशेष-
महाशब्दमहासामन्तश्री-

¹ From ink-impressions.² Indicated by a symbol.³ This *anagrade* is unnecessary.⁴ The engraver first engraved the letter *la* and then transformed it into *su* without erasing the loop of *la*.⁵ A very small *la* has been unnecessarily engraved above the line between *ndi* and *la*.

- 12 चामुण्डराजाभिधानोतिधन्यस्तनयोभवत्तस्माच्च शक्तियुक्तः शङ्करादिव शिखिवाहनः श्रुति-
विशदमानसो मुरारिनाभिपद्मा-
- 13 दिव कमलं योनिः । सकललोकलोचनानन्दकरो रत्नाकरादिव रजनिकरः कलिकलङ्क-
मलिनोक्तकृतयुगसंभवं सच्च-
- 14 रितचित्रमिवोन्मील[यि*]तुं धर्मादिवाजातशुभसुत्पन्नः(वः) समासवप्रणयिजनमनःसमीहि-
ताधिकफलसम्पादनक्षमः क्ष-
- 15 पितविपक्षव(व)धमललोचनानवरतश्रुतजलसंपातशमितकोपानलप्रसरो निरतिशयनिशितनिस्तुं-
(स्त्रिं)शविद्युक्तापरिज्ञ-
- 16 तवर्म्मिरिपुमेघवृन्दस्यन्दद'नवरतरक्तोदवि(वि)न्दुधारासारतयाऽ'सक्तदुपदर्शिताकालजलददृष्टिविभ-
मोऽ(ऽ)नम्बदो-
- 17 पापगमासादितोदयो भानुरिवानुरक्तमण्डलो विपक्षभूषणस्तकन्यस्तारुणपादय मेरुरिव
स्थितिमान् विबुधजनान्'न्दि-
- 18 तमानसश्च प्रणतसमस्तनृपगणममृणष्टयुललाटतटशिलादृष्ट्यमाणचरणनखमयु(यू)खविवेपो-

Second Plate.

- 19 ज्वलीकृतनिजमहिमसंचयः समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्ना(न्ता)धिपतिश्रीमदम्बुकः सर्वार्-
नैवात्मोयानमात्य-
- 20 पुरोहितजनपदयुवराजराजस्थानीयोपरिकवलाधिकृतविषयपतिशौक्षिकदुःसाधसाधनिकचौरोड-
रणिकवेत्ते-
- 21 पिकचारभटादिसमस्तराजपुरूपान् तन्निवासिब्राह्मणोत्तरान् वणिग्म(स्त्र)हत्तरकुटुवि(स्त्रि)नख
समनुबोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं य-
- 22 या मया स्वभुज्यमानस्वर्णमज(ज्ज)र्यभिधानविषयसम्बद्धमानः पु(पू)र्व्वप्रसिद्धचतुर्द्विक(क्व)-
रिच्छन्(व)स्वसौमासमवेतः सभोगभागः सद-

* The sentence ends with -bhavat, and so there should have been a *daṣṭa* after that word.

* The letter *la* is inscribed below the line under the letter *ma*.

* Read either -*navarat-eruta-jala* or -*navarat-āru-jala*.

* The correct form is *syandamāna*.

* This *avagraha* mark is unnecessary.

* The letter *na* is written below the line between the letters *ad* and *ndi*.

* Read -*purushāma-tan*.

E.—GRANT OF KING AGGUKA III; GUPTA SAMVAT 567.

0 पुणेति ज्ञापयत्युक्तं वा वा ॥ अथोपायं प्रवक्ष्यामि तत्रोपययत्ति ॥ १ ॥ २०
 १ ॥ २ ॥ ३ ॥ ४ ॥ ५ ॥ ६ ॥ ७ ॥ ८ ॥ ९ ॥ १० ॥ ११ ॥ १२ ॥ १३ ॥ १४ ॥ १५ ॥ १६ ॥ १७ ॥ १८ ॥ १९ ॥ २० ॥ २१ ॥ २२ ॥ २३ ॥ २४ ॥ २५ ॥ २६ ॥ २७ ॥ २८ ॥ २९ ॥ ३० ॥ ३१ ॥ ३२ ॥ ३३ ॥ ३४ ॥ ३५ ॥ ३६ ॥



- 23 ण्डदशापराधः सर्वपाताभ्यागामिदान्युपोचामार्गकप्राहुणकवैटंकीचिह्नोलादिनिमित्तनैमित्ति-
कपुरस्सरसमगोपादानस-
- 24 हितः सवृत्तमालाकुलः(लो) देवदायब्रह्मदायवज्रो हरिषेणकाभिधानग्रामः कार्यायात-
कच्छविपयातः(न्तः)पातिगोमूचिका-
- 25 भिधानस्थानवास्तव्यवच्छ(त्स)सगोत्रवाजिमाध्यन्दिनसब्रह्मचारित्राह्मणगुहेख[र*]सुतरुद्रसागरा-
भ्यां ब्रह्मसंसदुपभोग्यतायै पयः-
- 26 पूर्वमासूर्याचन्द्रमसाव(व¹)धिः सन्तत्युपयोगाय स्वपुन्य(ख)यशोभित्वये ब्रह्मदायः प्रति-
पादितोऽस्य² च भुञ्जती न केनचिद्देशाधि-
- 27 पतिना परिपत्यना कार्या [i*] भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिरस्मदशयै(जे)रन्यैर्वा सामान्यं
भु(भू)मिदानट(फ)लमनित्यान्यैश्चर्याणि मानुष्यकमपि
- 28 प्रव(व)लमारुताहतपद्मिनौपचस्थितजल[ल*]वल्लोलमाकलय्य दुःप(दुष्य)रिहरदुःखं चणिक-
ञ्च जीवितमालोक्य च³तिप्रचुरक-
- 29 दर्शनासञ्चितमर्थजातमनिलसंगिदौपशिखाचञ्चलमालोच्य वाच्यताच्यतिकामैरतिस्वच्छमनोभिर-
यमस्मदन्मदायोनुम-
- 30 न्तव्यः [i*] व्यासादिमुनिनिगदितभूमिहरणपापपरिपाकजनिताश्च यातनाः(ना) मनसि
निधाय पूर्वधार्मिकनृपपरिकल्पितपञ्च-
- 31 महापातकसमयः(य)श्रावणां च चिन्तयित्वा भूयो भूयो याच्यमान्यैगच्छित⁴भिरिदमनुस्म-
त्त(र्त्त)व्यं स्मृतिकारोपदिष्टं वचः [i*] षष्टिं वर्ष-
- 32 सहस्राणि स्वर्गो तिष्ठति भूमिदः [i*] आच्छेता(त्ता) चानुमंता च तान्येव नरकां(के)
वसेत् ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां स्वा(वा) यो हरेन्तु(त्तु) वसुन्धरां(राम्) [i*] गवां शत-
सहस्र-
- 33 स्य हंतुः प्राप्नोति किल्बिषं(षम्) ॥ यानीह दत्तानि पू(पु)रा नरेन्द्रैर्हीनानि धर्मा-
र्थयशस्कराणि [i*] निर्वाक्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि की नाम साधुः

¹ Read = śūrya-chandra-śaśāṭṭh. The vedic expression, śūrya-chandramasau, denoting the dual divinity of the sun and the moon, was in the writer's mind here; he has combined it with the word śaśāṭṭh following.

² A sandhi has been wrongly made here between the last word of the first sentence and the first word of the next sentence. Read pratipāditaḥ । Aśya

³ Read = śāṭṭh-āṭṭh.

⁴ Read = nātrāṅgāmīḥir=.

- 34 पुनराददीत ॥ बहुभिर्बुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा
भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(जम्) ॥ इति कमलदत्ताम्बु(बु)वि(वि)न्दुलोला(ला)
35 त्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यकोचि(जीवि)तश्च [1*] सकलमिदमुदाहृतं(त)श्च बुधा(द्वा) न हि
पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलाप्याः ॥ स्वहस्तोयं श्रीमदङ्गुलस्य ॥ सप्त-
36 युय(त)षष्टिसंहिते शरदां शतपं(प)ञ्चके गते गौते [1*] स्वर्भानुयोगम(मि)न्दौ दधति
शुचाविदमदाह्नितियः(पः) ॥ इयमभ्यलेखि सुधिया वने(र्ष)ततिर्मा-
37 धवस्य तनयेन [1*] गुणिना शासनसंज्ञा शोभन्नि नराधिपादेशात् ॥ इति ॥

F.—Grant of king Jāṅka II; Gupta Samvat, 596.

This record has been engraved on a set of two copper-plates, which have been held together by means of two rings passing through two holes made near the edge. The fish symbol, the insignia of the dynasty, is not embossed on either ring, but is engraved at the end of the second plate. The size of the 1st plate is $13\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10\frac{1}{2}''$ and that of the 2nd $13\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10\frac{1}{2}''$, and the weight of both the plates and the rings is $495\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. They are thus much heavier than the other plates of this set.

21 lines have been engraved on the first plate and 20 on the second. The engraving has been done fairly well, though there are several mistakes. The *mātrās* for medial *i* and *ī* show graceful and sweeping curves; the same is the case with the left-side limb of *la*. The language and the characters are similar to those of Charter E issued by the father of the present donor. As there have been introduced as many as seven ancestors of the donor in the genealogy, and as only two plates were to be used for the record, the description of the earlier rulers has been done briefly in two or three adjectives only. Many of the phrases and expressions used in this connection are new, though unfortunately most of them are quite useless for the purpose of the historian.

As to orthography, the only observation that need be made is about the punctuation. It is very defective. A large number of punctuation marks have been unnecessarily used in the record; see ll. 13, 17, 21, 23, 24, etc.

The grant recorded in this charter was made by Mahāsāmantādhipati Śrī-Jāṅka II, son of king Agguka who had issued Charter E. The present charter gives the longest genealogy, going back to the 7th ancestor of the donor. It has been already discussed in the general introduction. We may only add here that the members of the collateral families founded by Kṛishṇarāja, brother of Jāṅka I and by Agguka, brother of Chāmuṇḍarāja II, are naturally omitted from this genealogy.

The charter has been dated both in words and in numerals; ll. 39 and 40 inform us that it was issued on the full-moon day of Āshāḍha when five hundred and ninety-six years had elapsed according to the Gupta era. In the absence of further details, the exact date cannot be verified, but it was most probably Thursday, the 29th of June 915 A.D., when there was the full-moon day of Āshāḍha.

The charter records that the revenues of the village Chhampāḡaka were assigned to Sāhē Janārdana and others to be spent for Nanna-maṣhikā, which had been founded by a merchant

named Nanna, hailing from Bhīllamāla or modern Bhinmal. This *Nanna-maṭhikā* may have been a mere temple like *Purushōttama-maṭhikā* to the north-east of which it was situated. But Nanna as the name of an Indian deity is not known, and the temples named after their founders usually bear an *īśvara* suffix added to their founders' names. Thus a temple founded by Nanna would be known as *Nannēśvara* and not merely as *Nanna-maṭhikā*. *Maṭhikā* or *maṭha* also denotes a place where spiritual and educational lessons are imparted, and ll. 27-8 lay down that Sāhē Janārdana and others, who were to hold the property, were expected to be engaged in sacred studies. It is therefore probable that what Nanna had done was to found a school or college rather than a temple; or his temple itself may have become a seat of learning, as was the case with so many shrines of ancient and medieval periods. One-fourth of the revenue of the village was to be utilised for feeding Brāhmaṇas every day; these may have included the poor students of the college. Three-fourths of the income was to be utilised for the expenses of the *maṭha*, probably consisting of the pay of the teachers, stipends to students, and worship of the temple, if it was included in the *maṭha* establishment.

Of the places mentioned in the record, *Svarṇamañjarī* and *Bhīllamāla* have been already met with. The village *Chhampāpaka* that was granted was probably the same as modern *Chāvapḍ*, situated about 15 miles north of Junagad. If we are correct in holding that the rather cryptic expression, which gives the boundaries of the village, states that the village *Īśvarāpaka* was to its north, then the above identification would become very probable, for to the north of modern *Chāvapḍ* is situated the village of *Īśvariā*. Other boundary villages however cannot be traced in the survey maps.

TEXT:

First Plate:

- 1 ॐ^१ स्वस्ति [१^२] स्वस्ति कालकासंभर्वा^३स्वर्द्धिभूतावि(वि)लिकाभिधाननगरीगरीयोपर-
सुधा(रा)द्रामण्डलमण्डनोपर-
- 2 समुद्राधिपतिश्रीमज्जयद्रथवंशेश्वरः श्रीपुष्पदेवाभिधानः चितिपतिर्बभूव । तस्य च
कुवलयदलश्यामलैक-
- 3 चारुकरभ्राजमानानवद्यपुष्करतया^४ विनायकौकृतसा(स)कलसपद्ममण्डलः श्रीकृष्णराजनामा
न(त)नयोभवत् ।
- 4 तस्यापि विपुलविपुलविप्रतीकपयोधिवलजलनिमग्नस्वभूमण्डलोदरसौकर्यलीलाप्रकटितमहा-
- 5 वराहमहिमा श्रीमदमुकाभिधानस्तस्यापि निमित्तनिस्तुं(स्त्रिं)शपातचतविपचक्षतिचरत्तत-
जराज्यनुरज्यमा-

^१ From ink-impressions.

^२ Indicated by a symbol.

^३ The word *pushkara* is here used in the unusual sense of a sword.

^४ The word *tanayak* has been probably omitted here through inadvertence.

- 6 नाजिचितितलजयथीः श्रीराणकनामा¹ तस्य च प्रणमदूर्जितानंतसामंतमसृणपृथुललाट-
तटशिलाशाणाट-
- 7 व्यमाणस्फुरच्चरणनखमयूखविशेषोज्ज्वल(ली)कृतनिजमहिमसंचयः ।² अनेकनिकपटवलिपं(धं)-
धप्रबंधप्रकटित
- 8 सातिरेककृतयुगव्यवस्थः ।³ एकाचुतोरस्वलावस्थानावसौदस्मानस्येव श्रिया समाश्रु(त्रि)त-
सर्वावयवः श्रीजाई-
- 9 कनामा सूनुरभूत् । तस्य च समग्रशरच्चिशाकर⁴रश्मिप्रतानविशदयशोराशिश्चामलितस-
गर्वशत्रुसामंत-
- 10 सीमंतिनौवदनारविंदद्युतिः प्रलयकालविजृंभितज्वलज्वलनज्वालावलीकल्पानल्पप्रसरत्प्रतापः
श्रीचा-
- 11 मुण्डराजाभिधानस्तनयस्तस्माच्च(च) शक्तियुक्तः शक्त(इ)रादिव शिखण्डिवाहनः श्रुतिविश्रु-
[इ*]मानसो मुरारिनाभि-
- 12 नलिनादिव नलिनयोनिः सकललोकलोचनानंदकरो रत्नाकरादिव रजनिकरः कलिक-
लंकमलिनौ-
- 13 कृतं कृतयुगसंभवं सच्चरितचित्त(च)मिवोन्मीलयितुं धम्मा(म्मा)दिवाजातशत्रुः समुत्पन्नः(जः) ।⁵
सकलप्रणयिजनम-
- 14 नःसमीहिताधिकफलसंपादनकल्पपादपः क्षपितविपक्षप(व)ध्वमा(म)ललोचनानवरतमुताश्रुज-
लसंपा-
- 15 तशमितकोपानलप्रसरो बहुविपक्षपश्रवधसिद्धिसमरमखदीक्षाचार्यः ।⁶ श्रीमदगुकाभिधा-
नोतिधन्य-
- 16 स्तनयोभवत्त⁷स्य च तुरगखरखुरमुखोन्खातवहलवलधूलौवितानजायमानसमदकरिकरटगलि-
- 17 तदानजलसीकरासारजनितपंकानुबंधः कृपाणधाराभिहतायतध(व)र्म्मयतसमुद्दीर्घवज्रिस्फुलिंग-
खद्यो-
- 18 तमालाखचितसमरदुर्द्दिनः ।⁸ पृथुर्यशसि ।⁹ अजातशत्रुर्वचसि ।¹⁰ तपनस्तेजसि ॥¹¹ मरु-
त्तरसि कंदर्पो वयसि ।¹² ज-

¹ A word like *zeta* has to be supplied here. — From Charters A and B, we know that Bāpaka was a son of Agguka.

² This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

³ The letter *ra* is defectively engraved : the right hand horizontal stroke is missing.

⁴ After *-bācar*, a punctuation mark should have been inserted to mark the end of the sentence.

F.—GRANT OF KING JAICA II; GUPTA SAMVAT 596.

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19 नको मित्राजसि¹ ।² समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामंताधिपतिश्रीजाईकः सर्वानिवामात्य-
युवराजराजपु-

20 चदेशाधिपतिविषयाधिकृतदुःसाध्यसाधनिकचौरोदरणिकवैद्येपिकचारभटादिकसमस्तुराज-

21 पुरुषा(घान्) समान्नापयप³त्वेवं यथा ।⁴ मया स्वर्णमंजरीविषयसंव(व)दयमानकंपाणकाभि-

Second Plate.

22 धानग्रामः सभोगभागः सवृत्तमालः सदण्डदशापराधः करहिरण्वादानयुतः समस्तोपा-

23 दानसहितः ।⁵ दानीमार्गणकादियथादेशकालगृह्यमाणसमस्तोपादानसहितो देवदायत्र-
(त्र)ह्यदा-

24 यवर्जः ।⁶ लूषापटक ईश्वराणक ।⁷ भ्रमरकक ।⁸ हुडुवि(वि)लिकाख्यैश्चतुर्भिः
प्रतिगोष्ठीग्रामैः पूर्वदिदिक्(ड)मध्या-

25 वस्थितैराघाटायमानैः स्वभुवा कृतसीमापरिच्छिन्ति(त्तिः) प्राक्तनसमस्तस(श)स्तसीमापर्यतो
भूताम्बि(म्बि)लिकापत्तन-

26 स्वतलमध्यवत्ति(त्ति)प(पु)रुषोत्त(त्त)ममधि(ठि)कासनिहितपूर्वोत्तरदिग्भागावस्थितायै श्रीभिन्नमा-
लीयव्यवहरक(हारिक)ननकृतप्र-

27 तिष्ठायै तन्नामांकितायै नन्नमधि(ठि)कायै तदुपयोगिव्ययनिमित्तं साहेजनाईनादिषु कृत-
पालनाविधिषु यथाकालं

28 भवन्तु स्वाध्यायिषु स्वधर्मयशोभिद्वयै पयःपूर्वमा शशांकतपनार्णवस्थितेः प्रतिपादितः ।
चतुर्थेच भागोऽस्य

29 ब्राह्मणानां प्रातिदिवसिकभोजनव्यये कर्त्तव्यः । भागचयं तु मधि(ठि)काय्ये व्ययो-
कार्ये[म्*] । अथ चैवमुपयोगे व्रजतो

30 न केनचिद्देशाधिपतिना व्यासेधः परिपंथना वा कार्या । भाविभिश्च भूमिपतिभिः
सामान्यं भूमिदानफलं ।⁹ अनित्या-

31 न्यैश्वर्या[णि*] मानुष्यकमपि प्रबलमारुताहतपद्मिनीपचस्थितजललवलोलमाकलय्य दुःप-
(दुष्प)रिहरदुक्खं(दुःखं) च-

¹ The meaning of this clause is not clear. Probably a word denoting quality has been omitted after Janakā, and we have to read for the last four letters *mītram-añjasi* 'a friend in straightforwardness'. *Añjas*, n. means velocity and *añjasi* adj. has the sense of honest, straightforward.

² This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

³ The letter *pa* is redundant; read *samājñāpayaty-*.

- 32 शिकं च जीवितमालोच्यातिप्रचुरकदर्शनसंचितमर्त्यजातमनिलसंगिदीपं(प)शिखाचंचलमा-
लोच्यायमममम-
- 33 दायोनुमंत[व्य*]: । व्यासादिमुनिनिगदितपूर्वधार्मिकनृपप¹रिकल्पितपंचमहाप(पा)तकसम-
ययावर्णा च चिंतयित्वा प्र-
- 34 तियाचनानुवज्जमानै[:*] सत्तर्थं स्मृतिकारोपदिष्टं वचः । षष्टि(ष्टि) र्व्व(व)र्षसहस्राणि
स्रर्गे तिष्ठति [भू*]मिद[:*] ।* आच्छेत्ता चानुमं-
- 35 ता च ताव्येव नरकं वसेत् ।[*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिर्य-
(भिः । य)स्य [यस्य*] यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ।[*] स्वदत्तां प-
- 36 रदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुंधरां(राम्) ।[*] गवां शतसहस्रस्य हं(ह)न्तुः प्राप्नोति
किल्बिषं(षम्) ॥ विध्या(भ्या)टवि(वी)श्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः ।
- 37 महाहयो हि जां(जा)यंते ब्र(ब्र)ह्मदायापहारिणः ।[*] इति कमलदत्तांबुविंदुलोलां
श्रियमनुचिंत्य मनुष्यजीवितं च ।[*] स-
- 38 क[ल*]मिदमुदाहृतं च बुद्ध्वा(द्वा) न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ।[*] पड-
धिकनवतिसमग्रे शरदां शतपंचके गते गो-
- 39 मे । अहिताषाढीपर्व्वणि भूपतिरेन(नं) च² सप्तम्या ।[*] इयमभ्यलेखि सुधिया वर्ण-
ततिर्माधयस्य तनयेन । गुण-
- 40 वति शासनसंज्ञा क्षोर्मेन पटे नृपादेशात् ।[*] संकतोपि संवत् ५००, ८०, ६
(५८६) आषाढशुदि १०, ५, (१५) स्वहस्तोयं श्रीजाई-
- 41 कस्य³ ॥ उद्विग्नदे⁴मिह सूचधारयंकरसुतमधुसूदनेनि(न) ॥⁵

¹ The second pa has been engraved below the line under the first pa.

² The letter cha has been engraved below the line between aa and aa. There is no verb in the verse; *bhūpati-śam dāya bhakti* would therefore be a better reading.

³ Letters *ka* and *ya* have been engraved at the end of this line, just before the fish symbol. The division of the king's signature in this queer way may be due to two causes. The idea to engrave the royal sign manual may have occurred later after the whole record was engraved; the space left at the end of l. 40 was utilised for this purpose and when this was found insufficient, the two concluding letters were shoved in between the space lying vacant between the two symbols and the fish symbol at the end of the last line. Or, the engraver Madhusūdana thought that the whole record, including the royal signature, could be finished in l. 40, but before finishing that line he hurried to record his own name in l. 41. When eventually l. 40 was later completed and it was discovered that the last two letters of the king's signature could not be accommodated in that line, there was no alternative but to put them between the symbols at the end of l. 41. Had the engraver been not impatient to put his own name before finishing the record, this queer division of the king's name would not have been necessitated.

⁴ Read *Udviṅgnade*. Probably the form of the word in the text discloses the standard of the knowledge of Sanskrit of the engravers' class.

⁵ There are two conch-like symbols after the punctuation mark. They are followed first by the letters *ka* and *ya* and then by the fish symbol. The first symbol looks like the fish symbol.

No. 23.—A NOTE ON THE DATE OF THE SOMAVAMSI KINGS OF SOUTHERN KOSALA.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHTI, M.A., NAGPUR.

In his article¹ on the date of the Pāṇḍava or Sōmavamśī kings of Southern Kōśala, Mr. A. Ghosh has attempted to show that the date (viz., the second quarter of the sixth century A. D.) which I had tentatively assigned to Tivaradēva of the Sōmavamśī dynasty is too early. According to him Tivaradēva may be placed in the last quarter of the seventh century A. D.

The main argument advanced by Mr. Ghosh is palaeographical. He has shown by a palaeographical chart that the test letters *bh*, *y*, *ś*, *s*, and *h* in the so-called Bhāṇḍak inscription² of Nannarājādhirāja, the father of Tivaradēva and the Śirpur inscription³ of Mahā-Śivagupta *alias* Bālārjuna, the grand-nephew of Tivaradēva, are more developed than those of the Āraṅg copper-plate inscription⁴ of Bhīmasēna II. This latter inscription comes from Chhattisgarh and as such its evidence is most valuable. Following the late R. B. Hiralal who has edited the plates in this Journal, Mr. Ghosh takes the date of this inscription to correspond to A. D. 601. As the inscription of Nannarāja exhibits more developed forms of the test letters, Mr. Ghosh thinks that the ascription of that inscription to a date earlier than A. D. 650 is a palaeographical impossibility. He therefore tentatively places Tivaradēva, the son of Nannarāja or Nannadēva, in the last quarter of the seventh century A. D.

It is indeed true that the aforementioned test letters have more developed forms in the inscriptions of Nannarāja and Mahā-Śivagupta-Bālārjuna, but these inscriptions need not on that account be referred to a date later than A. D. 650. As the accompanying palaeographical chart⁵ will show, these test letters had assumed these later forms even before A. D. 600, for we find all of them in the Bodh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman, dated A. D. 588. In this inscription *bh* and *s* have a hollow wedge attached to the left corner; *y* has become bipartite; *ś* in some cases shows its right vertical stroke projecting a little above its top and the right limb of *h* hangs down. The same developed forms are noticed in the Madhuban plate of Harsha, dated A. D. 631⁶. It may be objected that both these inscriptions come from North India and consequently their evidence is inadmissible for fixing the date of such southern records as the inscriptions of Nannarāja and Mahā-Śivagupta. I would, in that case, invite attention to the forms of the test letters in the plates of the time of Śaśāṅka, dated A. D. 619-20, which come from the Ganjam District. In all these inscriptions which range in dates from A. D. 588 to 631, we find the same developed forms of the test letters that we notice in the inscriptions

¹ Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 266 ff.

² *J. R. A. S.*, for 1905, pp. 617 ff. As I have shown elsewhere (above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 116 ff.), the inscription did not probably belong to Bhāṇḍak, but came originally from some place in Chhattisgarh.

After this note was sent to the press, my friend Mr. Y. K. Deshpande of Yeotmal who has recently returned from England supplied me an extract from a manuscript (Marāṭhī, D 46) deposited in the India Office Library, London. This MS. contains an account of the inscriptions in Chhattisgarh by Vinayakrao Aurangabadkar who was in the service of Mr. Richard Jenkins, the British Resident at Nagpur from 1807 to 1826. In this account Aurangabadkar states that the stone slab containing the inscription of Bhavadēva was affixed to a large temple at Āraṅg. He gives a transcript and a short description of the contents of this record which leave no doubt about its identity. This has unexpectedly corroborated my conjecture about the provenance of this inscription which was long in doubt.

³ Above, Vol. XI, pp. 184 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 342 ff.

⁵ The letters in this chart have been traced as accurately as possible from the published facsimile plates of the records.

⁶ Above, Vol. VII, p. 158.

of Nannarāja and Mahā-Sivagupta. These forms may have become current about A. D. 550.¹ This will show that the dates which I had assigned to Tivaradēva and Mahā-Sivagupta are not altogether wide of the mark.

How then are we to reconcile the evidence of the Āraṅg plates? As shown by Mr. Ghosh, these plates present earlier forms of the test letters, but they are dated A. D. 601. I think there is a mistake in the reading of the date which is given in lines 12-13 of the inscription. R. B. Hiralal read the date as *Guptānām saṁveatsara-śatē 200 80 2 Bhādra di 10 8* and translated it as 'in the year of the Guptas in hundreds 200, 80 2 (in the month of) Bhādra, on the day 10 8 (?)'. It is plain that the writer intended to give the year of the date both in words and in figures, but omitted inadvertently some expression like *dev-aśīty-uttarē* after *saṁveatsara-śatē*². Is there a similar mistake in the expression *saṁveatsara-śatē* also, the intended expression being *saṁveatsara-śata-devayē*³? I do not think so, because firstly, the characters of the inscription are, as shown above, much earlier than A. D. 601-2 to which the record will have to be assigned if the intended reading is *saṁveatsara-śata-devayē dev-aśīty-uttarē*; secondly, the symbols which follow give the date 182, not 282. As in other records of the period, the date is expressed here by numerical symbols. The first symbol stands for 100, since the horizontal bar which is added on the right of its vertical to change it into one for 200 is wanting here. The date of the Āraṅg plates is thus G. E. 182 (not 282) which corresponds to A. D. 501-2. This fits in admirably with the evidence of its early characters.

None of the inscriptions of the kings of Śarabhapura and those of Śōmavarmanī kings is dated in any era. The dates of these kings can therefore be fixed only approximately. In my article on the Thākurdīyā plates of Mahā-Pravararāja, I tentatively assigned Tivaradēva to the period 530 to 550 A. D. on the supposition that he was a contemporary of the Vishnukunḍin Mādhavarman I who is known to have married a Vākātaka princess. The contemporaneity of Tivaradēva and Mādhavarman I was suggested by the expression *Trivara-nagara* which occurs in two inscriptions⁴ of the latter. Mr. Ghosh takes *Trivara-nagara* to mean the city of Tripurī, but this interpretation is doubtful because the name of the city current in the sixth century A. D. was Tripurī⁵, not Trivara. Even if Trivara is regarded as a partially Prakritized form of Tripurī, it is not clear why such a corrupt form should occur not once but twice in records which are throughout written in good Sanskrit. The other arguments of Mr. Ghosh are more or less conjectural.

¹ Dr. Hoernle has shown that subsequent to A. D. 540 the cursive bipartite form of *y* is found in undisputed possession of the field (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 35), but the Harāhā stone inscription dated A. D. 534, in which the old tripartite form of *y* is used together with the later bipartite form of the letter, indicates that the older form persisted a little longer.

² Compare the wording of the dates of Nos. 1267, 1270, 1275, 1280, 1284, 1290, etc., in Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*.

³ Compare the wording *nav-śītarē-bda-śata-devayē* of the date of No. 1298 of Bhandarkar's *List*. I do not think that the expression *saṁveatsara-śatē* in the date of the Āraṅg plates is nominative dual (meaning two hundred years); for the locative (and not the nominative) is generally used in such cases. See the wording of the dates cited in note 2 above.

⁴ See the Ipūr plates, above, Vol. XVII, pp. 334 ff. and the Palombūru plates, *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 17 ff.

⁵ The *Tripurfeishaya* is mentioned in the Bēṭel plates of Saṅkahābha, dated G. E. 199 (A. D. 518-19), above, Vol. VIII, pp. 234 ff.

PALAEOGRAPHICAL CHART RELATING TO THE DATE OF THE
SOMAVAMSI KINGS OF SOUTHERN KOSALA.

	ĀRAṅG PLATES OF BHĪMAŚĒNA II, A.D. 501.	BHĀNDAK(?) INSCRIPTION OF NANNARĀJĀDHIRĀJA	BODH GAYĀ INSCRIPTION OF MAHĀNĀMAN A.D. 588.	PLATES OF THE TIME OF ŚĀŚĀṆKA RĀJA A.D. 619.	MADHUBAN PLATE OF HARSHA A.D. 631.
६h	॥	॥	॥	॥	॥
y	य	य	य	य	य
४'	म	म	म	म	म
४	य	य	य	य	य
h	॥	॥	॥	॥	॥

It is not of course altogether unlikely that Tivaradēva flourished a few years later than the period I have tentatively assigned to him. The inscriptions of Bhīmasēna II, the kings of Śarabhapura and the Sōmavamśi kings come from the same part of Chhattisgarh¹. These kings seem to have flourished in the order stated above. As we have already seen, Bhīmasēna II was ruling in A. D. 501-2. He seems to have been overthrown soon afterwards by a king of Śarabhapura, probably Mahā-Jayarāja, who coming from the East² seems to have established himself in Chhattisgarh. The plates of his cousins Mahā-Sudēvarāja and Mahā-Pravararāja also have been found in Chhattisgarh. We may assign about thirty years³ to the reigns of these three princes. Mahā-Pravararāja, the last king of this line, seems to have been overthrown by Indrabala, the son of Udayana, who may have invaded the country during the campaign of the Maukhari king Isānavarman against an Āndhra king. No inscriptions of Indrabala have been discovered in Chhattisgarh, but those of his sons Nannarāja and Isānadēva have been found there. We may assign about thirty years to the reigns of these princes. The stone inscription of Nannarāja thus may have been incised about A. D. 550. This would account for the developed forms of the test letters in that record.

Tivaradēva the son of Nannarāja or Nannadēva may thus have come to the throne about A. D. 560. He was probably a contemporary of the Vishnukunḍin king Mādhavarman I whose Pulombūru plates⁴ suggesting his victory over Tivaradēva, I have tentatively assigned to A. D. 565. Tivaradēva becomes also a contemporary of Sūryavarman, the Maukhari prince mentioned in the Harūhā stone inscription⁵ dated A. D. 554. This Sūryavarman is probably identical with the homonymous king of 'the Varman family great on account of its supremacy over Magadha', whose daughter Vāsaṭā was married to Tivaradēva's nephew Harshagupta.

¹ The inscription of Bhīmasēna was found at Āraṅg, those of the kings of Śarabhapura at Āraṅg, Khariar, Sīrpur, Raipur, Sāraṅgarh and Thākurdīyā and of the Sōmavamśi kings at Kharod, Rājim, Balodā, Sīrpur and Āraṅg. It is not of course absolutely certain that the copper-plate inscription of Bhīmasēna II found at Āraṅg properly belongs to Chhattisgarh, as the identification of the place-names mentioned in it is not beyond doubt. But in the following discussion I have taken for granted that Bhīmasēna II was ruling in Chhattisgarh. Śūra, the first king mentioned in the Āraṅg plates of Bhīmasēna II, is perhaps identical with Sūryaghōsha mentioned in the stone inscription of Nannarāja, who originally built the temple of Sugata (Buddha) which was later on repaired during the reign of Nannarāja. In Sanskrit *Śūra* and *Sūrya* are synonyms.

² The capital of these princes until the time of Mahā-Pravararāja was Śarabhapura, which may be identical with Śarabgarh in the Gāṅgpur feudatory state in Orissa.

³ This period might appear unusually short for three reigns, but we have to remember that the total of the known reign-periods of those three kings is not more than 18, viz., 5 years of Jayarāja (Āraṅg plates), 10 years of Sudēvarāja (Raipur plates) and 3 years of Pravararāja (Thākurdīyā plates).

⁴ Some scholars take this Mādhavarman to be the third prince of that name, notwithstanding the fact that like Mādhavarman I of the Chikkullā plates (above, Vol. IV, pp. 193 ff.) he is credited with the performance of 11 *Āśvamedhas* and 1,000 sacrifices. These scholars take Mādhavarman who is similarly described in the Rāmatirtham plates to be Mādhavarman II. As Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao has observed, "other princes of the dynasty, who had not the fortune of being called Mādhavarman, are not credited with having performed any sacrifices. It cannot be explained why the family tradition made the celebration of horse-sacrifice, etc. the monopoly of Mādhavarman". *Journal of the Department of Letters, Cal. Univ.*, Vol. XI, p. 48. It seems therefore better to identify these three princes.

⁵ The characters of this inscription are not earlier than those of the Āraṅg plates as Mr. Ghosh thinks. It presents the bipartite *y* in several places, see e.g., *yōshītā*, l. 1; *yaurana*, l. 8; *yō*, l. 9; *nādūy-māra*, l. 14, etc.; the right hand vertical of *ś* in some cases rises a little above its top, see *raṅga-āraṅga*, l. 3; *migh*, *āśāśī*, l. 6, etc.; *śā* and *ś* have a wedge on the left though it is not yet hollow. The inscription thus clearly appears to be later than the Āraṅg plates.

The contemporaneity of Tivaradēva and Sūryavarman makes this matrimonial alliance of the two royal families quite likely. The capital of the Maukharis was not, of course, situated in Magadha, but the country was probably included in the Maukhari Empire during the reign of Isānavarman, the father of Sūryavarman, as he is said to have carried his arms as far as Gauḍa. Until another king of the name Sūryavarman becomes known, it seems better to accept this identification.

The Sōmavāhī kings thus flourished in Chhattisgarh in the sixth and seventh centuries A. D.

No. 29.—TWO RECORDS OF PARANTAKA I FROM TAKKOLAM.

By the late Mr. A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

Takkōlam is a village in the Arkonam taluk of the North Arcot District. It has an old temple of the Chōla type, which contains epigraphs dating from the time of the early king Āditya I, one of which has already been published¹. The god of this temple was in ancient times called Tiruvūral-Mahādēva, because of the existence of a natural spring in the temple precincts and this name has been Sanskritised into the present appellation of Jalānāthēvara.

The two short inscriptions² published below as A and B are engraved on a narrow belt on the base of the central shrine of this temple. The characters in which they are engraved are attributable to the 10th century A. D. and the language of the record is fairly correct Tamil. A few omissions of letters are noticeable here and there, due perhaps to the carelessness of the engraver. In point of orthography, there is nothing very particular to notice, except that the letter *rā* is written both in the ordinary manner and with the secondary length added as a separate symbol. Sanskrit letters are used for some words such as *Parāntakadēva*, *Dhanmāsana*, etc., in record A, while they are in Tamil characters in the other epigraph. The verbal suffix *āḍam* is spelt as a separate word in some instances, and also in combination with the preceding verb in other cases. The Dakṣiṇāmūrti shrine on the southern side hides from view some portions in both the records but as their wording is nearly identical, the missing words can be surmised and the full texts of the records restored fairly completely.

The records are dated in the 31st year of Madiraiṇṇa Parakāsarivarman, i.e., Parāntaka I, and they register two gifts of 30 *kaḷāṇṇu* each made by the daughter of Śōlaperumāṇḍigaḷ (i.e., the Chōla king) Parāntaka (A. D. 907-953) who is also further described as the Mahādēviyār (queen) of Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar. Her personal name is mentioned in the record B as Vīramādēviyār. These gifts are stated to have been left separately in the charge of the ūr (assembly) of the two villages Chammalalai in Dāmar-kōṭṭam and Urāḍagam in Maṇayil-kōṭṭam, for the supply of oil for burning a perpetual lamp each in the temple of Tiruvūral-Mahādēva at Takkōlam. The records are important in that they mention a Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar as the son-in-law of Parāntaka I; and though the dynasty to which he belonged is not specified, it is possible to identify him with the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda IV for whom records are found from about A. D. 918 to at least A. D. 933-34.

The name Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar is composed of two parts—'Gōvinda' the personal name and 'Vallavaraiyar' the dynastic title. From Rāshtrakūṭa copper-plate grants it is learnt that

¹ *Asie*, Vol. XIX, p. 81. The historical and other facts connected with this village have been mentioned at some length in that article.

² Nos. 245 and 246 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1921.

Dantidurga, an early king of this dynasty, who defeated the Chālukya king Kirtivarman of Bādāmi, was the first to assume the title of *Prithivīvallabha*¹. This title curtailed into 'Vallabha' (and 'Ballaha') became a particular *biruda* of the subsequent kings of this family², and was used either by itself or in conjunction with the respective proper names of the kings, such as Nirupama-Vallabha³, Indra-Vallabha⁴, Kṛishṇa-Vallabha⁵, etc. The kings bearing the personal name of Gōvinda were also similarly referred to as Gōvinda-Vallabha⁶ or Gojjiga-Vallabha⁷, by the addition of the title 'Vallabha' to their name of Gōvinda or Gojjiga. A bilingual record from Tiruvorriyūr in the Chingleput District dated in the 18th year of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kaṇṇaradēva 'who took Kachchi and Tañjai' (i.e.), Kṛishṇa III, registers a gift made by a merchant of Mānyakhāṭa, the Rāshtrakūṭa capital, who is described as '*vaiśyō Vallabha-bhūmipāla-mahātō yō Mānyakhāṭ-ō(d)bhavaḥ*'. The Tamil counterpart of the same epigraph refers to this merchant as a '*Vallavaraiyar kaṭakattu eyāpāri*'. Another inscription⁸ from the same temple refers to Kṛishṇa III as 'Vallavaraiyar Kaṇṇaradēva', and registers a gift made by his mother Pūlaichchī-Rāṇiyār. From these instances, it is evident that the Rāshtrakūṭa kings used the title of 'Vallabha' and its Tamil equivalent of 'Vallavaraiyar' to indicate their dynasty, in the same way as Pāṇḍiyānār signified a Pāṇḍya king and 'Sēramāpār' a Chēra ruler. Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar of the records under consideration can therefore be identified as a member of the Rāshtrakūṭa family. Though the titles Vallavaraiyar and Pallavaraiyar may have been sometimes used by petty nondescript chieftains in later times, the fact that this Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar had married the daughter of the powerful Chōla king Parāntaka marks him out as a great personage presumably of royal status.

Who could have been this royal personage by name Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar, who belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty and who flourished in this period? From the records copied hitherto in the Madras Presidency⁹ as well as in the Bombay-Karnāṭak¹⁰, it is learnt that there was such a king answering to the name of Gōvinda-Vallabha or Gōyinda-Vallabha, who flourished in the first half of the 10th century A.D. His earliest record¹¹ is dated in Śaka 840 corresponding to December A.D. 918, and his last record¹² so far known bears the date Śaka 855 corresponding to A.D. 933-4. He was thus a contemporary of Parāntaka, and there is nothing inherently improbable in his having married a daughter of that Chōla king. In fact it can be inferred from some Chōla records that Chōla-Rāshtrakūṭa alliances dated from the time of Kṛishṇa II himself, as will be shown in the sequel.

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, pp. 11 ff. and *ante*, Vol. VI, p. 191.

² [It is more probable that the *biruda* of 'Vallabha' which had been borne by the Chālukya kings was adopted by the Rāshtrakūṭas as their political successors.—N. L. R.]

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, No. 50 (No. 73 of 1904) wherein the king is called Indra-Vallabha, while in No. 57 the form Indra-Ballaha occurs. Nityavarsha Nirupama-Vallabha occurs in B. K. No. 47 of 1933-34.

⁴ Kṛishṇa II was called Kṛishṇa-Vallabha (*ante*, Vol. VII, p. 190 and f. n. 1). Kṛishṇa III was called Akhilavarsha and was referred to as Vallabha also (*ante*, Vol. IV, p. 276). In No. 502 of 1915 the king is referred to as Ratta-Ballaha only.

⁵ No. 297 of 1918 (*S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, No. 61). He was also called simply as Vallabha-Narēndra (*ante*, Vol. VII, p. 27).

⁶ The form Gojjiga-Vallabha occurs in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 249, Gojjiga being a local dialectical form of Gōvinda.

⁷ No. 177 of 1912.

⁸ No. 179 of 1912. The actual expression is 'Vallavaraiyar Kaṇṇaradēvar tāyār Pūlaichchī-Rāṇiyār'.

⁹ No. 297 of 1918 of Gōvinda-Vallabha is dated in Śaka 833 (*S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, No. 61).

¹⁰ Śāngli plates of Gōvinda IV are dated in Ś. 855 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 249).

¹¹ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII, p. 223, also B. K. No. 63 of 1933-34.

¹² No. 540 of 1915 is dated in Śaka 854 and the Śāngli plates in Ś. 855. Also *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Hounāji, Nos. 21-23.

From the facts known about the reign of Gōvinda, the trend of events between the years A. D. 930 and A. D. 940 may be surmised to have been the following : Gōvinda IV was an unpopular king and his ministers and feudatories were conspiring to depose him. In about A. D. 934, Gōvinda IV went to the help of the Eastern Chālukya king Yuddhamalla, when the latter was hard-pressed by Bhīma II, but in the fight that ensued the Rāshtrakūṭa army suffered a crushing defeat. At the same time in the beginning of A. D. 935, the political upheaval at the Rāshtrakūṭa capital came to a head, resulting in the accession of Amōghavarsha III, and Gōvinda IV unable to face the strong party of his enemies at home, fled to the court of his father-in-law Parāntaka I. Gōvinda's records in the Rāshtrakūṭa territory stop with A. D. 933-4 and from about A. D. 935-6, his successor Amōghavarsha III was in occupation of the Rāshtrakūṭa throne, helped by his able and ambitious son Kṛishṇa III. It is possible that as a fugitive Gōvinda IV kept on for some time in the Chōḷa territory, where he was probably staying at the time of the Takkōḷam records in A. D. 937. From the statement in the Sōḍi plates¹ of the Gaṅga chief Būtuga II that on the death of Baddega (Amōghavarsha) he had helped Kṛishṇa III to secure the Rāshtrakūṭa throne from the possession of a certain Lallēya (†), it may be surmised that there was some disturbance soon after Amōghavarsha's death in the beginning of the year A. D. 940. Who this Lallēya was is not clear. It is possible that about this time Gōvinda IV with the help of Parāntaka I had made a feeble attempt to regain his throne and that, being unsuccessful, he had also lost his life in this venture. If this is conceded, Kṛishṇa III's invasion of Chōḷa territory which must have occurred some time after his accession and before A. D. 944, as testified to by the Siddhalingamaḍam record of his 5th year², attains an additional significance, for it must have been as much a war of aggression, as it was one of revenge against the Chōḷa king Parāntaka for the help he had rendered to his rival Gōvinda IV. Though some of the foregoing statements may not be capable of individual proof at present, there is nothing implausible in the sequence of the events, as surmised here, the correctness of which will have to be confirmed by future discoveries.

As regards the subject-matter of the records, it is stated that the two gifts of 30 *kaḷaṅḷu* each were left in the custody of the *Ur*-assembly of the two villages **Chammalalai** and **Urōḍagam**³. These villages must have been situated near enough to Takkōḷam itself, to be able to measure the stipulated quantity of oil daily to the temple of Tiruvūṇal-Mahādēva for the maintenance of the perpetual lamps. Failure to supply the oil was liable to a fine of 8½ *kaṇam* for every day of default, which had to be paid to the *Dhanmāsanam*, i.e., the court of justice, which functioned in every village in ancient times and looked after the judicial life of the village community. Such conditions and penalties are of the usual type found in Chōḷa records of this period.

Note on Chōḷa-Rāshtrakūṭa relationship.

It has been stated above that the Chōḷa-Rāshtrakūṭa matrimonial alliances had probably commenced even from the time of Kṛishṇa II himself. In this connection, a Tamil record⁴ from Tirumalavāḍi in the Trichinopoly District is of considerable interest.

¹ *Ante*, Vol. III, pp. 170-80, ll. 51 to 54. These plates, owing to certain irregularities in the date-portion, were considered spurious, but are now accepted as fairly reliable, in so far as the matter contained in them is concerned.

² No. 375 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909. The Sōḍi plates of A. D. 938-9 mention the conquests of Kṛishṇa III; but the date-portion of that record is, as mentioned above, suspect.

³ A village Urōḍagam alias Pallavamalla-Chaturvédimaṅḡalam in Kalattūr-nāḍu is mentioned in No. 253 of 1913.

⁴ No. 14 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1920.

It is dated in the 27th year of the Chōla king Rājakēsarivarman and registers a gift of 10 *kaṭaṅṅu* of gold and a lamp-stand by a lady named *Ṇāṅṅō-Pichchi*, who is described as the daughter (*maṅṅār*) of Vallavaraiyar, and who was probably the senior queen (*muntam pugunda mūttadēviyār*) of Śōla-perumāṇḍigaḷ (i.e., the Chōla king).¹ The high regnal year 27, as well as the absence of the historical introduction '*Tirumagaḷ-pōla*' of Rājārāja I in it, favour its attribution to the early king Āditya I (A. D. 870-907).² As the Anbil plates of Sundara-Chōla³ state that Āditya I had built on both the banks of the Kāvēri tall stone temples in honour of Śiva, the Tirumalavāḍi temple along with some others in its vicinity, may correctly be presumed to have come into existence in the reign of this Chōla king. The astronomical details contained in the present record—namely, 27th year, Tulā, Saturday and Bharanī which give the equivalent A. D. 897, October 15, Saturday, which is correct for Āditya I, whose initial date has been determined to have been A. D. 870 or 871⁴, support this surmise.

Sufficient reasons have been adduced in a previous paragraph to show that 'Vallavaraiyar' was a dynastic title used by the Rāshtrakūṭa kings of this period. The personal name of Vallavaraiyar, the father of the donatrix in the present record, has unfortunately not been specified. As it was not uncommon for the kings of this dynasty to be referred to by their simple dynastic title, the Vallavaraiyar of the Tirumalavāḍi record may be identified with Kṛishṇa II, who reigned from A. D. 878 to 913 and was consequently a contemporary of Āditya I (A. D. 870—907). From these facts, it may be presumed that Āditya I had married a daughter of Kṛishṇa II.

The possibility of such a matrimonial alliance having taken place gets confirmation, though in an indirect manner, from another circumstance. The ordinary Prākṛit form of Kṛishṇa is Kaṇha, but we find that the Rāshtrakūṭa kings of the name of Kṛishṇa are referred to in their records by the name of 'Kannara'. This latter form is peculiar to the Kannāḍa language of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty.⁵ Now a record⁶ dated in the 8th year of a Rājakēsarivarman, palaeographically assignable to the reign of Āditya I, makes mention of a prince called Āditya-Kaṇṇaradēva, who from the way in which his name has been expressed can be recognised as a son of Āditya and who is also specifically described as the son (*pillaiyār*) of Śōlaperu-māṇḍigaḷ. As this name 'Kaṇṇaradēva' is foreign to the Chōla dynasty and has not been met with as a name of any of their kings, it may be inferred that this particular cognomen for the Chōla prince was due to some Rāshtrakūṭa associations and influence. If, as stated above, Āditya had married the daughter of Vallavaraiyar, i.e., Kṛishṇa II *alias* Kaṇṇaradēva, it may be

¹ A portion of the record is damaged. The relevant portion reads :—'Śōlaperumā.....rkku muntam pugunda mūttadēviyār Ṇāṅṅō-pichchi Tirumalavāḍi-pPerumāṇḍigaḷukku nondā.....' and further on "Ivvaippil Vallavaraiyar maṅṅār Ṇāṅṅō-pichchi vāiytta viḷakku." It may be noticed that the lady is called only 'mūttadēviyār'. The name Pichchi may be derived from the Sanskrit word *Bhikṣha* or it may be equivalent to the Kannāḍa *Bijja*; but it is not clear why the honorific suffix of *ār* is not mentioned with her name.

² The characters in which this record is engraved are attributable to the 11th century A. D., but when it is remembered that the *Śrīvimāna* of the temple was renovated under the orders of Rājārāja I (28th year) and that the old inscriptions were re-engraved in the 14th year of Rājendra-Chōla I. (*S. I. I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 651 and 652) the later age of the writing is easily accounted for.

³ *Ante*, Vol. XV, p. 50.

⁴ *Ante*, Vol. XIX, p. 85.

⁵ *Ante*, Vol. IV, p. 336.

⁶ No. 38 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1895 (*S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 595).

expected that his son by this alliance may have been given the name of his maternal grandfather Kappara.¹ This appears to have actually been the case.

As it was Parāntaka I who had succeeded Āditya I, it may have to be presumed that either the Chōla prince Kapparaḍēva had predeceased his father, or that his claims for succession were superseded by the more powerful Parāntaka, the son of Āditya, probably by another queen. This may perhaps explain the attitude of Kṛishṇa II towards Parāntaka I, with whom he appears to have come into conflict as early as A. D. 912, with unfavourable results to himself.²

TEXT OF A.³

1 Svasti Śrī [||*] Madirai-[ko]ṇḍa kō-pParakēśarīpanma[r*]kku yāṇḍu mup-
pattō[n*]rāvadu Dāmar-kkōṭṭattu-ttan kūṛra=[ch*]Chammaḷalai ūrōṇ-kaiyy-eḷuttu
[|*] Śōḷaperumāṇḍigaḷ Parāntakadēvar tirumagaḷār Gōvinda-Valla-
varaiyar māḍēviyār⁴ Takkōḷattu Tiruvūḷal-Māḍēvarkku nandāvilakk-o⁵.....
ppōṇ koṇḍu chandir-ādittā-varai nīśadam uḷakk-eṇṇai aṭṭuvōm=āṇōm[|*] I[v*]v-
eṇṇai muṭṭil dhanmāsaṇattu nīśadi eṭṭarai-kāṇan daṇḍappaṭṭum nīśadi n⁶.....
m=āṇō[m*] [|*] Ivv-eṇṇai taṇḍa vandārkkku nīśadam i[r*]ṇḍu sōru kuḍuppōm-
āṇō[m*] [|] Tiru⁷.....śadam uḷakk-āmbaḍi tiruvuṇṇāḷigaikkēy koṇḍu vandu
aṭṭuvōm=āṇōm[|*].

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity!

In the **thirty-first** year of king Parakēśarivarman, who took Madura, this is the writing (written agreement) of the Ūr of Chammaḷalai, (a village) in the sub-division of the same name in Dāmar-kōṭṭam.

The amount which the daughter of the Chōla king Parāntakadēva, (and) the queen of Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar, endowed for a perpetual lamp to (the god) Tiruvūḷal-Mahādēva of Takkōḷam is [thirty *kaḷaṇḍu*]. Receiving this gold, we shall supply daily (one) *uḷakku* of oil, as long as the moon and the sun (endure).

If there is default in (the supply of) this oil, we shall supply daily the *uḷakku* of oil, after paying to the *Dhanmāsaṇam* a fine of eight and a half *kāṇam* (for) every day (of default). We shall give two meals a day to those who come to collect this oil.....We shall bring and supply this oil at the central shrine (itself) at one *uḷakku* per day.

TEXT OF B.⁴

1 Svasti Śrī [|*] Madirai-koṇḍa kō-pParakēśarīpanma[r*]kku yāṇḍu muppatt-
onrāvadu Maṇaiyil-kōṭṭattu Purīśai-nāṭṭu [Urā]ḍagatt-ūrōm kaiyy-eḷu(e)ttu

¹ This practice of naming a grandson after the paternal, preferentially, or the maternal grandfather was common. Such instances from other royal families can be cited.

² *Asiatic*, p. 114.

³ No. 245 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1921.

⁴ The letter *vi* is engraved below the line.

⁵ The stone is damaged here. The missing syllables 'grakku vaṭṭu poṇ muppadiḍ kaḷaṇḍu [|*]' may be supplied from B.

⁶ The missing syllables are 'ḷakku eṇṇai aṭṭuvō'.

⁷ The syllables which are missing here cannot easily be guessed.

⁸ No. 246 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1921.

[[*] Sôlaperumāṇaḍigaḷ Pirāntakadēvar tirumagaḷār Gōvīynda-Val-
lavaraīyar māha(mahā)dēviyār Viramādēviyār Takkōlattu Tiruvūḷal-
Māha(Mahā)dēvarkku nundā-vi[la]kku [oḡrukku*] vaiyitta poṇ muppaḍin
kaḷaṇju [[*].....¹ nai aṭṭuvōm-āṇōm [[*] I[v*]v-eṇnai muṭṭil
taumma(nmā)daṇattil nīṣadi eṭṭarai-kāṇam daṇḍapaṭṭu[m*] nīṣadam uḷakku eṇnai
aṭṭu[vō].....² nāyikku³ taṇḍa-vandā[r*]kku ni[śa*]dam irāṇḍu sōḡu kuḍappōm
āṇōm ū[rō*]m [[*] ūr kūḍi.....⁴ n kūḍattāṇ Ambakuṭṭi magan
Tambāṭṭaṇṇēp [[*]jivai eṇ[n=e*]luttu [[*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity!

In the thirty-first year of king Parakēsarivarman who took Madura, this is the writing (written agreement) of the *Ūr* of *Urāḍagam*, (a village) in *Puriṣai-nāḍu*, (a sub-division) of *Maṇaiyil-kōṭṭam*.

The gold which *Viramādēviyār*, the daughter of the *Chōḷa* king *Pirāntakadēva*, (and) the queen of *Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar*, endowed for a perpetual lamp to (the god) *Tiruvūḷal-Mahādēva* of *Takkōlam* is thirty *kaḷaṇju*. Receiving this gold, (we) the *Ūr* shall supply (one) *uḷakku* of oil daily.

If the supply of oil fails, we shall supply the *uḷakku* of oil daily, after paying the *Dhanmā-ṣaṇam* a fine of eight and a half *kāṇam* (for) every day (of default). We shall give two meals a day to those who come to collect this oil.

I, *Tambāṭṭan*, son of *Ambakuṭṭi*,....., this is my writing (signature).

No. 30.—NALANDA SEAL OF VISHNUGUPTA.

By KRISHNA DEVA, M.A., DELHI.

This terracotta seal of Vishnugupta was excavated from Monastery Site No. 1 at Nālandā in 1927-28 together with the seals of *Narasinhagupta*, *Kumāragupta II*, *Budhagupta* and *Vaiyagupta*¹. It is fragmentary and only a quarter of the original seal consisting of the lower portion of the right half remains, the rest being broken and irretrievably lost. The extant fragment is of the shape of a triangle with the sides measuring $3'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$ and contains portions of the last four lines of writing. There is no doubt that like the other Gupta seals from Nālandā, this seal was also oval in shape, as is indicated by the curvature of its edge, and contained representation of *Garuḍa*, flanked by the sun and the crescent, in the missing upper portion. On the analogy of the above mentioned seals, it may also be presumed that the full legend on this ran into eight lines, the upper four of which, though lost, may be restored from the other known seals with reasonable certainty.

The seal being the direct impression from a negative matrix, the legend stands out in relief. The execution of the writing is fairly neat and elegant. The characters of the inscription

¹ The missing syllables were probably 'i-ppoṇ kōṇḍa chandr-āditya-narai nīṣadam uḷakku eṇ'.

² The missing syllables were probably 'm-āṇōm [[*] Iva-eṇ'.

³ The syllables *kku* appear to be superfluous.

⁴ The missing syllables in this portion cannot be correctly restored.

⁵ These seals are edited in *Hirananda Sastri's Nālandā and its Epigraphical Material* (A. S. I., Memoir No. 66), pp. 64 ff., pl. VIII.

belong to the so-called Eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet and closely resemble those of the Bhitari¹ and Nālandā seals of Kumāragupta II. *M* and *h* are of the developed Eastern type. *S* has both the looped and unlooped varieties, the former as in *tasya* (l. 3) and the latter as in *Narasimha*² (l. 2). The height of the letters varies between $\frac{1}{16}$ " to $\frac{1}{12}$ ". The language is Sanskrit and the legend is in prose.

In respect of orthography the following points may be noted : (1) *Dh* has been invariably doubled in conjunction with a following *y* as in *pādānuddhyātō* (ll. 2 and 3). (2) *T* is everywhere doubled in conjunction with a following *r* as in *putras* (ll. 2 and 3). (3) The *Upadhmāniya* sign has been used in *°nnaḥ-Parama*³ (l. 4).

The seal belongs to the *Paramabhāgavata-Mahārājādhirāja* **Vishnugupta** of the Imperial Gupta family. Like the other Gupta seals, it records the genealogy of a succession of Gupta kings ending with Vishnugupta. Up to the name of *Kumāragupta* occurring in line 3, its legend, though only partially preserved, is identical with that on the Bhitari and Nālandā seals of Kumāragupta II, who was so far the last known sovereign in the connected genealogical succession of the Imperial Guptas. The present seal tells us that the issuer of this, viz. **Vishnugupta**, was the son and successor of Kumāragupta II, who in his turn was the son and successor of Narasimhagupta. The seal, therefore, is of great importance inasmuch as it carries the genealogy of the Gupta sovereigns a generation further than was hitherto known. It is unfortunate that the name of the mother of Vishnugupta and the wife of Kumāragupta II, which would, if known, have constituted a valuable addition to our knowledge, has been lost in the broken portion of the last line.

The seal also shows that the name of the father and predecessor of Narasimhagupta should be spelt as [P]ū[rugupta*] (l. 1) and not *Puragupta* as was hitherto done. The reading *Pūrugupta* is unmistakable on the fragmentary Nālandā seal of Narasimhagupta⁴ and is also fairly clear on the originals of those of Kumāragupta II. The medial *ū* sign in the first letter of the name *Pūrugupta* is indicated by an additional stroke attached to the base of the letter, besides the downward elongation of its right limb, the latter sign by itself denoting the short medial as in *putras* (ll. 2 and 3). In the second letter of the name, viz. *ru*, the medial *u* is shown by a small hook turned to left and joined to the foot of *r*. Palaeographical considerations apart, the name *Pūrugupta* yields more plausible sense than *Puragupta* and fits better in the series of the grand and dignified names of the Gupta kings. As has been pointed out by Mr. Jagannath⁵, the first part of the Gupta nomenclature constituted the real or substantive name and yielded satisfactory meaning independently of the latter half, viz. *gupta*, which being family surname was a mere adjunct. *Pura*, by itself, is neither a complete nor a dignified name while *Pūru* is both. *Pūru* with the more common variant *Puru* may, like *Vaiṇya* in *Vainyagupta*'s name, either signify the homonymous epic hero of the lunar race who was the ancestor of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas, or may alternately mean *abundant* or *great*.

The Gupta chronology as known from the joint testimony of the seals of Narasimhagupta, Kumāragupta II and Vishnugupta is drawn below in a table form. The other Gupta records do not take us very far in this respect, as they end the genealogical list with Skandagupta who is called therein as the son and successor of Kumāragupta I. Fortunately for us, the *Mañjuśrīmū-*

¹ *J. A. S. B.* Vol. LVIII, pt. I, p. 89; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 225.

² Hirananda Sastri, *loc. cit.* pl. VIII, b, 16.

³ *Journal of U. P. Historical Society*, Dec. 1940, p. 101. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar also independently arrived at the reading *Puruga* etc.

*lakṣpa*¹ (henceforth called MMK.), which is a literary work of the 8th-9th centuries A. D., has preserved a skeleton of the Gupta history and chronology which may prove very valuable for a study of the subject. The succession according to this work is also shown below in juxtaposition to the list of the seals. In each case the rulers previous to Kumāragupta I have been omitted, since there is practically complete unanimity on the earlier Gupta chronology.

Succession according to Seals.

Kumāragupta (I)

↓

Pūruguṇḍa

↓

Narasinhagupta

↓

Kumāragupta (II)

↓

Vishṇugupta

Succession according to MMK.

Mahendra

↓

S-initialled

↓

Bāla

↓

Kumāra (II)

↓

U

That Mahendra is same as Kumāragupta I will be admitted on all hands. The identity of Bāla (Bālāditya) and Narasinhagupta also is beyond doubt. Kumāra(gupta II) is common to both the seals and the MMK. The name U (*Ukārākhyā*) of the MMK., however, appears to be puzzling. But an examination of Vishṇugupta's coins shows on the obverse between the king's feet the letter *U*², which no doubt is identical with U of the MMK. and represented probably the abbreviation of some *virūda* or nickname of Vishṇugupta who is known from coins to have had another *virūda*, viz. Chandraditya. As regards the S-initialled (*Sakārādya*) king of the MMK., it will be readily recognised that he is the well-known king Skandagupta, son of Kumāragupta I. Against this name the succession list of the seals shows Pūruguṇḍa. As all other names on one list correspond with those on the other, the presumption is that Skandagupta should be equated with Pūruguṇḍa. It is, however, exactly at this point that the controversy starts. Pūruguṇḍa, misspelt as Puragupta, has been so far supposed to be a brother and collateral of Skandagupta. Some scholars think that there was partition of the Gupta empire either during or after Skandagupta's reign, Skandagupta and his descendants ruling over some provinces and the collateral branch of Pūruguṇḍa over the remaining portion of the kingdom. Others hold that Pūruguṇḍa's branch succeeded Skandagupta or his descendants on the undivided imperial throne. All these theories rest on the supposition that Pūruguṇḍa and Skandagupta were two different entities. This misconception arose from the fact that while the scholars took care to note Skandagupta and Pūruguṇḍa being each called son of Kumāragupta I, they ignored that the Gupta records referred to each as *tatpādānudhyāta* in relation to Kumāragupta I. That the phrase *tatpādānudhyāta* had the technical sense of *immediate successor* in the imperial Gupta documents is clear from its omission in the case of Chandragupta II, who is invariably called *tatparigrihīta* or *tatpādaparigrihīta*³ in relation to his father, Samudragupta. The substitution of the usual *tatpādānudhyāta* by the improvised phrase *tatparigrihīta* or *tatpādaparigrihīta* is significant and was necessitated by the fact that Chandragupta II did not directly succeed his father but was preceded in the Imperial succession by his brother Rāmāgupta. Skandagupta and Pūruguṇḍa, therefore, each of whom is called the son and *immediate successor* of Kumāragupta I, must be taken as one and the same

¹ Jayaswal's edition, vv. 645 ff.; *Imperial History of India*, p. 33.

² See Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, pl. XXIII, 9. Jayaswal identified U of the MMK. with Prakāśāditya, whose coins also show the letter U (*Imperial History of India*, p. 39). If this identification be accepted, Prakāśāditya will become another *virūda* of Vishṇugupta.

³ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 27 (l. 9), p. 50 (l. 19), p. 53 (l. 4); *ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 41 (l. 4); *A. S. I.*, *Memor.* No. 66, .64/1.3, p. 65 (l. 3), p. 66 (l. 3).

person. That Skandagupta was known by more names than one is attested by the epithet *vividhākhyā*, given him by the MMK.¹, which further informs us that he was also called Dēvarāja, this being the favourite name also of his grandfather, Chandragupta II². It is likely that Skandagupta came to be known as Pūrugupta meaning the Great Gupta in recognition of the unique service that he rendered to his family by inflicting a crushing defeat on the Hūṇas, who had threatened the stability of the Gupta empire. Moreover, the absence of Pūrugupta's coins,³ when the issues of all his royal predecessors and of all his successors including Narasimhagupta, Kumāragupta II and Vishnugupta have been recovered, is not a little puzzling and can only be explained on the hypothesis of Pūrugupta's identity with one of the Gupta kings whose coins are known. Finally, there is no incontrovertible evidence in favour of a division of the empire either during or immediately after Skandagupta's reign to justify the assumption of Skandagupta and Pūrugupta being collaterals. The MMK⁴, on the other hand, explicitly states that the division and disintegration set in after the reign of the king U, i.e. Vishnugupta, who is the third in descent from Skandagupta or Pūrugupta. Thus, the joint testimony of the seals and the MMK., supported by the foregoing considerations, leaves no doubt as to the identity of Pūrugupta with Skandagupta.

The accuracy of the succession list of the seals, independently confirmed by the MMK., is further borne out by numismatic evidence. The Kālighāt hoard⁵ contained besides Chandragupta II's coins those of Narasimhagupta, Kumāragupta II and Vishnugupta⁶. This not only lends support to the succession of the last three sovereigns as given in the seals and the MMK., but also attests the statement of the MMK. that the period following Vishnugupta's time was troublous, as is indicated by the hoard having been buried presumably at the far end of his reign. Yet another corroborative evidence is provided by the comparative weights⁷ of the coins. It is admitted by numismatists that the Gupta Coins tended to increase in weight with lapse of time and generally the heavier a Gupta Coin, the later is its date. Confining ourselves to the issues of the last three rulers, we find that the average weight of Narasimhagupta's Class I is 146.5 grains and of his Class II 146. Kumāragupta II's Class I weighs 143, while the two varieties of Class II give an average of 149.2 and 147.2. The coins of Vishnugupta average 148.3. It is further significant that the issues of no other Gupta king average anywhere between 146 and 148 grains. This progressive increase in weight standard affords an additional confirmation of the genealogical succession from Narasimhagupta through Kumāragupta II to Vishnugupta, as contained in the seal under discussion.

¹ Jayaswal's edition, v. 647.

² That Skandagupta also shared with Chandragupta II the *biruda* of Vikramāditya, with the variant Kramāditya, is known from coins. It is interesting to note that Skandagupta is referred to as Vikramāditya, king of Ayōdhyā, in Paramārtha's *Life of Vasubandhu*, which also informs us that Bālāditya was Vikramāditya's crown-prince and successor (Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, p. 1). This confirms the testimony of the MMK. that Skandagupta was succeeded by Bāla.

³ The coins formerly attributed to him really belong to Budhagupta, see *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 691.

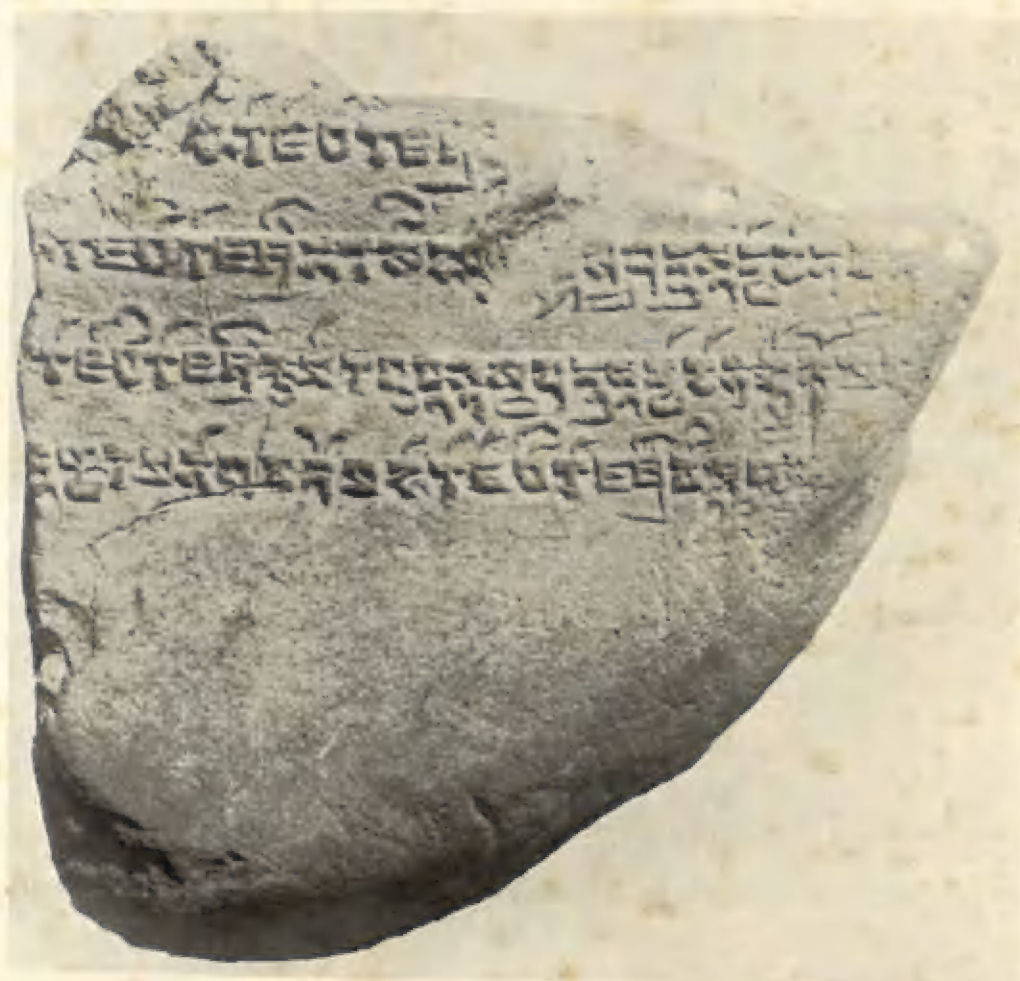
⁴ Jayaswal's edition, v. 675.

⁵ Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, p. cxxvi.

⁶ Dr. Altekar has identified Vishnugupta of the coins with the homonymous ruler of the Later Gupta family of Magadha, who flourished in the eighth century A. D., as is known from his newly discovered inscription dated in the year 117 (Harsha era) = 723 A. D. (*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. III, Part I, pp. 57 ff.). The learned professor had obviously no knowledge of the seal of an earlier Vishnugupta, which is under discussion. I think, he will now agree that the coins really belong to the Vishnugupta of the present seal.

⁷ Allan, *loc. cit.*, p. cxxxiv.

NALANDA SEAL OF VISHNUGUPTA.



(From a photograph).

TEXT.¹

1. hārājādh[ī]r[ā]ja-śr[ī]-[P*]a
2. h[ā*]r[ā]j[ā]dh[ī]r[ā]ja-śr[ī]-Narasirha[guptas]-tasya puttras=tat-pādānuddh[yā]
t[ō].
3. rājādhirāja-śr[ī]-Kumārāguptas=tasya puttras=tat-pādānuddhyātō Ma[hā]-
4. nnaḥ=Paramabhāgavatō Mahārājādhirāja-śr[ī]-Viśhpug[u][ptah||*].

No. 31.—A NOTE ON THE BALASORE PLATE OF BHANU[DATTA].

By R. K. GHOSHAL, M.A., CALCUTTA.

In a previous issue of this journal,² the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar published four copper-plate inscriptions belonging to three different chiefs who ruled over the region now covered by the Balasore District of Orissa. One of these³ speaks of a 'king' (*Mahārāja*) called Bhānudatta and is dated in the year 5 on the 17th day of Phālguna. One more copper-plate grant, however, belonging apparently to the same personage, had been discovered, some time earlier, but somehow it escaped the notice of Mr. Majumdar. This plate was turned up in course of ploughing a field near the modern town of Balasore⁴ in Orissa. The owner of the holding, the late Mr. Ziauddin, lately Lecturer at the Viśva-Bhāratī of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, made over the plate to Mr. Haridas Mitra who published a paper on the same in 1935⁵.

This is, in common with the Sōrō plates, a single sheet of copper bearing inscription on both sides. It measures 7·2" by 3·7". The record is complete in eighteen lines. A seal, which appears to have been soldered on to the central left margin of the plate, is reported to have been destroyed.

The inscription is one of *Mahāpratihāra*, *Mahārāja*, *Mahāsāmanā* Bhānu. It records a gift which was issued from the royal encampment (*vāsaka*) at Sarēphā,⁶ of the village of Nandiraṭa⁷ to four Brāhmaṇas, named Priyamitrasvāmin, Vāṭamitrasvāmin, Dhruvamitrasvāmin and Aruṅgamitrasvāmin, belonging to the Vatsa *gōtra* and to the Vājasaneyā *charaṇa* (of the Yajurveda). Before its formal sanction, the gift was announced before a number of officials entrusted with administration of the district (*vishaya*) called Sarēphāhāra. The grant was written by the *Sandhivigrahika* Aruṇadatta and 'heated' (*tāpitam*) by the *Pēḍāpālaka* Pratishṭhitachandra. The date given (in figures only) is Year 5, the 4th day of Mārgaśīrsha.

There can be no doubt that the present record belongs to *Mahārāja* Bhānudatta already known to us from the Sōrō inscription. The general character of the plates, the

¹ From the original as well as from excellent photographs which I owe to the kindness of the Director General of Archaeology in India.

² Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 197 ff. and plates.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

⁴ The exact findspot has not been mentioned. One may however presume that it cannot have been very far from the place where the Sōrō plates were found.

⁵ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XI, pp. 611 ff. and plate.

⁶ Mitra reads *Sapadā*.

⁷ The name of the village appears to be somewhat damaged. I cannot however see *Bandīrā* as read by Mr. Mitra (*I. H. Q.*, Vol. XI, p. 621).

script, the names of donees and the officers responsible for execution of the documents leave no room for doubt as to the identity of both Bhānu and Bhānudatta as being one and the same person. The present record presumably belongs to an earlier part of Bhānu[datta]'s career : in fact, the dates given suggest a little over three months' priority over the Sōrō record.

The chiefs of the Sōrō plates must have ruled over a severely circumscribed area, and that too at the pleasure of some higher power. Bhānudatta and perhaps Sōmadatta (of the Sōrō plates), between whom some kinship has been claimed,¹ may well have worked as deputies to an overlord whose personality remains obscure : he is apparently vaguely referred to as *śrī-Paramabhaṭṭāraka* in the inscriptions.²

The date given is the year 5, the 4th day of Mārgaśīrṣa. The year is apparently regnal. Palaeographically, our record is to be assigned to the second half of the sixth century A. D.

Of the localities mentioned, Sarāphā has already been identified by Mr. N. G. Majumdar with Sōrō in the Balasore District of Orissa. It was apparently the headquarters of the district (*vi-haya*) called Sarāphāhāra in the present inscription. I am unable to locate the village Nandirāja.

¹ Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 200.

² I would suggest that he may have been the *Paramadivātādhivāta*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Sambhūyāsa (emended reading) mentioned as the overlord of a chief called *Mahārāja Śivarāja* in the Paṭiākeḷā (Cuttack District, Orissa) plate (above, Vol. IX, pp. 287 ff. and plate) and also in 'Plate A' of the Sōrō grants (*ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 201-202 and plate). From the joint evidence of the Paṭiākeḷā and the Sōrō plates it is reasonable to assume that Sambhūyāsa ruled as an independent ruler over the wide tract of country anciently known as Tōsalī and now roughly covering the districts of Balasore, Puri and Cuttack. *Mahārāja* Sōmadatta and *Mahārāja* Bhānudatta of the Sōrō plates were evidently more or less equal in status to *Mahārāja Śivarāja* of the Paṭiākeḷā grant. It seems very significant that both Sōmadatta and Bhānudatta hold such feudatory titles as *Mahāpratihāra*, *Mahārāmanta*, *Mahābalādhikṛita*, etc.

No. 32.—MANGRAON INSCRIPTION OF VISHNUGUPTA'S TIME; THE YEAR 17

BY PROP. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY

Mangraon is a small village in the Buxar Sub-Division of the Shāhābād District of the Province of Bihār, situated about 14 miles south-west of Buxar. The existence at this place of the present inscription, which is being **edited here for the first time** was brought to my notice by Mr. Narmadeshver Roy, a 4th year student of the Benares Hindu University, and a son of Babu Braj Mohon Roy, the Zamindar of the village. Mr. Narmadeshver Roy supplied me with a fairly good clay-impression of this record in December 1940. As however some points were not clear from the impression, I visited the village on the 14th of March 1941 in order to inspect the inscribed tablet and take its ink-impressions for publication. From local enquiries I learnt that the stone tablet was recovered during the excavation of a well several decades ago by Choudhari Rambaran Roy, the grandfather of the present Zamindar. The tablet lay in the Zamindar's family all these years, defying the attempts at decipherment of the simple village folk as well as of the more learned touring officers.¹

The present size of the tablet is 13" by 11". But I learn that its original size was bigger, as it was recently chipped in order to make it more portable. Luckily these chipping operations have not damaged the record in any way. In fact the present record is the best preserved record, so far discovered, of the Later Guptas of Magadha.

The inscription consists of nine lines. Each line is 11" in length and contains on the average 27 letters. The height of an ordinary letter is about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch; conjuncts with subscripts are about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch high.

In l. 9, the record describes the engraver as an expert and a glance at the record will show that the praise is fairly well deserved. The engraver has incised the inscription in a very beautiful manner. He believed in ornamental flourishes for medial vowels and has introduced them wherever convenient. But even this talented engraver has committed a few mistakes, to which attention will be drawn in due course.

The **characters** of the present record closely resemble those of the Udaypur inscription of Aparājita, dated Vikrama Samvat 718² and the Jhālrapāṭaṇ inscriptions of king Durgagaṇa³, one of which is dated in [Vikrama] Samvat 746. The ornamental variety of medial vowels of the present record is seen in a further developed form in the above records. The characters of the present record also bear a general resemblance to those of the Aphaṣṭ⁴ and D35-Baraṇār⁵ inscriptions hailing from Bihār and belonging to almost contemporary times. They exhibit the characteristics of the so-called *Kuṭila* characters; for the letters *va*, *ta*, *pa*, *ma*, *bha*, etc., show a distinct slanting curve or line at their right hand bottoms. It is interesting to note that the medial vowels *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *ḍ*, and *ḥ* are denoted in two ways. The usual forms of these medial vowels occur only sparingly in the record; the forms with artistic flourishes and graceful curves predominate in every line; cf. *mē* in *paramēśvara*, l. 1; *pō* in *tapōvana*, l. 2; *ṣi* and *tī* in *siddhāyatana-tīrthāvagāhana*, l. 4; etc.

Numerical symbols for 10, 7 and 2 occur in l. 2. The numerical symbol for 10 is an ornamental variety of the usual symbol; the other two have the normal forms.

¹ [The inscription has since been presented to the Patna Museum.—Ed.]

² Above, Vol. IV, plate facing p. 30.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, plates facing pp. 180 and 181.

⁴ Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, No. 42.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 46.

The main record is in prose; the names of the writer and the engraver are, however, given at the end in one *Anuṣṭubh* verse. The language is Sanskrit; the only influence of Prakrit that we can trace is in the name of the donor Avimuktajja, whose spelling is obviously a Prakritisation of the original word Avimuktārya. Curiously enough the rules of *sandhi* are disregarded in that portion of the record which gives the different epithets of the donor; in other places, however, they are followed. In l. 8 in the concluding portion of the imprecatory sentence both the writer and the engraver have committed mistakes; they will be indicated in the notes to the text.

Orthography calls for a few remarks only. *V* is written for *b*; cf. *prativaddha* for *protivaddha* in l. 3, *kutumbvinām* for *kutumbinām* in l. 5., etc. When *r* is the second letter in a conjunct, the first one is doubled only when it is a *t*, not otherwise; cf. *Mitra*. l. 3. *grāmakē*, l. 5.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-śrī-Vishnugupta. Neither the name of the dynasty of the king nor his genealogy has been given in the record; but there can be no doubt that he is to be identified with king Vishnugupta of the dynasty of the Later Guptas of Magadha, who was the grandson of Ādityasēna and the father of Jivitagupta II. The find-spots of the Aphaṣṭ¹, Shāhpur², and Mandār hill³ inscriptions of the former and the Deś-Baraṇārī inscription⁴ of the latter show that they were ruling over the Shāhābād and Gayā Districts of Bihār; our inscription, hailing from the Shāhābād District, shows that the kingdom of Vishnugupta mentioned in it included that area. The Shāhpur inscription of Ādityasēna belongs to 572 A. D. The time of his grandson Vishnugupta would be the first quarter of the 8th century A. D. and the palaeography of our record shows that its Vishnugupta flourished at about the same time. We cannot suppose that Vishnugupta of the present record may have been a homonymous and contemporary feudatory of Vishnugupta, the grandson of Ādityasēna. For even a wandering monk has not forgotten to give him his full imperial titles in the short tablet ordered to be engraved by him.

The present inscription, which is the first record of Vishnugupta's reign to come to light, is dated on the second day of the bright half of the month of Śrāvaṇa in the 17th regnal year of the emperor Vishnugupta. The year is given first in words as *samvatsarē saptaśatē* and then in numerals as *samvat 10, 7*.

The form of the stop *t* in *samvat* is rather unusual. The form of the stop *ṣ* in *pratiṣṭāpita*, l. 7, is indicated by the normal form of *ṣa* with a slanting but disconnected stroke given below. We therefore expect that *t* in *samvat* also should be similarly indicated by the normal form of *ta* with a slanting stroke below the letter. What we actually have is however something different. There is no slanting stroke below this letter and the usual triangular serif with its base above is absent. The resulting symbol bears a close resemblance to the symbol for 100 occurring on the silver coins current in the home provinces of the Gupta empire⁵, and I had therefore once held⁶ that the date given in numerals was not identical with that given in words, that

¹ *Ibid.*, No. 42.

² *Ibid.*, No. 43.

³ *Ibid.*, Nos. 44 and 45.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 46.

⁵ Compare for instance the symbol for 100 on the coins of Skandagupta illustrated in Allan's *Catalogue of Indian Coins, Gupta Dynasties*, Pl. XXI, Nos. 14-16.

⁶ *Journal of Numismatic Society of India*, 1941, p. 57.

it was to be read as *sashen* 100, 10, 7, and that it was to be referred to the Harsha era.¹ A reconsideration of the question in the light of the observations kindly forwarded to me by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra has led me to the conclusion that though the disputed symbol bears a close resemblance to the symbol for 100 occurring on the silver coins of Skandagupta, we have to take it as an unusual form of the stop *t*, which sometimes occurs side by side with its normal form. In the Kāritālāi stone inscription of Lakshmanarāja², dated [Kalachuri] *samvat* 593, we have the ordinary form of the stop *t* in the word *jagat* in l. 2 and that of the stop *m* in the word *iyam* in l. 14; whereas the special form of the stop *t*, fairly similar to the disputed letter in the present epigraph, occurs in the word *samvat* in l. 14. The symbol for 100 on the coins of Skandagupta is not used even in contemporary inscriptions; it is therefore unlikely to be revived in a record, which is more than two hundred years later than the coins. I therefore now think that the record gives the same date once in words and then again in numerals.

The chronology of the Later Guptas of Magadha is still not definitely settled. Let us see if we can determine the date of Vishnugupta mentioned in the present record. The founder of the line, Mādhavagupta, seems to have survived his patron and friend, king Harsha, by about 10 years. For, his son Ādityasēna, who is known to have performed three horse-sacrifices³, is seen to be assuming not even imperial titles in his Shāhpur inscription belonging to 672 A. D. We therefore presume that his martial exploits must have been performed subsequent to 672 A. D. and that he must have ruled at least for a decade more. The commencement of his reign and the end of that of his father Mādhavagupta should therefore be placed in c. 655 A. D. The duration of his reign would be c. 655 to 682 A. D. The account, which Hwui Lun, a Korean pilgrim and contemporary of I-tsing, has left of a temple built at Bodhagayā, supports the view that Ādityasēna died and was succeeded by Dēvagupta in c. 682 A. D. For, this pilgrim was living at Nālandā from c. 675 to 685 A. D. and refers to a temple then recently built by the king 'Sun-Army' and to the willingness of the then ruling king of Eastern India, king Dēvavarman, to restore the site of the dilapidated China temple to Chinese priests, if they would come to India from China⁴. Now it is clear that king Sun-Army who had built the temple can be none other than Āditya(sun)sēna(army), and king Dēvavarman, who had succeeded him not long before c. 685 A. D., is obviously the same as Dēvagupta, the son of Ādityasēna and the father of Vishnugupta, the king of the present record. Dēvagupta may therefore with fair certainty be presumed to have begun to rule in c. 682 A. D. and to have ended his reign in c. 702 A. D. The commencement of the reign of Vishnugupta would thus be in c. 702 A. D. **We now know for the first time from the present record, that he ruled at least for 17 years; his reign therefore may have lasted from c. 702 to c. 725 A. D.**⁵

The reign period of Jivitagupta II, the successor of Vishnugupta, would be the second quarter of the 8th century A. D. Very probably he was the Gauḍa king overthrown and killed

¹ The era used by Ādityasēna in his Shāhpur inscription, dated in the year 66, is usually taken to be the Harsha era; see Fleet, *Corpus*, Vol. III, pp. 208-10. There is therefore nothing improbable in assuming that his grandson Vishnugupta may have continued the same reckoning. The opening expression in the Dēś-Bara-pārī inscription of Jivitagupta II, the son of the Vishnugupta of the present record, is a close copy of the opening expression in the charters of Harsha. This would show that the later Gupta secretariate was under a considerable influence of the traditions of Harsha's administration. The use of the Harsha era in its documents need thus cause no surprise.

² *Ante*, Vol. XXIII, plate facing p. 260. My attention was drawn to this plate by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra.

³ See Deoghar inscription, *Corpus*, Vol. III, pp. 212-13, n. 3.

⁴ Beal, *Life of Hsien Tsung*, Introduction, pp. xxxvi-ii.

⁵ It is interesting to note that the year 117 of the Harsha era, corresponding to 723 A. D. can fall within this period; see above n. 1.

by Yaśovarman of Kanauj. This incident probably took place in c. 745 A. D. Jivitagupta is the last king of the Later Gupta line known so far. After his death there seems to have arisen anarchy in Eastern India, which was put an end to by Gōpāla, the founder of the Pāla dynasty, whose accession is usually placed in c. 755 A. D. The present record thus tends to show that the interval between Jivitagupta and Gōpāla was a short one of about ten years.

Vishnugupta of the present record cannot be identified with the king who issued gold coins of the heavier weight standard with the letters *vi* and *shu* written perpendicularly under the arms on the obverse side; for the latter flourished in the last quarter of the 5th century and was a son of Kumāragupta II as shown by a fragmentary seal of his, recently discovered and published¹.

Let us now proceed to consider the main contents of the inscription. It records a grant made on the second day of the bright half of the month of Śrāvaṇa of the 17th regnal year of Vishnugupta by a person named Avimuktajja or Avimuktārya. As the very name suggests, this person was a Śaiva and our record describes him in ll. 3-4 as a worthy whose body had been sanctified by baths at several Śaiva holy places. He is further described as devoted to the teachings of his own system and a resident of Kuṭukka country. Where this Kuṭukka country was situated is not easy to find out. Avimuktajja was a much travelled man and it is not impossible that his Kuṭukkadēśa may not have been situated in the province of Bihār. He may have made a donation to a temple in Bihār, because its sanctity may have appealed to him. If, however, we assume that *Kuṭukkadēśa* is a mistake for *Kukkuṭadēśa*, then Avimuktajja becomes a Bihāri; for there was a hill called Kukkuṭapādagiri near Gayā in Bihār, which has been mentioned both by Yuan Chwang² and I-tsing³. The country round Gayā may well have been known as Kukkuṭadēśa and it may perhaps have been misspelt as Kuṭukkadēśa in our record⁴.

The donation was for the purpose of burning a lamp in the temple of Subhadrēśvara located in the village of Aṅgāra. The record however does not enable us to find out how exactly the arrangement was made for burning the lamp. Ll. 5-6 state that Avimuktajja purchased from all the householders of the village of Aṅgāra the quantity of one *pala* of oil (every day) to last till such time as the moon, the sun and the earth may endure. The usual practice in ancient India, when it was intended to burn a lamp at a temple, was to make an investment, the interest of which would be sufficient to meet the daily expenses of the necessary oil. What Avimuktajja seems to have done was to hand over to the householders of Aṅgāra a sum of money sufficient for this purpose; the latter, or more correctly their Panchayat, then guaranteed to him that in return for the deposit kept with them, they would undertake to supply one *pala* of oil to the manager of the Subhadrēśvara temple. Avimuktajja thus managed to purchase for perpetuity one *pala* of oil every day; his tablet has therefore been fittingly described as *kṛaya-chirikā* or

¹ Ante, Vol. XXVI, pp. 235 ff.

² Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 143.

³ Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, by I-tsing, Introduction, p. xxxiii.

⁴ [It may be pointed out that Kutaka-dēśa is mentioned in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (Skandha 3, ch. 6) in connection with the wanderings of Rishabhadeva (cf. *Kūṭaka-Vēṇaka-Kuṭakān-dakakūṭa-Karṇāpukān-dēśān-yaśvrikā-chālay-āpogataḥ*). Kutaka is identified with Gadag in the Dhārwar District of the Bombay Province. There are several ancient temples in the town and its neighbourhood and there is nothing against its being identical with Kuṭukka of the present record. Avimukta was a much travelled person and it is not unlikely that he made a small endowment in the temple of Subhadrēśvara in the course of his pilgrimage to reputed Śaiva shrines. Mr. C. R. Krishnamachari points out that the modern Coorg country is meant by Kuṭukka. Kudagam (modern Coorg) appears in early Tamil literature so far back as the 2nd century A. D.—Ed.]

'a purchase document' in the last line. It is unfortunate that the record should not have given us more details of this arrangement; if this had been done, we would have got a welcome glimpse of the Panchayat administration and the rates of interest prevailing in Bihār at the time.

The village of *Aṅgāra* where the Subhadrēśvara temple was situated, must have obviously been either the village of Mangraon where the tablet exists, or its close neighbour, Sangraon, where there are the remains of a Śiva temple still existing. Mangraon and Sangraon are in fact twin villages, hardly separated by a furlong from each other. It is not impossible that Sangraon and Mangraon may together have constituted the village *Aṅgāra*, mentioned in our record. In Mangraon, there is no Śiva temple at present. In Sangraon, on the other hand, there is a Śiva temple, which is quite modern in its structure, but which is situated on a mound, about 15 feet high, which undoubtedly represents the ruins of an earlier temple. A little scratching of the surface done by us during our visit to the place revealed the existence of buried walls. The present temple contains an image of Śiva, but it is not at present locally known as Subhadrēśvara. There can, however, be little doubt that the present Śiva temple is built over the remains of the temple of Subhadrēśvara mentioned in our record.

The interpretation of the locative clause, *Chundaskilā . . pushpa-paṭṭā*, (ll 2-3) presents some difficulty. The last letter of this clause, *ṭṭā*, cannot be read as *ṅṅā*, as becomes quite clear from its comparison with *ṅṅā* and *grā* in *Aṅgāra-grāmakā* in l. 5. *Pushpa-paṭṭā* denotes a strip of flower garden. It was attached (*pratibaddha*) to Śrī-Mitra-Kēśavadēva situated (*pratishṭhita*) in the penance grove at Chundaskilā. It is possible to interpret *pratishṭhita* as 'residing'; the record would then purport to state that the garden belonged to a person called Śrī-Mitra-Kēśavadēva, who resided (perhaps as a *sahnyāsin*) in the penance grove at Chundaskilā. A better meaning can be obtained by supplying the term *dēvālaya* after *dēva* or by emending it into that expression. The expression would then refer to a flower garden attached to the temple of Śrī-Mitra-Kēśava situated in the penance grove at Chundaskilā. The close association of the sun and Viṣṇu in one temple suggested by the expression under review is, however, not frequently met with. The syntactical connection of the locative *pushpa-paṭṭā* is not very clear. Probably we have to suppose that Avimuktajja was residing in that garden at Chundaskilā, when he decided to make the present grant to the temple in *Aṅgāra*. There is nothing improbable in this; for, as will be soon shown, the distance between *Aṅgāra* village and Chundaskilā was only about six miles. Alternatively, if we take Śrī-Mitra-Kēśavadēva as the name of an individual, the expression may refer to a flower garden (in *Aṅgāra* village) that may have been laid out by him. The first interpretation is more probable.

Of the places mentioned in the record, *Aṅgāra* has been already identified above, either with Mangraon or its close neighbour Sangraon. Mr. S. V. Sohoni, I.C.S., Sub-Divisional Officer, Buxar, informs me that there is a village named Chhunnī, only six miles to the north-east of Mangraon. His suggestion that Chundaskilā should be identified with it is perfectly sound. Mr. Sohoni further informs me that the Buxar Sub-Division is even now traditionally known as the place of the penance grove of the famous sage Viśvāmitra; Rāma is said to have killed Tāṭakā somewhere within its boundaries. Even today there exist a number of localities in this region known as penance groves; the penance grove of Chundaskilā mentioned in our record must be one such locality. We may perhaps hazard one more conjecture. *Kilālapa* means a demon and Sunda, the husband of the notorious Tāṭakā¹, may have been known as Sunda-kilālapa. Is it not unlikely that his forest or *vana*, which subsequent to his wife's death may have become a

¹ *Rāmāyana*, I, 24, 26.

tapōvana of Aryan *ṛishis*, may have been known as *Sunda-kilālapa-tapōvana* and later corrupted into *Chundaaskilā-tapōvana* of our record? Philology would show that such a change is but natural. If this conjecture is correct, it would follow that the village Chhunai in the Buxar Sub-Division was once upon a time believed to be the place of residence of Tāṭakā and her husband Sunda.

TEXT :

- 1 ॐ^१ [1*] महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीविष्णुगुप्तदेवप्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्य-
- 2 सम्बत्सरे सप्तम्ये सम्बत् १० ७ श्रावणशुदि २ चुन्दस्कौलातपोवन-
- 3 प्रतिष्ठितश्रीमिन्नकेशवदेवप्रतिव(व)इपुण्यपट्टे स्वसिद्धान्ताभिरत^२ अने-
- 4 कशिवसिद्धान्तनतीर्थावगाहनपविचोक्ततनुः कुटुम्बदेशी-
- 5 य^३ अविमुक्तजः^४ चङ्गारग्रामके सकलकुटुम्बि(म्बि)नां सकाशादाचन्द्रा-
- 6 कंचित्समकालीन^५ तैलस्य पलमेकमुपकीय भगवतः
- 7 श्रीसुभद्रेश्वरदेवस्य प्रदीपार्थं प्रतिपादितवान् ॥ एवं योन्यथा
- 8 करोति यदक्षापायस्तनद^६वाप्नोतीति ॥ लिखिता देवदत्तेन
- 9 संचिह्ता क्रयचौरिका । उत्कीर्णा सूत्रधारेण कुलादित्येन धीमता ॥

TRANSLATION

Om. On the second day of the bright half of (the month of) Śrāvaṇa of the seventeenth victorious and prosperous regnal year of Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Śrī-Vishṇugupta, (while residing) in the flower garden attached to (the temple of) Śrī-Mitra and Kēśava, situated in the penance grove of Chundaaskilā, Avimuktajja (i.e., revered Avimukta), a resident of the Kuṭukka country, who was devoted to his own native doctrine and whose body had been sanctified by baths at numerous holy places connected with Śiva, purchased from the householders of the village of Aṅgāra one *pala* of oil (per day), to last contemporaneously with the moon, the sun and the earth, and offered it to the holy Subhadrēśvara for the purpose of a lamp. He who will set at naught this arrangement will get whatever sin is here.

This concise document of sale^७ was composed by Dēvadatta and engraved by the talented mason Kulāditya.

^१ From the original tablet and ink-impression.

^२ Denoted by a symbol.

^३ Read 'bhīraṇa' = 'nāka'.

^४ Read 'dātīyā' = 'vi'.

^५ Read 'jyō' = 'agāra'.

^६ The *anuvāda* has been written not above the letter *na* but in a line with its horizontal line.

^७ Here the text is defective and its restoration is not free from difficulty. The neuter *yad* would suggest that the expression *pāpam* should follow; the reading 'tr-āpāpam' is however clear and so it appears that the word *apāya* was also before the mind of the composer. If, however, we prefer to read this word, we shall have to change *yad* into *yā*. The letter *sa* following *yam* seems to be a mistake of the engraver for *sa*; we want a *sa* to correspond with *pa* coming earlier. The next letter looks like *na*, but it is to be corrected into *ta*. The succeeding letter is less likely to be *ma* than *da*, with an unnecessary stroke to its right, caused by the slipping of the instrument. The restoration therefore should be *yad-ātra pāpam sa tad-anuvāda*; the emendation *yā-tr-āpāpam-sa tam-anuvāda* is less likely to have been intended by the composer.

^८ [Both *chīrikā* and its variant *chīrikā* (Hindi *chīṭī*) have been used in the sense of a document in the *Lāṭhāpaddhati*, pp. 16, 57. This book is however a late work belonging to the fifteenth century; the use of the word *chīrikā* in the present record in the sense of a document is therefore noteworthy. *Krayachīrikā* is indeed a synonym of *kṛaya-lāṭhā* which is defined by Bṛhaspati as follows :—

Griha-kakāṭr-ādikaṁ kṛtvā tulya-mūly-ākāṣar-ānvitam [patraṁ] kṛyayā yad-ā kṛaya-lāṭhayaṁ tad-anuvāda]

The word *chīra* also denotes 'a manner of writing with strokes'. —B. C. C.]

No. 33.—KHADIPADA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SUBHAKARA

BY A. GHOSH, M.A., NEW DELHI

Khadipadā is a small village, about 24 miles to the south-east of Bhadrak, a subdivisional town in the Balasore District, and about 8 miles to the north-west of Jājpur, an important town in the Cuttack District. I visited the place in May 1940, on the basis of some valuable information from Professor G. S. Das, B.A. (London), Secretary, Provincial Museum, Cuttack; and found that the remains of the place consisted of a low mound and some Buddhist sculptures, including some colossal statues of the Buddha, all of which bespeak the former existence of a modest Buddhist establishment at the place. Among other sculptures I found a half-buried image of Padmapāṇi (height 4½'), which was fully dug out in my presence and revealed the existence of an inscription on its proper left edge. The image has now been removed to the Provincial Museum, Cuttack, and I am thankful to Professor Das for supplying me with two inked impressions of the inscription as well as for consenting to my editing it in the pages of this journal.

The inscription consists of only one line and is about 4' in length. The letters are carefully engraved, their size ranging from ½" to 1½". As regards orthography, attention may be drawn to the doubling of the consonants *m* and *p* after *r* in *dharmma* and *utkirṣṣa*, and of *t* before *r* in *sūtradhāra*; contrast, however, *āchārya*. A curious mistake occurs in the word *Rāhularuchinām*, the correct form being *-nāmā*. The record is undated but palaeographical considerations lead us to ascribe it to the seventh century A. D. The characters are more or less similar to those of the Ganjam plates of Śaśāṅka¹, which, being of an undisputable date, form an important land mark in South-eastern Palaeography. A point which should be noted here is that though the letter *bh* presents an earlier form in this inscription, the letter *s* has certainly a later form. Generally speaking, however, the difference in age between these two inscriptions could not have been very great.

The inscription refers itself to the time of Śubhākara, who, to judge from the name, no doubt belonged to the Bhauma dynasty. The genealogy of the Bhauma kings was in a great confusion till recently owing to the different readings of the dates in their inscriptions and to the indeterminateness of the era to which they were to be referred. However, with the discovery of the Talcher plates of Śivakara², the genealogy, irrespective of the readings of the numerical symbols, can now be regarded as fairly established. According to the genealogy worked out by Misra on the basis of the available data³ there were four kings of the name of Śubhākara, the Neulpur plates⁴ belonging to the first king of that name. If we compare the letters of the present inscription with those of the Neulpur grant, we find that the latter have on the whole a more developed appearance. Thus, the letter *ch* in the latter has a proto-Nāgarī form, while this inscription has the archaic Gupta type. Particularly noticeable is the difference between the forms of the letter *bh*: while the letter in our inscription has a straight horizontal baseline, the Neulpur grant has a hollow (or even filled up) wedge attached to the lower left corner of the letter. The letter *h* is denoted by two signs in the present inscription, one being of the so-called Western Gupta type, very similar in appearance to *bh* (cf. *hā* in *maḥā*) and the other a screw like form (cf. *hu* in

¹ Above, Vol. VI, p. 143.² B. Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 40.³ *Ibid.*, p. 71.⁴ Above, Vol. XV, p. 1. The date of the plates has been read as 8 by the editor, 54 by Misra (*loc. cit.*), and 800 4 by Bhandarkar (*List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 1751n.). The genealogy proposed by Bhandarkar on p. 380 of his *List* can no longer be accepted.

Rāhula) ; while in the Neulpur grant only the latter and more developed form is met with. At the same time, it must be noted that *ś* has an archaic appearance in the Neulpur grant¹. With this single exception, all other letters in the grant are more developed than in this inscription.

All these facts tend to show that Śubhākara of the present inscription was earlier in date than the author of the Neulpur charter², who is the first king of that name in the Bhauma lineage till now known. This new Śubhākara may have existed between Lakshmīkara, who is the earliest known member of the dynasty³, and Kshēmañkara, from whom we have an unbroken genealogy for nine generations.

The inscription records the dedication of the image by Rāhularuchi, who is styled *Mahā-maṇḍalācārya* and *Paramaguru*, i.e., 'the teacher of the great division' and 'the supreme preceptor'. The former does not sound like a self-assumed title, but seems to be a dignity conferred or recognized by a political authority. As the earlier Bhaumas are known to have been Buddhists⁴, it is likely that there was a state pontiff of Buddhism under them. It also appears from this term that the area over which they held sway had the status of a *maṇḍala*, or, in other words, they began their political career as *Maṇḍalopatis*, till the later members of the dynasty assumed the full-fledged independent titles of *Paramabhāṭāraka* *Maṇārājādhirāja* *Paramēśvara*.

TEXT

Om⁵ Śrī-Śubhākara-dēva⁶-rājyē mahāmaṇḍalācārya-paramaguru-Rāhularuchi-nāma⁷
tasya dā[ya*]-dharma-mō-yam | utkirṇaṁ Kuṣṭhā (?)-sūtradhārēṇaḥ⁸ ||

No. 34.—PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM PLATES OF GOVINDARAJA : SAKA 732

By MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT, B. A., POONA

This set of three copper-plates, with one of the two rings and the seal, is preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. It was purchased from Mr. Sanabhai Bhundarbhay Master, of Vadaj, Baroda State, in 1938. It is reported that one Thakore Vajesing found it while ploughing his field at Bhilodia, near Vadaj. It was through the kind offices of the Curator, Mr. R. G. Gyani, M.A., that I gained access to the original plates. He also supplied me

¹ It is too much to say that *ś* 'still retains the old Kushan form' in the Neulpur grant (above, Vol. XV, p. 2). In most cases the right vertical of the letter distinctly projects over the horizontal top line which is certainly a late Gupta or even a post-Gupta development.

² It is, however, possible to explain away the difference between the two inscriptions by saying that the Neulpur grant is inscribed in a cursive script and therefore exhibits a more developed form, both the kings being really identical. I set no great store by this argument especially because a palaeographical comparison of the present inscription with the Dhauli cave inscription of Śāntīkara (above, Vol. XIX, p. 263), most probably the son of Śubhākara of the Neulpur grant, also shows that the latter has decidedly later forms than the former. As it is impossible that the script would appreciably change in the course of a single generation, we have to separate the two inscriptions by a sufficiently long time.

³ Hindol plates, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 69.

⁴ The earlier rulers call themselves *Parama-saṅgata* in their inscriptions. A change of creed is for the first time noticed in the case of Queen Tribhuvanamahādēvi who was a *Parama-raicārya* (Dhizkinal plates, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, p. 419) and in describing whose death the Talcher plates say: *bhāṣa padam sū Harṣa* (Mira, *loc. cit.*, p. 32). After her the rulers are *Parama-māhēvaras*.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ The letter *ś* looks like *ś* in the impression. [Reading appears to be *Śuhā* for *Śubhā*.—Ed.]

⁷ Read *nāma*.

⁸ *Visarga unnecessary*

with its ink-impressions. I am indebted to him as well as to the trustees of the Museum for kindly allowing me to edit them here for the first time. I am also grateful to Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M. A., of the Nagpur University, for revising my readings and for many valuable suggestions.

These are three copper-plates, each measuring about $9" \times 7"$. Their ends are either raised or thickened to protect the inscription. At the top of each plate, there are two holes about $3"$ apart, and each $\frac{1}{2}"$ in diameter, meant for securing the plates together by means of two rings of which at present there is only one left. The ends of this **ring** which is about $\frac{1}{2}"$ in thickness and $3\frac{1}{2}"$ in diameter, are soldered into the socket of a seal, $1\frac{1}{2}"$ in diameter. This **seal** had some figure in relief on its countersunk surface, but nothing can be made out from what remains. The weight of the plates together with the seal and the ring is 121 *tolas*.

The plates are fairly well preserved. Some letters here and there, especially in the second plate, are damaged by verdigris and they have to be made out from the traces left and with the help of similar inscriptions.

There are fifty-four lines in all, of which fourteen are inscribed on the first plate, seventeen and fifteen on the first and second sides respectively of the second plate and the remaining eight on the third plate. The letters are beautifully formed and deeply engraved. The spacing of the words in the third plate is very much scattered.

The **characters** are of the Southern type of alphabet and regular for the period and locality in which the plates were issued. They resemble the script of the Törkhedjē plates¹. The following palaeographic peculiarities may be mentioned. In the formation of the letter *pa*, a superscript resembling *ā-mātrā* appears above the proper left of the vertical, in many places, e.g., in *pratāpāḥ* (ll. 4, 8) ; *nripa* (l. 10) ; *kshamāpatiḥ* (l. 12), etc. It is also noticed in the letter *ma* in *prati-māni* and *nāma* (l. 44) ; as also in the formation of *sha* when it occurs in a conjunct letter, e.g., in *rakshatā* (l. 10), *shashṭiṃ varsha-* and *tishṭhātī* (l. 45), and in *-āpaviśhv=atōyāsu* (l. 46), etc.²

In lines 51-52, in the sign-manual of the king, the characters show a variety of the Northern alphabet, about twice the average size of the letters in the grant and resemble closely those of the sign-manual in the Kāvi³ plates of Gōvindarāja.

The **language** is Sanskrit and the composition of the record is partly in verse and partly in prose. As regards **orthography**, there is very little that attracts our attention. The consonants followed by *r* are, as a rule, reduplicated. See e.g., *"sargg-ōdbhavaḥ* (l. 23), *mārgganyair=ana* (l. 26), etc., the exceptions being such as *nireṣṭi* (l. 28), *varsha* (l. 45), etc. In such words as *rudḍha* (l. 2), *samartha* (l. 6), *mūddhan* (l. 10), etc., the first of the resultant two aspirants is correctly changed to its corresponding sonant or surd, as required by the case, while this rule is not observed in the case of *durbbhikhaṇ* (l. 22).

The *virāma* sign consists of a horizontal line over the letter instead of a serif below its vertical as in Nāgari ; cf. ll. 9, 12, 18 and 46. A pair of *daṇḍas* is used as a mark of punctuation. Mistakes are rare and the rules of *sandhi* have been followed correctly. As regards the peculiar

¹ Above, Vol. III, p. 53.

² This feature is also noticed in *ja* in *jātaḥ* l. 28. *ta* in *taṅga*, l. 2, etc., *śha* in *babhaṇa*, l. 15, *sa* in *spashṭam*, l. 3, *sa* in *"māsa*, l. 10, etc.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. .

compound, *kunda-kusuma-śrī* (l. 18), Dr. Fleet has already drawn our attention to it while editing the Barodā¹ plates.

The plates were issued by **Gōvīndarāja**, son of Indra, of the Gujarāt branch of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty. He is styled *Prabhūtavaraṇa* and is described as *Mahāsāmantādhipati*, who had won all the *Mahāsābdas*.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant by Gōvīndarāja, of the village **Usaupaka**, in the Vāhāula Chaturāṣṭi on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha, which was recorded on the seventh day of the dark fortnight of the same month in the expired Śaka year 732 (expressed in numerical figures only). This date is, therefore, recorded according to the *amānta* scheme of lunar months and corresponds to Monday, 29th April, A.D. 810².

The donee was the Brahmin Bhōbhika, of the Atri gōtra, a religious student of the Sāma veda and who is described in the plates as residing in the village Charmmanihauha after having come there from the Gauḍa country. The charter was written by Jajjulla, son of Padmanābha, who was the officer in charge of peace and war.

The early history of the Gujarāt branch of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty is known to us from the following seven records: The Barodā plates³ (Śaka 734), the Nausāri plates⁴ (Śaka 738), the Anastu plates⁵ (Śaka 739), the Surat plates⁶ (Śaka 743), the Brāhmanapalli grant⁷ (Śaka 746) issued by Kaṣṭka Svārṇavaraha; the Tōrkhēḍē plates⁸ (Śaka 735) and the Kāvi plates⁹ (Śaka 749) issued by his younger brother Gōvīndarāja, the donor of the present plates.

Our record being the earliest of these grants, its importance in the history of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭas is very great.

The Gujarāt branch of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty was founded by Indra, when his elder brother Gōvīnda III of the Imperial line of the Rāshtrakūṭas installed him on the throne of the *Lāṭa-maṇḍala*, after his conquests in the north. This event is placed in circa 800 A.D. by Dr. Altekar¹⁰ and a very short rule is attributed to Indra.

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 160. l. n. 15. [His remark runs: " This instance of the use of *śrī* in a *Bahuvrīhi* compound, without the *Samāsānta* affix *ka*, is somewhat unusual. But Mr. K. B. Pāṭhak has supplied me with an analogous instance, which is given in the *Kēṇyoprahāsa*, Calcutta edition, 10th *allāsa*, p. 422,—*Avitatha-manōratha-patha-prāthanēṣhu praguṇa-garima-gīta-śrīḥ | suratara-sadriśaḥ sa bhavān abhilashaṭyaḥ kaṭṭhavarō na kasya ||* ". (Instead of *kaṭṭhavarō*, the correct reading is *kaṭṭhavera*.) In fact, such compounds are not unusual. The affix *ka* is optional, and instances where it is not employed can be multiplied. The celebrated poet Māgha shows a striking predilection for such a use, as may be evidenced by his *Śiṣupālavadha*, I, 24; III, 82; IV, 68; XI, 64, 66, 67; XVI, 85. Of these, XI, 64 may be found quoted in Ballāla's *Bhōjaprabandha*, verse 279. An epigraphical instance is furnished by the Junagaḍh rock inscription of Skandagupta in the word *prīthu-śrī*, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 59, text l. 3; p. 61, text l. 34. Here, however, Dr. Fleet has not commented upon the compound.—B. C. C.]

² Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. II, p. 22.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 156.

⁴ *J. B. B. A. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 131.

⁵ *Annual Report, Archaeological Department, Baroda State* (1930), p. 22.

⁶ *Above*, Vol. XXI, p. 133.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 77.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 53.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 145.

¹⁰ Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 79.

Indra was succeeded by his eldest son Karkka Suvarṇavarsha. It appears that he ruled jointly with his younger brother Gōvindarāja or at least deputed him to govern some parts of Gujarāt. The position of Gōvindarāja, in this respect, has always been a vexed question.

On account of the difficulty of two rulers granting villages in the same territory, it was formerly conjectured that some sort of enmity existed between the two brothers and probably Gōvindarāja came to the throne as a usurper¹. The praise of Karkka Suvarṇavarsha in our plates, as well as in other grants of Gōvindarāja, establishes the harmony between the two brothers. Dr. Altekar² thinks that Gōvindarāja may have been a " princely regent " appointed by Karkka, but the view that he was entrusted with the administration of Gujarāt in the absence of Karkka during the hostilities regarding the installation of Amōghavarsha I on his throne, or during his minority, is now hardly tenable from the early date of our record. That Gōvinda III was still living when our plates were issued, is indicated by the dates of an unpublished plate³ (Śaka 733), the Lōhārī⁴ grant (Śaka 734) and the suspected to be spurious Kaḍaba plates⁵ (Śaka 735). According to Prof. Mirashi⁶, Amōghavarsha I was a fairly grown up boy of sixteen, when he came to the throne in circa Śaka 736. The reason why Karkka wanted to rule in company with Gōvindarāja should, therefore, be sought somewhere else than in his absence from Gujarāt to help Amōghavarsha I. It is also noteworthy to see that Karkka does not think of his own son Rājaputra Dantivarman as the probable candidate for the governorship of Gujarāt, who appears as the *dātaka* in his Baroda plates⁷ issued only two years after the date of our record. We have to take it, therefore, that both the brothers were ruling jointly or at least either of them had the full authority to make donation of lands without each other's consent.

Unfortunately, our plates do not throw any additional light on the history of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Many verses of these plates have occurred in various Rāshṭrakūṭa records. Six of them, viz., (2, 7, 8, 11, 13 and 14) and (2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 11) are repeated in the Tōrkhēḍ⁸ and Kāvi plates⁹ of Gōvindarāja respectively, but most of them can be read together in the Kāpaḍvaṇaj plates¹⁰ of Kṛishṇa II, where they follow the same order as is found in our plates. The only new verse occurring in this grant (v. 15) describes Gōvindarāja in the usual panegyric terms and is not important historically.

As regards the **geographical names** occurring in the grant, **Vāhāula**, which was the headquarters of the division consisting of eighty-four villages including the donated village, may be identified with Vāhorā, a village about 4 miles south-east of Bhilodia, the find-spot of the plates, in the Baroda State. The village **Charmanīhauha**, where the donee was residing, is probably identical with Chāmarwārā, about midway between Bhilodia and Vāhorā, and the donated village **Usaupaka** with Wāsaṇ, about 2 miles north-east of Chāmarwārā. Both Chāmarwārā and Wāsaṇ are on the right bank of the Hiraṇ river which is a tributary of the Orsang.¹¹ The **Gauḍa** country from where the donee came is obviously the eastern part of Bengal.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 180; *ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 197.

² Above, Vol. XXII, p. 68.

³ Noticed by Daskalkar, *J. B. B. R. A. S. (N. S.)*, III, p. 187.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 212.

⁵ Above, Vol. IV, p. 332.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 217.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 196.

⁸ Above, Vol. III, p. 63.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 145.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. I, p. 53.

¹¹ I am obliged to Prof. Mirashi for the identification of Charmanīhauha and Usaupaka.

- 17 स्त्री ॥[८॥*] अद्यापि यस्य सुरकिञ्जर[सिंह]सी(सा)ध्वविद्याधराधिपतयो गु-
 18 णपक्षपातात् ॥(i) गायन्ति कुन्दकुसुमत्रि¹ यशो यथा स्वधामस्थिताः
 19 सहचरीकुचदत्तहस्ताः ॥[१०॥*] स्रुतुर्व्वभूव खलु तस्य महानुभावः
 20 शास्त्रार्थबोधसुखलानितचित्तवृत्तिः [i*] यो गौणनामपरिवारमु-
 21 वाह पूर्वं श्रीकर्णराजसुभगव्यपदेशसुचैः ॥[११॥] राज्ये यस्य न तस्कार-
 22 ष्य वसतिर्व्याधेः प्रसूतिर्मृता दुर्भिर्(भिर्)चं न च विभ्रमस्य महिमानेवो-
 23 पसर्गोद्भवः [i*] चीणः शत्रुगणः प्रतापविनता(तो)शेषारिवर्गस्तथा नो
 24 वि[ह]त्परिपन्थिनौ प्रभवतौ(ति) क्रूरा खलानां मतिः ॥[१२॥*] स्रुतपत्न्योनुजस्तस्य
 सेवि-
 25 तः सततं बुधैः [i*] [गो]विन्दराजो भूपालः साक्षाच्छंभुरिवापरः ॥[१३॥*]
 फलोन्मुखैरापतितैर्व्विदूरतः
 26 समं समन्ताद्गुणपक्षपातिभिः [i*] महाहवे दानविधौ च मार्गवैर्ब कु[ण्ड]तं [यस्य
 स]देव
 27 मानसं ॥[१४॥*] अन्तःस्थितेश्वरशिरोधृतगुह्यचन्द्र—²नसुभारसविभावित[सर्व्वमूर्तिः?]
 [i*] लो-
 28 कस्य निर्द्वितिकरः सृष्टणीयजन्मा जातः सदानृतमयत्वगुणेन यस्य ॥[१५॥*] [स
 परमेष्ठ-³]
 29 रः समधिगतशेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्ताधिपत(ति)प्रभूतवर्षत्रीगोवि[न्दराजदेवः सर्वा]-
 30 नेव भाविभूमिपालासमनुबोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं । यथा मया माता[पित्रोरात्मन-]
 31 च पुण्ययशोभिद्वये ॥ ऐहिकामुष्मिकफलावाभ्यर्थं चर्म्मनिह्री[ह?]याम[वास्तव्य]-

Second Plate ; Second Side

- 32 गौडदेशादायाताचेयसगीचच्छन्दीगसन्नह्यचारि[त्रा]श्चणभोभिकाय [भट्टजयपुत्रा⁴]-

¹ See above, p. 250, n. 1.

² One akshara is illegible here, of which the subscript *ygo* is seen on the plate. [I would read *ichyūtai-sudāś-
 raso*.—B. C. C.]

³ Only faint traces of the words in the brackets can be seen on the plates. [The portion possibly reads as *the
 Lājāra*.—B. C. C.]

⁴ Only faint traces of these words are seen on the plates.

- 33 य वल्लिचक्षुर्वैश्या(श्व)देवान्निहोचा(च)कनुक्रियाद्युस(त्स)र्षणार्थं वाङ्मातलचतुरशी[त्वन्तर्गत
— — —]¹
- 34 उसौणकग्रामः सहिरष्वादानः समोगभागः सदण्डदशापराधः स(स्व)[सौमापर्यन्तः]
- 35 समस्तुराजकीयानामहस्तप्रवेपणीयो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाद्य महावैशा[स्यामुदका-]
- 36 तिसर्गेण प्रतिपादितो यतोस्य भुज्जतो न कैचिद्वासेधे प्रवर्त्तितव्यं(व्यम्) ॥ आगामि-
[भद्रवृ]-
- 37 [प]तिभिरप्यनित्वान्यैश्वर्याण्यस्त्रिरं मानुष्यं सामान्यञ्च भूमिदानफलं तदपहरणे पा-
- 38 पञ्चावगच्छद्भिरयमस्मदायोनुमत्त(न्त)व्यः परिपालयितव्यश्च [1^{*}] तथाचोक्तं पुराणमह[र्षि]-
- 39 [भिः ॥ व]हुभिर्वसु[धा] भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिर्व्यस्य² यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य
तस्य
- 40 [तदा] फलं(लम्) ॥[१३॥^{*}] उक्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ अग्नेरपत्यं
प्रथमं सुवर्णं
- 41 भूर्वेण्वीसूर्यसुताश्च गावः [1^{*}] लोकास्त्रयस्तेन भवन्ति दत्ता यः काञ्चनं गा-
- 42 वं महीञ्च दद्यात् ॥[१७॥^{*}] सर्व्वेयमेव दानानामेकजन्मानुर्गं फलं(लम्) ॥(1)
हाठ(ठ)कचिति-
- 43 गौरीणां ससजन्मानुर्गं(गं) फलं(लम्) ॥[१८॥^{*}] यानोह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्दैह(हे)नानि
धर्मायत-
- 44 नीकृतानिः(निः) निर्धार्त्त्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनरा[ददी]-
- 45 त ॥[१९॥^{*}] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिदः ॥(1) आच्छेत्ता [चानु-]
- 46 मन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥[२०॥^{*}] विन्याटवीध्वतोयासु शु[ष्क-]

Third Plate

- 47 कौटरवासिनः [1^{*}] कृष्णाहयोभिजायन्ते³
- 48 भूमिदायापहारिणः ॥[२१॥^{*}] उक्तञ्च भगवता रामभ-

¹ Probably two aksharas preceded the word *Usasapaks*. [The original seems to read वृहद्वह्नीयक°, —C. R. K.]

² Read सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य-

³ After this the scribe wrote the word भू (but subsequently cancelled it).

- 49 द्वेष ॥ सर्वानेतान्भावितः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते
 50 रामभद्रः [1*] सामान्योऽयं धर्मनेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनौ-
 51 यो भवद्भिः ॥[२२*] स्रहस्तोऽयं श्रीगोविन्दराजस्य श्रीमदि-
 52 न्द्रराजदेवपुत्रस्य ॥¹ लिखितश्चैतन्मया शासनं
 53 [म]हासाधिविपद्दिकयोपक्षनाभसुतज्जुज्ञेनेति ॥ शकनृपका-
 54 [ला]तीतसंवत् ७३२ वैशाख*] वहुल ७

TRANSLATION

(Lines 28-36.) And now the king *Śrī Gōvindarāja alias Prabhūtavarsha the Paramāvara*, the overlord of the feudatory kings, who has acquired (*the right to the use of*) all the (*five*) musical instruments, commands all the future kings :

" Be it known to you (*all*) that, for the enhancement of the religious merit and renown of Our parents and Ourselves, in this world and the next, the village *Usaupaka* situated in the *Vāhāula* (*sub-division of*) eighty-four (*villages*), has been granted (*by Us*) with libation of water, on the *Mahā-Vaiśākhi* day, for the performance of the rites such as *Bali*, *Charu*, *Vaiśvadēva*, *Agnihōtra*, *Kratu*, etc., to the Brahmin *Bhōbbhika*, son of *Bhaṭṭa Jaya*, of the *Atri gōtra*, a religious student of *Sāma-vēda*, residing in the village *Charmmanihanha*, an immigrant from the *Gauḍa* country, with all the assessments and the (*proceeds of the punishments for*) faults and ten offences, limited by the boundaries (*of this village*), without any interference from the royal officers, according to the customs of the cultivable and uncultivable lands (*bhūmi-ochchhidra-nyāyēna*), in which, while being enjoyed, nobody should cause any hindrance."

(Lines 51-54.) This is the sign-manual of the illustrious *Gōvindarāja* himself, son of the illustrious *Indrarājadēva*. This charter has been written by me, *Jajjulla*, son of *Padmanābha*, the officer in charge of war and treaties.

(*Dated this*) the seventh (*day*) of the dark half of (*the month of*) *Vaiśākha* when seven hundred and thirty two years had elapsed since the time of the *Śaka* king.

No. 35.—RATANPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF PRITHVIDEVA II;
 THE [KALACHURI] YEAR 915

By PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M. A., NAGPUR

This inscription was brought to notice as early as 1825 by Sir (then Mr.) Richard Jenkins who published a short account¹ of it in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, pp. 504-5. It has since

¹ An ornamental device precedes the *daṇḍas*.

² There is a sign after *sa*, which cannot be taken for that of *ṣ*. Read संवत्.

³ There is a blank space for one *akṣara* after ॥.

⁴ Jenkins' account of this record was based on the report of his assistant *Sāstri Vinayakrao Anandrao Aaranga-badkar* who examined this and some other records at *Sirpur*, *Raipur* and *Ratanpur*. The manuscript of his report written in the *Nāgri* characters is still preserved in the India Office Library, London. An autograph copy of it was kindly supplied to me by the Librarian, Dr. H. N. Randle. As shown below, the report is incorrect in several places.

been referred to twice in this journal¹ by Dr. Kielhorn and has also been briefly noticed by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*.² It is edited here for the first time from the original stone which is now preserved in the Central Museum, Nagpur.

According to a manuscript history of Ratanpur, the stone bearing this inscription was discovered within the Bādal Mahāl³ of the fort at Ratanpur, 16 miles north of Bilāspur in the Bilāspur District of the Central Provinces. More than 75 years ago one Reva Ram Kāyastha of Ratanpur prepared a transcript of the inscription for the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, which is now included in the aforementioned MS. history of Ratanpur.⁴ The stone was then apparently in a state of good preservation, for Reva Ram's transcript has no lacunæ. It has since then suffered in a most deplorable manner especially in the middle of lines 5-35 where from 3 to 39 *aksharas* have been lost in each line. Lines 13 and 14 have been completely effaced except for a few *aksharas* at one end. In the extant portion also, several letters here and there have become partly or wholly illegible. Unfortunately Reva Ram's transcript affords little aid in such places, as it is full of inaccuracies, judging from the extant portions of the record.⁵ A patient examination of the original has enabled me to prepare the subjoined transcript from which it is possible to form a general idea of the whole record.

The inscribed portion measures 2' 9½" broad and 1' 9½" high and contains 36 lines. The characters are Nāgarī. The medial diphthongs are shown by *prishṭha-mātrās*; *ā* is still without a dot, see, e.g., *bhṛīṅga*, l. 2; the rare *jā* occurs in *jhāmkrītaiḥ*, l. 24 and *jhāmkāra*, l. 27; the upper loop of *th* is not open, see *pratyarthi-prithvīpatau*, l. 20; in its subscript form the letter is still laid on its side, see *pāntha*, l. 24; finally, *dh* has not yet developed a horn on the left, see *dhārādharṣṇa*, l. 2. The language is Sanskrit. Except for *Om namaḥ Śivāya* in the beginning and the date at the end, the whole record is metrically composed. It contains 45 verses, all of which seem to have been numbered. The orthography does not call for any notice except that the consonant following *r* is generally reduplicated and *v* is throughout used for *b*.

¹ Above, Vol. I, p. 33 and Vol. V, Appendix, p. 60, n. 1.

² Second ed., pp. 127 ff. This is also probably the inscription mentioned by Cunningham's assistant, Beglar, in *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. VII, p. 215, though he says that it is dated .a. 979; for his description of it fits the present record. 'The centre of the slab which is a large one', says he, 'is worn quite smooth; it opens with an invocation to Śiva.'

³ Jenkins also says that the stone was 'within the fort of Ratanpur, near the Bādal Mahāl' (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, p. 505). Beglar, however, was told by some people at Bilāspur that the slab originally came from Dhanglōn (i.e., Dhanpur, now a village in the Pendra Zamindārī in the Bilāspur District, which contains several ruins). If the object of the inscription was to record the gift of a village in honour of Śiva under the name Sōmasūtha, installed at Kumārākōṭa (see vv. 36-39), the inscription may have been originally put up at that place and later on removed to Ratanpur.

⁴ *Drug District Gazetteer* (1909), p. 47. This is referred to below as the Ratanpur MS.

⁵ Jenkins' account of the contents of this inscription which was based on the report of Aurangabadkar is equally incorrect; for according to him the present inscription contains a list of nine Rājās in the order of succession from father to son, including the one by whose order the inscription was engraved. Aurangabadkar's MS. mentions five of these, viz., Prithvipāla, Brahmadēva, Rudradēva, Prithvidēva and Sridēva. The extant portion shows the names of Prithvipāla, Brahmadēva and Prithvidēva only. The other names seem to be due to mislection, for they do not occur in the manuscript history of Ratanpur also. Further, Jenkins speaks of Prithvidēva as a fortunate king who in his old age resigned his kingdom called Kōśaladēva to his son. This is evidently an incorrect interpretation of verse 21 of the present inscription. What the verse really means is that Prithvidēva, who is identical with the Kalachuri king Prithvidēva II of Ratanpur, called Brahmadēva to his capital and entrusting the government of his kingdom to him, led a life free from care.

The inscription is one of **Brahmadēva**, a feudatory prince of **Prithvidēva II** of the Kalachuri dynasty of Ratanpur. The object of it is to record the religious and charitable works of Brahmadēva at several places. It is **dated in Samvat 915** (expressed in decimal figures only) of an unspecified era. This date must of course be referred to the **Kalachuri era**. The year, if expired, would correspond to A.D. 1163-64. This is the last known date for Prithvidēva II, for the next certain Kalachuri date¹ 919 belongs to the reign of his successor Jājalladēva II.

The inscription opens with the customary obeisance to Śiva, which is followed by three verses invoking the blessings of the deity. The next verse describes Śēsha, the lord of serpents. Verses 5-8 eulogise the Talahāri-*maṇḍala* which is called an ornament of the earth. Then begins a description of the family of Brahmadēva who put up the present record. His father Prithvipāla is eulogised in verses 9 and 10 as a very valiant and famous personage. His son Brahmadēva was the foremost of the feudatories (*māṇḍalik-āgrāṇī*), evidently, of the Kalachuri king of Ratanpur (v. 11). The next nine verses (12-20) describe his valour, handsome form, learning and charity. The only point of historical interest mentioned in the extant portion is that he obtained a victory on Jaṭṣēvara who is evidently identical with the homonymous son of Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga. We are next told that Prithvidēva, the lord of Kōsala, called him from the Talahāri-*maṇḍala* and entrusting the government of his country to him obtained peace of mind (v. 21). This Prithvidēva is evidently the second prince of that name in the Kalachuri dynasty of Ratanpur.

The next eighteen verses (22-39) describe the benefactions of Brahmadēva. He constructed a temple of Dhūrjaṭi (Śiva) at Mallāla and excavated a tank evidently at the same place. The religious merit of the former he assigned to his lord Prithvidēva. Besides these, he built ten shrines of Tryambaka (Śiva) and dug two lotus-ponds at some place the name of which is lost. At Varēlāpura he constructed a grand temple of Śrīkaṇṭha and at Ratnapura he built nine shrines of Pārvatī. At the latter place he excavated also a large step-well and two tanks, one on the north and the other on the south of the city. Several other religious and charitable works of Brahmadēva are next mentioned, viz., a tank at the village Gōṭhālī, a temple of Dhūrjaṭi at Nārāyaṇapura, tanks at Bamhaṇī, Charaṇya and Tejallapura, a temple of Śiva at Kumarākōṭa and a mango-grove as well as a charitable feeding-house evidently at the same place. Verse 39 records that he donated the village Lōṅākara to the god Sōmanātha who is probably identical with the deity installed in the temple at Kumarākōṭa.

The next two verses (40-41) are devoted to the description of Anantapāla of the Gauḍa lineage, who was a keeper of records, and his son Tribhuvanapāla who composed the present *prastāvi*. Then are mentioned the scribe Kumārapāla² and the engravers Dhanapati and Īvara (vv. 43-44). The *prastāvi* closes with a verse expressing the hope that the *kīrti* (evidently the temple of Sōmanātha at which the present *prastāvi* was originally put up) may last for ever.

Brahmadēva, the chief of the Talahāri-*maṇḍala* was at first a feudatory of the Kalachuri king Prithvidēva II. He seems to have taken a leading part in the defeat of Jaṭṣēvara *alias*

¹ Hiralal read the date of the Amōḍā plates of Jājalladēva II (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 209 ff.) as 912, but his reading of the third figure of it is probably incorrect in view of the date of the present inscription which belongs to the reign of his father Prithvidēva II.

² Kumārapāla belonged to the race of Sahasrārjuna from whom the Kalachuris also traced their descent. He is mentioned as the scribe in some other records also, viz., in the Ratanpur stone inscription of Prithvidēva II, dated V. 1207, (above, Vol. I, pp. 45 ff.) and Mallār stone inscription of Jājalladēva II, dated K. 919 (*ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 39 ff.), etc. He had also considerable poetic talent: for he composed the Sheorinārāyaṇ stone inscription of the reign of Jājalladēva II, dated K. 919 (Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 12a2) and the Kharod stone inscription of Ratnadēva III, dated K. 933 (above, Vol. XXI, pp. 159 ff.).

Kāmārṇava, the son of Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga. We know from several records¹ that Chōḍagaṅga invaded the Kalachuri kingdom and suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Ratnadēva II, the father of Prithvidēva II. But that Jaṭṭēvara also attempted a similar invasion which met with the same fate is not so well known. The defeat of Jaṭṭēvara is mentioned in one other record only, viz., in the Kharod stone inscription² of Ratnadēva III. Unfortunately the verse in that record which describes this event is partly mutilated, but my personal examination of the record *in situ* has yielded the further detail³ that Jaṭṭēvara was made captive by Prithvidēva II. Verse 17 of the present record which describes Brahmādēva as well known for imprisoning a mighty foe may refer to the same event. Brahmādēva afterwards became Prithvidēva's trusted minister and was entrusted with the government of the whole kingdom.

As for the localities mentioned in the present inscription, Mallāla is evidently modern Mallār, 16 miles south-east of Bilāspur. Varēlāpura or Barēlāpura is Barēla, 10 miles south of Ratanpur. Nārāyaṇapura and Bamhaṇī still retain their old names; the former is situated on the Mahānadi in the Raipur District, while the latter is 4 miles north by east of Akaltarā. Rai Bahadur Hiralal identified Kumarākōṭa with Kotgaḍh⁴, but from some other records⁵ the old name of the latter appears to have been Vikarṇapura. Gōṣhālī, Charaṇya and Tējallapura cannot now be traced, but the last of these may have been situated not very far from Sheorinārāyaṇ, for it seems to have been founded by Tējalladēva, a Kalachuri prince of a collateral branch, who is mentioned in an inscription at Sheorinārāyaṇ⁶. Finally, Talahārī-maṇḍala is probably identical with the ancient Taraḍaṣhaka-bāḍga mentioned in the Mallār plates of Mahā-Śivagupta.⁷ It is highly glorified in the present inscription probably because Mallār and other places where Brahmādēva constructed his religious and charitable works were included in it. It seems thus to have comprised the southern portions of the Bilāspur and Jānjir *tahsils* and the northern portion of the Raipur District.

TEXT*

[Metres : Vv. 1, 4-6, 11-17, 19, 21, 22, 28, 31, 37, 38, 40 and 45, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 2, 3, 9 and 20 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 7 and 26 *Mālinī* ; vv. 8, 10, 18, 24, 29 and 43 *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 23 *Mandākrāntā* ; vv. 25, 27, 32-36 and 39 *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 30 *Gītī* ; vv. 41, 42 and 44 *Āryā*.]

1 [सिद्धिः⁹] श्री नमः शिवाय ॥ ययामी[करकु*]असविभक्तुचंद्रस्य रत्नवक्त्रोदनेहसि
शैलराजदुहितुर्वक्त्रारविन्दस्य च । निःप(निष्)र्यायदिहवयव भगवान्भक्ते स
नेचवयं स श्रेयांसि समातनोतु भवतामहैन्दुचूडा-

¹ See, e.g., above, Vol. I, p. 46 and p. 47 ; Vol. XXI, p. 163 and Vol. XXIII, p. 4.

² Above, Vol. XXI, p. 163.

³ I read the last quarter of verse 9 of this record as *kārāgāra-nīrdei-ca(ba)ndishu* √ — — — *dharām(?) prā-*
pītaḥ.

⁴ See his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (second ed.), p. 127. The name of the place is not Kōṭapattana as stated by Hiralal, but Kumarākōṭapattana.

⁵ A stone inscription which was originally found at Kotgaḍh and is now at Akaltarā (Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1585) records the construction of a tank and a temple of Rēvanta by Vallabharāja, another feudatory of Ratnadēva II and Prithvidēva II. Another stone inscription of the same feudatory found at Ratanpur, while enumerating the benefactions of Vallabharāja, mentions the same tank and temple of Rēvanta as situated at Vikarṇapura. This shows that Vikarṇapura was the ancient name of Kotgaḍh. Is Kumarākōṭa identical with Dhangaon ? See above, p. 256, n. 3.

⁶ Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1242.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 120.

⁸ From the original stone in the Central Museum, Nagpur, and inked stampages.

⁹ Expressed by a symbol.

- 2 [मणिः*] ॥२॥ य[त्क]ण्ठो भूति — —¹ [ध*]वलपरिसरः कज्जलिन्दीवरालोभङ्गश्रेणी-
न्दनीलोपलगवलतमःस्तीमलक्ष्मीविडम्बी(म्बी) । भाति प्रालेयभूभृत्कटकतट इव
श्यामलिनांबु(बु)भारैर्व्याप्तो धाराधरेण प्रभवतु ।²
- 3 [भ]वतां स त्रिये नौलकण्ठः ॥२॥ ब्र(ब्र)ह्मद्रोपे[द्र]चंद्रद्युमणिकुलगिरिच्छासमुद्रादिरूपै-
र्जोक् संक्रान्तवि(वि)म्ब(म्ब) नखमुकुरतले यत्पदाजां(जां)गुलीनाम् । दृष्ट्वा
शैलेन्द्रपुत्रौ परिणयसमये विश्रयं प्राप सज्जानस्त्रीभूतान-
- 4 नेदुः स हरतु दुरितं पार्वतीवल्लभो वः ॥३॥ यत्क्रोडे जठरैककोटरकुटीविशान्त-
विश्वधिरं लक्ष्मीपाणिसरोजलालितपदो निद्राति नारायणः । किञ्चानेकफणामणि-
व्यतिकरै रत्नाकरत्वं दधावन्मो-
- 5 धिर्विदधातु शर्म जगतां शेषः स भोगीश्वरः ॥४॥ उत्फुल्लान्बु(बु)रुहै[ः] [सरो-
भिरभितो गुच्छद्विरेफैर्वृत]³ — — — पवनोत्तसत्कदलिकारोचिष्णुभिर्भूषितम् ।
उद्यानैः कलकण्ठकुजितभरव्याल्लष्टपुष्पायुधैर-
- 6 स्ति श्रीतलहारिमण्डलमिदं विश्वम्भराभूषणम् ॥५॥ उन्मीलनवनी[लनीरज] — — —
— [वाचाल]-⁴
दिप्रण्डले । झङ्गीतिध्वनिपूरुषकर्ण[र्ण]कुहरैरध्यापकैः कौतुकादन्तेवा-
- 7 सिगणस्य यच्च पठतो नावद्यमाकर्ण्यते ॥६॥ इह फणिपति — — — — —
—
—⁵ । भ्रमति यशसि शुभे यस्य विश्वक्वकोराः शशधरकरबु(बु)द्याद्यापि
धाव-
- 8 न्ति भोक्ताः ॥७॥ यद्वाटके झटिति धूमततिः स्पृशन्ती व्योमा[ङ्गण] — — — — —
—
स्थानीकिता जलदजालधिया ध्वनङ्गिः ॥८॥ पृथ्वीपालस्ततोभूत्करतलक-

¹ The missing aksharas may have been *charchā*.

² This *danḍa* is superfluous.

³ The Ratanpur MS. reads *guṇjod-dvireph-avalir-dmr-ādāḥ pavan-ślāsāt* which makes no good sense. Perhaps the original reading was *s-dmr-ady-ōpavan-ślāsāt*.

⁴ The Ratanpur MS. furnishes here the fairly satisfactory reading *vana-śrāṅgāṇ (śyandam-) maranda-śprīhā- bhāṅgāyad-bhāṅgī-madhurāt-āli-ritatām (viratāir)-vāchāla-dīn-maṇḍalā*.

⁵ The missing aksharas can be supplied with the help of the Ratanpur MS. as *rākānātha-karpūra-pūra-pro- kūra-rajata-ritāḥ-kahira-kār-ādik-ādāḥ*.

- 23 त्रुल्लपङ्कजवदम्ब(म्ब)विराजमानं पौराङ्गनास्तनतटीदलितोर्मिमालम् । — —¹ सरो-
वरमकारि ८ — ८ नीरखेलभ्रमलकुलसङ्कलितं [समन्तात्] ॥२४॥ प्रासाद-
स्या[स्त्र] चन्द्रा]शकुन्दमुन्दररोचिषः । पृथ्वीदेवनरेन्द्राय पुष्पं
- 24 पुष्पात्मने ददौ ॥२५॥ दश भवनवराणि चम्ब(म्ब)क[स्त्र]दुरोचिर्विकचकुमुदकुन्दस्फा-
टिकाद्रि ८ — —² । [अरचयदलधूनि प्रौढदोर्दण्डलीला] ८ ८ ८ ८ ८
८ — — ८ — — ८ — — ॥२६॥ अत्रैव [पयसि] — ८ ८ ८
[सु³]स्तरक्षांकृतैः । पान्यश्रुतिप-
- 25 बाह्यादि चारु पुष्करिणीद्वयम् ॥२७॥ तेनोदारमकारि तत्र पवनोद्देक्षत्पताकाकुलं
श्रीकण्ठस्य [सुधांशुधामधवलं] श्रीमहरेलापुरे । यत्रावासमवाप्य चाप्यतितरां
तत्वाज देवधिरप्रा — — ८ ८ मवि(वि)कापरिवृढः कैलासवाससृष्टहाम् ॥२८॥
- 26 प्रालेयशैलदुहितुः कुमुदेदुकुन्दनौहारहारलवलीधवलानि तेन । सर्वोत्तमानि [पवनप्रच-
लत्पताकान्यभ्रंलि]हानि नव रत्नपुरे कृतानि ॥२९॥ क्रीड[चगर]पुरन्ध्रीपीनस्तन-
जनितवीचि[विचो]भाम् । विपुलतरामिह वापीष्ट[का]र रुचिरां
- 27 विचित्रसोपानाम् ॥३०॥ व्याकीर्त्ताव(वु)जपुच्छगुञ्जदलिनौलंकारवाचालितं खेलदूरिमराल-
संकुलतटं तेनोत्तरस्थां दिशि । श्रीमद्रत्नपुरस्य दक्षिणदिशि प्रोहामकामाङ्गना
— — — ८ ८ — ८ — ८⁴ रुचिरं चक्रे तडागद्वयम् ॥३१॥
गोठालीना-
- 28 म[नि] या[मि] च[का]र सरसीं शुभाम् । अग्निमेवदृशां वृन्देर्दिवमध्यासितामिव ॥३२॥
सुधांशुधवलं [तत्र धूर्जटेधाम] निर्मितम् । नारायणपुरे तेन पताकोल्लिखिता-
म्ब(म्ब)रम् ॥३३॥ अकारि [सरसी] — ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ विराजिता । भार-
तीव कथा तेन व(व)म्हणीयाम-
- 29 स[न्निधौ] ॥३४॥ चरौयनान्नि विस्तीर्णं यामि रम्यं सरोवरं(रम्) । चकार तेज-
पुरे ८ ८ ८ ८ ८⁵ राजितम् ॥३५॥ निर्मितं मन्दिरं रम्यं कुमराकोट-
पत्तने । तेनैवान्यं⁶ यशोराशिप्रकाशं पार्वती]पतेः ॥३६॥ तेनैवाम्बुवर्णं⁷ कृतं
घनत-

¹ Restore *rangash*.² Restore *prabhāṅgi*.³ The missing *akṣaras* can be restored with the help of the Ratanpur MS. as *smāna-prakṣalit-āmbaram* etc.
⁴ Anraṅgabadkar read this place-name as *Gōḍālī* and the Ratanpur MS. as *Gōḍhālī*. The *akṣaras* are clearly
as read above.⁵ The Ratanpur MS. reads *Śiva-āṁba-virājitam* which may be correct.⁶ Read *śaṁka-dēva*.⁷ Read *āmba-rangam*.

- 30 रच्छायानिरस्ता[तपं] पाणिप्राप्यफलोत्तरैर्मधुरसैः पान्ध्रजं प्रीणयत् । कूज[त्कोकिल]-
काकलीव्यतिकरप्रारम्भमान[स्म]रप्रौढान्नाविदलन्ननस्त्रितरुषीमानग्रहप्रन्यिकम् ॥३०॥
आकण्ठं विविधान्नपाननिवहैर्भुक्ता मनोवा-
- 31 [ञ्जितै] राशी — ७ — ७ यस्य सततं सचे[त्ते] महासन्नि[त्ति]णः । इत्थं
कार्पटिकव्रजेन रभसा — — [भव]म्भारितो दिक्कक्रं सुखरौकरोति व(व)हलः
कोलाहलः प्रत्यहम् ॥३१॥ देवाय सोमनाथाय ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ [पु*]ष्टवान् ।
असौ लोणाक[र] — —¹ स-
- 32 र्वादायैः स — ७ ७² ॥३२॥ निर्व्यूढः कविपटौ धुरि सतां व(व)हासदः
सन्ततं — — —³ धिगमप्रसादितमतिः सा — ७⁴ वादे सुधीः । आसौहि-
स्तुतकीर्तिरक्षपटलप्राप्तप्रतिष्ठः त्रि[यां] लीलागार ७ — ७⁵ पालविजु(वु)धो
गौडान्ववा-
- 33 योद्धवः ॥३०॥ विधुरिव दुग्धपयोधेः प्रसाधितायः कलानिधिर्वितराम् । अभव[त्त्रिभु-
वनपालः] पालितसकलद्विजस्तनुजः ॥३१॥ धनरसवतीं गभीरां स्वच्छतरां कवि-
विचाररमणीयाम् । सरसीमिव प्रशस्तिं त्रिभुवनपालो व्यधाद्विजु(वु)धः ॥
- 34 ॥३२॥ हारावलीमिव सुवृत्तगुणां गुणाव्यां कान्त्यान्वितां धनरसप्रकरां प्रशस्तिम् ।
— — ७ — ७ ७⁶ [कलारचितप्रकर्षः] कौतूहलात्कुमरपालवु(वु)धो लिलेख
॥३३॥ धनपतिनाम्ना कृतिना शिल्पिवरेणेश्वरेण च मनोज्ञा । उल्लोर्षा
प्रचुररसा प्र-
- 35 शस्तिरियमचरै रुचिरैः ॥३४॥ यावन्नखलमम्ब(म्ब)रेम्ब(म्ब)रमणेश्वरीशचूडामणि-
चन्द्रः सान्द्रकरोत्करेण कुरुते — — ७ — — कलाम् । यावद्वल्लसि चा-
[स्ति] पद्मसदना कौमोदकीलक्षणस्तावत्कीर्तिरियञ्चकास्तु विशदा विखञ्जरा-
मण्डले ॥३५॥
- 36 सम्बत् ८१५ [॥*]

¹ Read *grāmanā*.² Read *anantapāla*.³ The first two of the missing akṣaras appear to be *vāda*. Read *vāda-ārth-śāhigama*.⁴ Read *śāhigama*.⁵ The first three akṣaras of this name are damaged, but from Aurangabadkar's mention of Anantapāla as the father of Tribhuvanapāla, the akṣaras can be restored as *-m-Ananta*.⁶ The missing akṣaras can be supplied with the help of the Ratanpur MS. as *śyā-vināśana*. Elsewhere the name of this scribe appears as *Kumārāpāla*. The second akṣara of the name is shortened here for the sake of the metre, following the adage: *api māśaś māśaś kuryācch=chāśaś-bhāṣaś na tarayāt*.⁷ Read *Sameat*.

TRANSLATION

Success ! Om ! Adoration to Śiva !

(V. 1) May the divine half-moon-crested (*Śiva*) increase your welfare !—(*he*) who has three eyes as if because of his desire to see simultaneously, at the time of playful amorous enjoyment, the pair of gold-pitcher-like breasts and the lotus-like face of **Pārvatī**, the daughter of the mountain !

(V. 2) May that Nilakaṇṭha (*i.e.*, *Śiva*) grant you fortune !—(*he*) whose neck with a white surrounding on account of [the smearing of] ashes, imitating the beauty of collyrium, a row of blue lotuses, a line of bees, a sapphire, wild buffaloes and a mass of darkness, appears like the slope of a ridge of the snow-mountain, covered with a cloud, dark with the surcharge of water !

(V. 3) May that lover of Pārvatī remove your sin !—seeing in the nails of whose lotus-like feet as in the surface of a mirror the reflection of the universe in the form of Brahman, Indra, Viṣṇu, the moon, the jewel of heaven (*i.e.*, the sun), the principal mountains, the earth, the oceans and other things, the daughter of the lord of mountains (*Pārvatī*), at the time of her marriage, was struck with wonder, her moon-like face being bent in bashfulness !

(V. 4) May that lord of serpents, Śeṣha, grant happiness to the worlds !—(*he*) on whose lap there sleeps for a long time Nārāyaṇa, in the unique cavity of whose belly as in a cottage there rests the universe and whose feet are caressed by the lotus-like hands of Lakṣmī ; and on account of the precious stones in whose numerous hoods the ocean came to be the store of jewels !

(V. 5) This famous province (*maṇḍala*) of **Talahāri** is the ornament of the earth—which is surrounded on all sides by tanks with full-blown lotuses and humming bees and is adorned with gardens which appear beautiful with plantain trees shining [in the groves of mangoes and other trees] and to which the god of love is attracted by the excessive warbling of cuckoos.

(V. 6) [In the Talahāri province] where the regions are noisy [with the humming of bees hovering on] blooming, fresh, blue lotuses [in the desire for honey dripping from them], the teachers, the cavities of whose ears are, in admiration, filled with the musical sound, do not mark the faulty (*pronunciation*) of crowds of pupils reciting (*their texts*).

(V. 7) Here, while its fair fame, resembling the lord of serpents, [the moon, camphor-powder, silver, milk, pearl-necklaces and others], is roaming in all directions, the *chakōra* birds even now eagerly fly (*after it*), mistaking it, for the rays of the moon.

(V. 8) In the sacrificial enclosures in it, the line of smoke, as it speedily touches the expanse of the sky, is looked at by the peacocks which scream in joy, mistaking it for a multitude of clouds.

(V. 9) Then there was born **Prithvipāla**. From the necks of the hostile princes struck by him with the sharp sword grasped in his hand . . . for half a moment subjects himself to apprehension.

(V. 10) [Whose fame of bright lustre resembling lightning] and wearing a white necklace of spotless pearls scattered from the large frontal globes of the best elephants of his enemies cleft by the strokes of his sword . . . has gone from the earth to the region of the sky in order to divert itself.

(V. 11) From him was born the illustrious **Brahmadēva**, the foremost of feudatories, the play-house of fame white like the moon, (*and*) the resting place of valour,—(*he*) who is to, the

parting line of hair of the wives of hostile warriors struck by his sword what a cloud is to the moon¹

(V. 12) [The heavenly damsels] gathering together again and again on the path of gods (i.e., in the sky) and conversing with crowds of hostile warriors killed on the battle-field as they speedily became gods. rumbling out of seasons.

(V. 13) . . . like the man-lion, he is the best of men ; like Achyuta (Viṣṇu) wielding his uplifted discus, he leads a victorious army ; like Viṣṇu who is fond of the bird (*Garuḍa*) and reclines on the best of serpents, he is fond of the Brāhmaṇas and lives in the company of the best of kings³ (or, Nāga princes ?)

(V. 14) (This is completely effaced.)

(V. 15) Who accepted a beloved clad in a black garment . . . who had lovely, compact and large breasts, and who just then fell in love with him . . . Taking off furiously the sheath (of his sword) . . .

(V. 16) In the fight in which the strokes of his creeper-like sword appeared like *(flashes of)* lightning and in which it was difficult to move about on account of multitudes of streams of blood gushing forth from the necks of crowds of wrathful foes, he, having attacked the hostile king

Jatāśvara

(V. 17) He is to his enemies what the sun is to a mass of darkness ; he is Pradyumna to women (and) the preceptor of gods (i.e., Bṛihaspati) in the right judgment of speech ; being well known for imprisoning (his) mighty (foe)³, he resembles Kṛiṣṇa (who in his Dwarf incarnation imprisoned Bālī, but, unlike Kṛiṣṇa) he is not dark-complexioned⁴.

(V. 18) Though (*like the ocean*) he is . . . dear to all creatures, appears charming with his great vitality (*as the ocean does with its abundant store of water*), has attained a supreme position by his command of all armies (*as the ocean has by its lordship over all rivers*), and is a receptacle of precious things (*as the ocean is a treasure of gems*), he does not (*unlike the ocean which gives shelter to water*) give refuge to dullards.

(V. 19) The regions at the extremity of the earth which appear beautiful with the magnificent bridge of Rāma (and) those, the water of the ocean in which is absorbed by the navels of the women in the city of Varuṇa, have been resorted to by his fame.²

(V. 20) 'This [Brahmadēva, who is the sun to] the lotuses which are the faces of the excellent ladies who come out of eagerness to see his handsome form, [may come] to our world to give away wealth to supplicants in charity'—Being as it were urged by gods through such apprehension*, the sun moves continuously round the regions on the slopes of the golden mountain (Mēru) for its protection.

¹ As the moon hidden behind a cloud is no more visible, so the parting of hair on the part of those ladies is no longer to be seen, they being too full of grief to attend to their toilet.

¹ There is a play on the words *śakra* meaning (i) a discus and (ii) an army, *deījiti* meaning (i) the bird Garuda and (ii) a Brāhmana, and *bāḍgin* meaning (i) a serpent and (ii) a Nāga prince or an officer in charge of a *Bhāga* or *Bhūkti* (sub-division).

¹ This may refer to the imprisonment of Jatōlvara.

¹ There is contradiction here, since the prince Brahmadēva is said to be Kṛṣṇa and still not to have the complexion of Kṛṣṇa, but the contradiction is only apparent, the figure being *Vīṛḍḍābhāsa*.

* The regions in all the four directions were described in this verse. The first hemistich which described the northern and eastern regions is almost completely lost. The description in the second hemistich refers to the southern and western regions.

* The idea in this verse occurs also in verse 17 of the Mallâr stone inscription, above, Vol. I, p. 41.

(V. 21) Consigning the yoke of the government to him who, being a treasure of merits, had been brought over from the Talahāri-maṇḍala and who killed hostile kings with the strokes of the sword grasped in his hand, the king Prithvidēva (II), the lord of the famous Kōśala country, obtained great mental happiness.

(V. 22) [Seeing that] on the orb of the earth is like dew-drops on (*the petal of*) a lotus shaken by the wind, that wealth is of unsteady duration resembling mostly the flashes [of lightning] and that men's youth imitates (*in fickleness*) the shining of the fire-fly, he who had acquired abundant wealth [by valour] exerted himself for piety.

(V. 23) In this¹ Mallāla which renders the circle of regions fragrant with abundant [full-grown] lotuses, he constructed a temple of Dhūrjaṭi (Śiva) (*distinguished*) by these banners set in motion by wind, which remove the perspiration, caused by fatigue, of the horses of the sun.

(V. 24) [And he constructed] a tank, which appears beautiful with clusters of full-blown lotuses, the rows of the waves of which are broken by the protruding breasts of town ladies, and which is crowded on all sides with multitudes of swans sporting in water.

(V. 25) The religious merit of this temple, the splendour of which is beautiful like that of the moon's rays and *kunda* flowers, he assigned to the king Prithvidēva (II) of pious nature.

(V. 26) He constructed ten large and beautiful temples of Tryambaka (Śiva), [bright] like moon-light, full-blown night-lotuses, *kunda* flowers and the mountain of crystals (*i.e.*, Kailāsa).

(V. 27) At this very place he [constructed] two lotus-pools which delighted the ears of travellers with the sweet humming (*of bees*) in water.

(V. 28) He erected at the famous Varēlāpura, a temple of Śrīkaṭha (Śiva), white like the lustre of the moon, and covered with flags fluttering in the wind; having received habitation in which, the god (Śiva), the lord of Ambikā, has given up completely his longing for living on Kailāsa

(V. 29) By him there were built at Ratnapura nine cloud-kissing excellent temples of (*Pārvaṭī*) the daughter of the Himālaya. (*which are*) white like night-lotuses, the moon, *kunda* flowers, snow, pearl-necklaces and *lavaṭī* (*flowers and*) the flags of which flutter in the wind.

(V. 30) He made here a large and beautiful well, with wonderful steps, the waves of which were stirred by the plump breasts of town ladies sporting (*in its water*).

(V. 31) In the northern and southern directions of Ratnapura he made two beautiful tanks which are rendered noisy by the buzzing of the swarms of bees humming on clusters of full-blown lotuses and the banks of which are crowded with numerous swans sporting (*in, their water*).

(V. 32) At the village named Gōṭhālī he made a pleasant tank which is occupied by crowds of fishes as heaven is by gods.²

(V. 33) He constructed at Nārāyaṇapura a temple of Dhūrjaṭi (Śiva), white like the moon, which with its flags scrapes the sky.

(V. 34) He made a tank near the village Bamhaṇī, which, like the story of the *Bhārata*³ is

¹ The wording of verse 23 may be taken to signify that the inscription originally came from Mallāla, but notice a similar wording in V. 30.

² There is a play on the expression *a-simāśa-dṛṣṭi* (*lit.*, having unwinking eyes). It signifies (i) fishes and (ii) gods.

³ The verse apparently contained an expression which by means of *double entendre* described both the tank and the story of the *Mahābhārata*.

(V. 35) He made a lovely large lake at the village called Charaulya and [a beautiful temple of Śiva] at Tējallapura.

(V. 36) At the town of Kumārākōṭa he made another lovely temple of (*Śiva*) the husband of Pārvatī, resplendent like the mass of his own fame.

(V. 37) He himself planted a grove of mango trees which with their very dense shade removes the heat (*of the sun*) and with its multitude of fruits reached by the hand, pleases travellers and where the knot of stubborn reserve of proud young ladies gives way at the imperious command of the god of love, which is begun (*to be communicated*) by the mingling sweet notes of the warbling cuckoos.

(V. 38) Having partaken, to their hearts' content, of the various kinds of foods and drinks as desired in the charitable feeding house of the great sacrificer, such loud cries of pilgrims daily make the circle of regions resound, (*viz.*).....

(V. 39) To the god Sōmanātha the pious one granted [the village] Lōpākara together with all taxes.....

(V. 40) There was the learned Anantapāla of extensive fame, born in the Gauḍa lineage, who mastered the path of poets, who always secured a place at the head of good people, whose thoughts were rendered pure by his knowledge [of the contents of the Vēdas], who was clever in literary discussions, who attained renown in the department of records (*and*) was a play-house of fortune.

(V. 41) [From him] was born Tribhuvanapāla who gives shelter to all Brāhmaṇas and who, being a treasure of arts, has (*all*) his desires completely fulfilled, even as from the milky ocean is produced the moon which, being the repository of digits, exceedingly adorns all quarters and maintains all (*chakōra*) birds.¹

(V. 42) The learned Tribhuvanapāla has composed this *prastasti* (eulogy) resembling a lake,—which is full of flavour (*as a lake has abundant water*), is profound (*as a lake is deep*) and clear and is pleasing to the thoughts of poets.

(V. 43) The wise Kumārāpāla, who has attained excellence in learning and fine arts, has with eagerness written this *prastasti* resembling a necklace of pearls—which has the merit of (*being composed in*) good metres (*as the necklace has that of having well-rounded pearls*), which is rich in merits (*as the necklace is in threads*) and which (*like the necklace*) appears brilliant and is full of deep sentiments (*as the necklace is possessed of great charm*).²

(V. 44) This pleasant *prastasti*, abounding in sentiments, is incised in beautiful letters by the skilful and best sculptors named Dhanapati and Īśvara.

(V. 45) As long as the moon, the gem of the sky and the crest-jewel of (*Śiva*) the lord of Chaṇḍī, makes the orb (*of the earth*) white with its dense rays, as long as the lotus-dwelling (*goddess of fortune*) rests on the breast of the god who is distinguished by the (*mace*) Kaumōdaki (*i.e.*, of Viṣṇu), even so long may this bright temple³ shine on the orb of the earth!

(L. 36) The Year 915.

¹ There is a play on three expressions here which are intended to be construed with Tribhuvanapāla and the moon.

² The expressions in the first hemistich of this verse are on account of double *catacadre* intended to be construed with the *prastasti* (eulogy) as well as with the *kārṇāvalī* (pearl-necklace).

³ The text has *kīrti* which means 'any work of public utility, calculated to render famous the name of the constructor of it'. See *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 212, n. 6. It probably refers here to the temple of Sōmanātha mentioned in verses 36 and 39.

No. 36—RAJGHAT PLATES OF GOVINDACHANDRADEVA: V. S. 1197

By KRISHNA DEVA, M.A., DELHI

The record edited below consists of **two copper-plates** which were unearthed 5' below surface from an ancient mound at **Rājghāt** in the northern outskirts of the city of Benares in the beginning of July 1940 in course of earth-work excavation by the East Indian Railway in connection with the project of the extension and remodelling of the Kashi railway station and the regirdering of the Dufferin Bridge on the Ganges. On receiving information of their discovery, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archaeology in India, promptly acquired them from the railway authorities through Mr. S. J. P. Cambridge, Engineer-in-charge of the project. I am grateful to Rao Bahadur Dikshit for kindly according me permission and every facility to edit the plates which are now deposited in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Benares.

The mound from which the plates were recovered is situated immediately to the east of the Kashi goods yard. Though the actual findspot has been levelled down to a depth of about 8' below the top of the mound and abuts on the compound of the office of the said project, marking the middle of its northern boundary line, the continuation of the mound in the north, which is perched by some Muslim graves and a well, still stands intact and attests the original contour and height of the mound. An examination of the cutting of the mound revealed traces of old structural remains at the same level with the findspot of the plates, superimposed by a later concrete floor of perhaps the Muslim period. In view of the continued occupation in antiquity of the Rājghāt site from the Śunga to the Gāhaḍavāla period, which has been proved by the subsequent excavations of the Archaeological Department, it is quite likely that the plates were found from the Gāhaḍavāla stratum, if not actually from the house of the grantee of the charter.

The set consists of two copper-plates, each measuring $15'' \times 11\frac{1}{2}''$. Their edges are fashioned thicker and raised into rims for the protection of the writing which is inscribed on one side only of each plate. They are held together by a circular ring which passes through a ring-hole of $\frac{3}{4}''$ diameter. The ring-hole is pierced through the middle of the bottom of the first plate and the top of the second. To the ring is affixed a circular seal, measuring $2\frac{3}{4}''$ in diameter and bearing within a thin circular border and concentric band of incised indentations, representations of flying Garuḍa in the upper field and the *śaṅkha* in the lower, with the legend *Śrīmad-Govindachandradevaḥ*, engraved in Nāgarī in the middle. The plates with the ring and seal weigh 551 tolas. The plates were found securely packed in a roughly fashioned sandstone box made of two similar carved trays put one above the other, each of which measures $24'' \times 18'' \times 3''$. Originally the trays must have been held together by means of a string for which a number of grooves have been incised all along their outer edges. The inner recess of the stone receptacle was carved nearly to the size of the plates and a special projection with a deeply cut groove was provided in the middle of its width to accommodate the ring and the seal.

The plates are in an excellent state of preservation and the execution of the writing is careful and elegant. Altogether there are 35 lines of writing of which the first plate contains 18 lines and the second 17 lines. The height of the letters is $\frac{3}{4}''$. The characters of the inscription are Nāgarī and the language Sanskrit. With the exception of 9 verses in the beginning and 10 imprecatory and benedictory verses in the end, the rest of the record is in prose. Like other Gāhaḍavāla records, the first verse of this is introductory in praise of Lakṣmī and Viṣṇu and the following eight are devoted to the eulogy of a succession of Gāhaḍavāla rulers ending with the donor of the grant.

In respect of orthography the following points are worth noting: (1) *B* is invariably denoted by the sign for *v*, e.g., *vāku-vallī-vaddh-* (l. 9), *-āmvu* (l. 10), *vabhramur-* (l. 11), *Kanyakuvj-* (ll. 12-13), *vōdhayaty-* (l. 18), etc. (2) *Sh* has been wrongly substituted for *kṣ* in *iśharam* (l. 22) and *kh* for *śh* in *garttōkharah* (l. 19). (3) *S* has been incorrectly used for *ś* in *yasaḥ* (l. 3), *Kāsi* (l. 5), *satasas-* (l. 6), *-ādisati* (l. 18), *visuddhaḥ* (l. 20), *nāsanam* (l. 35), etc. and *ś* for *s* in *tāndr-* (l. 10), *tēnāpati* (ll. 16-17), *sahasrāpi* (l. 28), *vaṣundharām* (l. 29), etc. (4) Combinations of consonants and nasals have been indiscriminately represented by either *anusvāra* or a nasal of the same class, e.g., *akupth-ōkaṇṭha* and *ārambhē* (l. 1), *-āṅkitā* (l. 6), *maṇḍalē* (l. 8), *mantri-* (l. 16), etc., as against *Mahichamdra-* (ll. 2-3), *narēndrah* (l. 10), *Gōvīndachamdra* (l. 15), *saṁplavam* (l. 32), *viṁdu* (l. 33), etc. (5) A consonant following *r* has very often been doubled, e.g., *dōr-ēvikramēṇ-ārjītam* (l. 5), *-ōpārjīta-* (l. 12), *sa-parṇ-* (l. 19), *tarppayitvā* (ll. 21-22), *gōkarṇa* (l. 23), *pūrvvakam* (l. 24), *karmṇau* and *svargga-* (l. 27), *dharmmaḥ* (l. 33), etc., the few exceptions being *havirbhujam* (l. 23), *sētur-nripāṇām* (l. 34), etc. (6) *Anusvāra* has been rightly changed into final *m* at the end of the metrical stanza in *-ārjītam* (l. 5), *phalam* (l. 31) and *saṁplavam* (l. 32), but not at the end of the second quarter as in *vaṣundharām* (l. 29), *aṅgulam* (l. 31), etc. (7) *Kākapada* sign has been used at the end of lines 9, 12 and 24 to show in each case that the last word could not be completed in that line and is continued in the next line. (8) Ornamental scroll patterns have been introduced between the *daṇḍas* in lines 15, 26 and 35. Similar ornamental designs also occur in other Gāhaḍavāla records like the Sabēṭh-Mahēṭh plate of Gōvīndachandra-dēva (V. S. 1186).¹

The donor of the grant is the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Paramamāhēstara Gōvīndachandrādēva*, the Gāhaḍavāla ruler of Kanauj and Benares, of whom as many as forty-three records² dating from V. S. 1171 to V. S. 1211 (A. D. 1114-1154) are already known. The present record repeats the draft of the other copper-plate grants of the ruler, the only new information which it yields being contained in the grant portion. The usual genealogy is given in verses 2-9 and again in lines 11-15.

The date of the grant is recorded both in words and in decimal figures in lines 20-21 as Sunday, the Kārttikī or the 15th day of the bright half of Kārttika in the (Vikrama) Samvat 1197, which regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 27th October, A.D. 1140. This date is not of much interest as we already have a grant of the ruler dated in V. S. 1197.³

The object of the grant is to record the gift of the village *Bhādapa-Nāmdapa* together with its *pāṭakas*, in the *Amavālī-pattalā* to the Brahmin *Bhaṭṭa-Amṭapāpīśarmman*, of the *Bhāradvāja-gotra* and the three *pravaras*, *Bhāradvāja*, *Āngirasa* and *Vatsa*, son of *Bhārmu* and grandson of *Jatanāyiva*. The gift was made by Gōvīndachandrādēva after bathing in the Ganges at *Vārāṇasī* in the *Ādikēśava-ghaṭṭa*. The *Chandrāvati* plate of *Chandrādēva* of V. S. 1156, which also refers to the god *Ādikēśava*, is the earliest record to mention the *Ādikēśava-ghaṭṭa* which is described as *janita-Surasarid-Varaṇ-āghamarahana*,⁴ implying that it was situated on the sacred confluence of the Ganges and the *Barnā*. The present situation of the *Ādikēśava ghāṭ* exactly conforms to this description and it is interesting to note the close proximity of the *ghāṭ* to the findspot of the present copper-plates. Two other Gāhaḍavāla

¹ Above, Vol. XI, pp. 22 ff.

² See R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, pp. 369 ff.

³ Above, Vol. IV, p. 114.

⁴ Above, Vol. XIV, p. 198, l. 16.

records mention the Ādikēśava-ghaṭṭa¹ and three more the god Ādikēśava², whose shrine then, as now, was situated on the *ghaṭṭ* bearing the same name. But the earliest epigraphical reference to this deity, probably the family deity of the Gāhaḍavālas, is found in the following verse occurring in the Chandrāvati plates of Chandradēva of V. S. 1150³.

हेमानि येन मणिभिः खचितान्यनर्घै-

र्दत्तानि विष्णुहरये च विभूषणानि ।

काश्चां व्यभूषयदनेकसुवर्णरत्नै-

र्यद्यादिकेशवविभोः प्रतिमां निवेश्य ॥[८]॥*

This gives us the valuable information that the image of Ādikēśava was installed by Chandradēva in or before V. S. 1150. It is true that the *Kāśi-Khaṇḍa*⁴ of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* contains references to Ādikēśava, but as the age of the work is uncertain and the references are purely of a mythological character, it does not help us to determine whether or not the shrine existed before Chandradēva's period. In the absence of any contradictory evidence, we shall be justified in presuming that Chandradēva was the builder of the Ādikēśava shrine, which comes into prominence only from the 12th century A.D. onwards.

Fortunately the localities mentioned in the grant can nearly all be identified. **Bhādapa**, the first component of the compound name of the gift village Bhādapa-Nāmdapa, is the same as the modern Bhadaūn village, which is hardly quarter of a mile to the west of Rājghāṭ where the plates were found. The latter half of the compound, viz. **Nāmdapa**, is perhaps represented by Nadesar, situated in Benares Cantonment, about 2 miles further west. I am, however, unable to identify *Amavāli-pattalā*. This may be identical with the *Amvāli-pattalā*, mentioned in the Benares plate of Jayachchandrādēva of V. S. 1234⁵, wherein it is described as *Daivahā-pāre*, i.e., situated across the Daivahā (river).

¹ *J. R. A. S.*, 1898, p. 787; *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LVI, Part I, p. 100, l. 19.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 252; Above, Vol. IV, p. 119, l. 18 and p. 124, l. 24.

³ Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 192 ff. For the verse see plate opposite p. 191, l. 6. It is strange that the editor of this record omitted even to transcribe some new and historically important verses occurring at the beginning of the record. Some of the verses are also found in the Chandrāvati plate of V. S. 1156, which is edited together with the former record. Among such verses are the following which throw light on the vexed question as to who the immediate predecessors of the Gāhaḍavālas were on the throne of Kanauj:

आसीदसं(रे)पनरनायकिरीटकोटिमहद्विजयसन्धिपादपीठः । श्रीदेवपालवृत्तिस्त(चि)त्रमयमौतकुंदे दयामहिम कैरवकालकीर्तिः

॥[९]॥ कालेन नास(श)मद्य तस्य वनेनवादे दोर्हन्त्रिकमहताच्चित्तकन्त्रकुलः(कः) । आसीदमत्र व(र)हपुत्रवामुन्यमानोवति-
विजयति मयि भूपवंशः ॥[१०]॥ तच्चिन्त्यते समुत्पत्ती वशीविद्वज्जयः ।

This Dēvapāla is no doubt the homonymous chief of the Rāsthtrakūṭa family, who has been onlogistically referred to in the Badaun inscription of Lakhanapāla (above, Vol. I, p. 64, l. 5). This further corroborates the view of Dr. Tripathi (*History of Kanauj*, p. 290) that a branch of the Rāsthtrakūṭas ruled over Kanauj immediately before the rise of the Gāhaḍavālas.

⁴ Chap. 58, vv. 17 ff.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 133, l. 29.

TEXT

[Metres : Vv. 1, 3, 10—16, 19, *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 2, *Indravajrā* ; vv. 4, 7, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 5, 6, 8, 17, *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 9, *Drutavilambita* ; v. 18 *Śālīnī*.]

First Plate

- 1 चो^२ सिद्धिः ॥ अकुण्ठोत्कण्ठवैकुण्ठकण्ठपोठलुठत्करः । संरम्भः सुरतारम्भे स त्रियः
त्रेयसेस्तु वः ॥[१॥*] आसीदशीतद्युति-
- 2 वंशजातस्त्रापालमात्रासु दिवंगतासु । साक्षादिवस्त्रानिव भूरिधात्रा नात्रा यशोविषह
इत्युदारः ॥[२॥*] तत्सुतोभूम्भ-
- 3 ह्रीचंद्रश्च(च)द्रधामनिभं निजं । येनापारमकूपारपारे व्यापारितं यमः(शः) ॥[३॥*]
तस्याभूत्तनयो नयैकरसिक[ः*] क्रान्तद्विषम्भ-
- 4 ण्डलो विह(हु)स्तोदतधौरयोधतिमिरश्चोचंद्रदेवी नृपः । येनोदारतरप्रतापस(श)मिताशेष-
प्रजीपद्रवं श्रीमन्नाधिपुराधि-
- 5 राज्यमसमं दोर्विक्रमेणार्जितम् ॥[४॥*] तीर्यानि का^३सि(शि)कुशिकोत्तरकोशलेंद्रस्त्रानौ-
यकानि परिपालयताभिगम्य^४ । हेमात्म-
- 6 तुल्यमनिसं(शं) ददता द्विजेभ्यो येनाङ्किता वसुमती स(श)तस(श)स्तुलाभिः ॥[५॥*]
तस्यात्मजो मदनपाल इति क्षिती^५द्रचूडामणिर्विज-
- 7 यते निजगोचंद्रः । यस्याभिषेककालसोन्नसितै पयोभिः प्रक्षालितं कलिरजःपटलं
धरिचयाः ॥[६॥*] यस्यासीद्विजयप्रया-
- 8 णसमये तुङ्गाचलोच्चैश्चलन्नाद्यत्कुम्भिपदक्रमासमभरभस्व(श)न्महीमण्डले । चूडारत्नवि-
भिन्नतालुगलितस्त्रानासृगुडा-
- 9 सितः शेषः पेषवशादिव क्षणमसौ क्रौडे निलीनाननः ॥[७॥*] तस्मादजायत
निजायतवा(वा)हुवन्नव(व)धावरुदनवरा^६

^१ From the original plates and estampages.

^२ Expressed by a symbol.

^३ Kā in Kāsi occurs below the line and was obviously added subsequently.

^४ Almost all the other Gāhaḍavāla records substitute *adhiganya* for *abhiḡanya* which here means the same thing.

^५ The *anusedra* everywhere appears on the right of the medial sign but here it occurs on the left.

^६ The *bākapada* sign occurs here.

- 10 ज्यगजो नरेंद्रः । शां(सां)द्रासुतद्रवमुचां प्रभवो गवा(वां) यो गोविन्दचंद्र इति चंद्र
इवाम्बु(म्बु)राशेः ॥[८॥*] न कयमप्यलभन्त रणचमास्तिसृ-
- 11 पु दिक्षु गजानय वज्रिणः । ककुभि व(व)भ्रमुरभ्रमुवल्लभप्रतिभटा इव यस्य घटा-
गजाः ॥[९॥*] सोयं समस्तराजचक्रसंसेवितचर-
- 12 खः ॥ परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरनिजभुजोपार्जितश्रीकन्यकु-¹
- 13 ज्ञा(ज्ञा)धिपत्यश्रीचंद्रदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीमद-
नपालदेवपा-
- 14 दानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वराखपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजक्या-
- 15 धिपतिविविधविद्याविचारवाचस्पतिश्रीमद्भोविंदचंद्रदेवो विजयी ।² । अमवालोपत्तलायाम् ।
सपाटक-
- 16 भादपनांदपग्रामनिवासिनो निखिलजनपदानुपगतानपि च राजराज्ञीयुवराजमन्त्रिपुरोहित-
प्रतीहारशे(से)ना-
- 17 पतिभाण्डागारिकाचपटलिकभिषमैमित्तिकान्तःपुरिकदूतकरितुरगपत्तनाकरस्थानगोकुलाधि-
कारिपुरुषा-
- 18 नाज्ञापयति वो(वो)धयत्वादिस(श)ति च ॥[*] यथा विदितमस्तु भवतां³ यद्योपरिलि-
खित[*]ग्रामः सजलस्वतः सलोहलवणाकरः

Second Plate

- 19 समस्य(स्या)करः सपर्णाकरः सगर्ताख(य)रः समधूकचूतवनविटपवाटिकावलयूतिगीचर-
पर्यन्तः सोडा(डा)धवतुरावाट-
- 20 विमु(श)हः स्वसीमापर्यन्तः सप्तनवत्यधिकैकादस(श)शतसम्बकरं कार्तिक्या रविदिने
अहतीपि सम्बत् ११८७ कार्तिक सु(श)दि १५
- 21 रवौ ॥ अद्येह श्रीमदाराणस्यां श्रीमदादिकेशवघटे विधिव[ह]ज्ञायां स्नात्वा मन्त्रदेव-
मुनिमनुजभूतपितृगणांस्त-
- 22 [र्ष]वित्वा तिमिरपटलपाटनपटुमहसमुष्णरोचिषमुपस्त्रायौषधिपतिशकलशेष(ख)रं समभ्यर्च्य
चिमुवनचातु-

¹ *Kātopada*.

² An ornamental pattern between two *dasdas* occupies one inch of space here.

³ Between *dhava* and *dhā* there is a gap marked by a *dasda* at either end because of the interposition of the ring-hole.

⁴ The reading *sa-mata-dhara* is also likely and will yield the same sense.

- 23 र्वासुदेवस्य पूजां विधाय हविषा हविर्भुजं हुत्वा मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभि-
हृदये गोकर्णकुशलता-
- 24 पूतकरतलोदकपूर्वकं¹ मस्त्राभिः भारद्वाजगोत्राय भारद्वाजप्राङ्गिरसवत्सविःप्रवरायः² जतना-
यिव-³
- 25 पोत्राय भांसुपुत्राय भट्टर्षतपाणिस(श)र्षणे ब्राह्मणायाचंद्रार्के यावच्छासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तो
मत्वा यथादीयमान-
- 26 भागभोगकरप्रवणिकरतुरुक्षदण्डप्रभृतिसर्वादायानाञ्चान्ववणा(ण)विधेयीभूय दास्यथेति ।
भवन्ति चात्र
- 27 पुण्यश्लोकाः ॥ भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उतौ तौ पुण्यक-
र्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥[१०॥*] शंखं भ-
- 28 द्रासनं च्छ(ङ्क)चं वरास्त्रा(श्वा) वरवारणाः । भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलमेतत्पुरन्दर
॥[११॥*] षष्ठिं(ष्टिं) वर्षसहस्रा(स्त्रा)णि स्वर्गे वसति भूमि-
- 29 दः प्राच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्वेव नरके वसेत् ॥[१२॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां
वा यो हरत वश्र(सु)भरां । स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा [पि]ढ-
- 30 मिः सह मज्जति ॥[१३॥*] तडागानां सहस्रे(स्त्रे)ण वाजपेयस(श)तेन च । गवां
कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न शुध्यति ॥[१४॥*] व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा सु-
- 31 क्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥[१५॥*]
सुवर्णमेकं गामिकां भूमिरप्येकमङ्गुलं ।
- 32 हरन(व)रकमाप्नोति यावदाहृतसंज्ञवम् ॥[१६॥*] वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपे(प)त्य-
मापातमाचमधुरा विषयीपभोगाः । प्रा-
- 33 णास्तृणाग्रजलविंदुसमा नराणां धर्मः सखा परमहो परलोकयाने ॥[१७॥*] सर्वा-
नेतान्माविनो भूमिपालान्भूयो भू-
- 34 यो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः
॥[१८॥*] अक्षझीगे व्यतिक्रान्ते
- 35 यः कथिष्यपतिर्भवेत् । तस्याहं करलम्नोन्मि सा(शा)सनं मा व्यतिक्रमेदिति
॥[१९॥*] श्रीं ॥ १॥ १॥

¹ The *anusvara* here is redundant.

² Read *tri-pravarāya*.

³ The *kākapada* sign occurs here.

⁴ Between the two *daṇḍas* occurs an ornamental design.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Ornamental design.

No. 37.—CAPE COMORIN INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA I

By R. Vasudeva Poduval, B.A., Director of Archaeology, Travancore State

Cape Comorin, also called Kanyakumāri, is the southernmost point of India. It is, in some ancient records, mentioned as Kalikkūḍi¹ situated in the Purattāya-nāḍu, a sub-division of Uttama-Chōla-vaṇanāḍu, in Rājarāja-Ppāḍi-nāḍu (or-maṇḍalam)². Kanyakumāri was named Gaṅgai-konḍachōlapuram by Rājendrachōladēva I. It is situated at a distance of 3½ miles from Agastīśvaram, a village in the taluk of that name in the Trivandrum Division of the Travancore State. The name 'Kanyakumāri' came into vogue after the virgin Goddess i.e., Pārvatī or Durgā to whom the important temple in the place is dedicated. The place is variously known as Kanni, Kumari or Kanyakumāri.³ It was included in the domain of the Pāṇḍya kings and formed its southern boundary.⁴ From time immemorial, the Pāṇḍyas were the guardians of Kanyakumāri and its temple, one of their distinguishing titles being *Kanni-kūvalan*, the guardian of Kanni i.e., Kanyakumāri.⁵

Kanyakumāri is considered a very sacred place by the Hindus; and its antiquity can be traced to a remote past. "Those who wish to consecrate the closing part of their lives to religion come hither and bathe and engage themselves to celibacy. This is also done by women, since it is related that the Goddess once upon a time resided at the place and bathed."⁶

The *Mahābhārata*⁷ and the *Maṇimākalai*⁸ speak of the sanctity of Kanyakumāri. The author of Periplus (A.D. 85), Ptolemy (A.D. 150), the Muhammadan historian Abulfeida (A.D. 1203), the Venetian traveller Marco Polo (A.D. 13th century) and many Tamil poets of the Śaṅgam age have made references to Cape Comorin.

The temple of the Goddess Kanyakumāri is built on the very brink of the Indian Ocean. It has a large wealth of epigraphical material throwing light on the history of some of the South Indian dynasties such as the Chōlas, the Pāṇḍyas, Vijayanagara kings, and the royal house of Travancore. The inscription of Virarājēndra⁹ is the most important one in the temple, and may be fitly called the *Chōla-vaiśiṣa-prasasti*. It is extremely important for the history of the Chōlas as it contains much information hitherto unknown to history.

The existence of several Chōla inscriptions in Cape Comorin and its suburbs shows that the southern part of Travancore was once under the rule of Chōla kings in ancient days. Especially during the reign of Kulōttuṅga I, the power of Chōla kings was considerably strengthened in the Tamil land. An inscription of Kulōttuṅga at Chidambaram¹⁰ states that the king defeated an army at Kōṭṭār (in South Travancore) and burnt the fortress of the place. It also mentions that he erected a pillar of victory at the sea-coast.

¹ Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. I, p. 161.

² Ibid., p. 164.

³ *Perandāṅgu* (1894), pp. 8 and 21.

⁴ *Tamil Nigunḍu*.

⁵ Caldwell's *History of Tinnevely*, p. 19; *J. A. S.*, vol. III, p. 87 ff.

⁶ *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparvan.

⁷ *Maṇimākalai* (1931), pp. 37, 142 and 199.

⁸ Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 21-35, and *T. A. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 85-158.

⁹ Above, Vol. V, p. 103 f.

The inscription edited below is engraved on a pillar on the north of the *mayi-mayāpa* in front of the *utsava* shrine of the Kanyābhagavati temple. It belongs to the **fourteenth year** of the reign of **Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva I** (A.D. 1084). The record is in sixteen lines and occupies a space of 24 inches square. Some of the letters in lines 11, 12, 14, 15 and 16 are indistinct. The **language** and **script** of the inscription are Tamil and bear a close resemblance to those of the Tirukkalukkuṅṅam record of Kulōttuṅga I¹.

There are four inscriptions² of Kulōttuṅga I already published in the *Travancore Archaeological Series*. Two of them are from the Śiva temple at Chōlapuram and one from Vāriyūr in South Travancore. The present one is the fifth of his records discovered in Travancore and the first noticed at Cape Comorin. It refers to certain arrangements for the feeding of Brahmins in the temple of Kanyā-Patāriyār at **Kumari** situated in **Purattāya-nāḍu**, a sub-division of **Uttamachōla-vaḷanāḍu** in **Rājarāja-Ppāḍināḍu**.

Of the **geographical places** mentioned in the record **Rājarāja-Ppāḍināḍu** is the tract of land which included Kanyākumāri or modern Cape Comorin. **Uttamachōla-vaḷanāḍu** is a division of the **Rājarāja-Ppāḍināḍu**. **Purattāya-nāḍu** means a *nāḍu* which is outside the country. The country east of Kōṭṭār was known in the olden days as Purattāya-nāḍu or the country outside Vēṇāḷ.³ It was a sub-division of Uttamachōla-vaḷanāḍu mentioned above. **Rāyakkuḍi**, **Peruṅkuḍi** and **Śēngaḷūr** are villages contiguous to Kanyākumāri.

TEXT

1 Svasti Śri[[*]]Kulōttuṅga-[Chōladē]-	9 nniraṇḍum Peruṅkuḍi-chchālā-
2 vaṅku yāḍu [paḍignālāvaḍu]	10 bōgattil kalam irupattira[^u [*]]ḍum
3 Irājarāja-[Ppāḍi-nāṭṭu] Ut-	11 Śēngaḷūr-āṇa Śikā ⁴maṅgalat-
4 tama-Chōla-vaḷanāṭṭu Purattā-	12 tu-kkalam panniraṇḍum
5 ya-nāṭṭu-Kkumari-Kkaṇṇi[yā-patā]ri-	13 Chchāṭṭaṇēri-kkalam iraṇḍum ā
6 yār kōyillil Brāhmaṇarai amidu-	14 [*] i-chchā-
7 cheyya-kkarpitta kalam nam ⁵ Rāya-	15 lābōgattil [aimpa]ḍu ⁶ Brāhmaṇa-
8 kkuḍi-chchālābōgattir-kalam pa-	16 r-amirdu variyil-iṭṭukkuḍuttōm [[*]]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

In the **14th (regnal) year** of **Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva I**, We have given for the feeding of Brahmins in the Kāṇṇiyā-Patāriyār temple at **Kumari** belonging to **Purattāya-nāḍu**, a sub-division of **Uttamachōla-vaḷanāḍu** in **Rājarāja-Ppāḍināḍu**: 12 *kalams* from our **Rāyakkuḍi śālābhōgam** (i.e., endowment of land for the maintenance of a rest house, etc.), 2 *kalams* from **Peruṅkuḍi śālābhōgam**, 12 *kalams* from **Śēngaḷūr alias Śikā**....maṅgalam and two *kalams* fromChāṭṭanēri.

¹ S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 165 ff.

² T. A. S., Vol. I, pp. 242-243.

³ Travancore State Manual (1906), Vol. I, p. 180.

⁴ [Reading in *Narirāyakkuḍi*; and this village is apparently the same as *Narirākkudi* mentioned in the Kanyākumāri inscription Virarājendra (T. A. S., Vol. III, p. 149, text-line 440).—N. L. R.]

⁵ [Reading in *Śikarāṇamangalattu*.—N. L. R.]

⁶ [Reading in *pa kalam nāṇṇattu eṭṭam*.—V. V.]

⁷ [Reading in *nimanta*.—V. V.]

No. 38.—BAUDH PLATES OF SALONABHANJA

By KRISHNA CHANDRA PANIGRAHI, M.A., SAMBALPUR

These copper-plates were sent to Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, M.A., Officiating Superintendent of the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta, on the 9th July, 1939, by Mr. S. Roy, B.A., Bar-at-law, the Dewan of the Bandh State, Orissa. According to the information furnished by the latter, they were found by one Braja Padhan, a cultivator of Baudhgarh, the capital of the State, while cultivating his paddy field on the 4th July, 1939. I am indebted to Mr. Ramachandran for the kind permission he has given me for editing the plates.

They are three in number, each measuring about $8\frac{1}{2}$ " \times $5\frac{1}{2}$ " across the centre, and are held together by a copper ring about 12" in circumference, which passes through the hole made in the top centre of each plate. The ends of the ring are secured by a seal containing the figure of a vase in relief, but no legend. The inscription consists of 42 lines of writing incised on both the sides of the middle sheet and on the inner face of the first and last sheets. The letters are well-formed and deep-cut, and the inscription is in perfect preservation. The plates together with the ring and the seal weigh about 134 tolas.

The language is Sanskrit. The composition of the record is mostly in verse and partly in prose. It contains some grammatical and spelling mistakes which are corrected in their proper places. In respect of orthography the following points may be noted : (1) *v* is used for *b* invariably ; (2) a consonant following *r* is in some cases reduplicated and in others left single, e.g., *kirttiṣ* and *Durjaya*, l. 5 ; (3) *s* is often used for *ś* as in *vaṁś*, l. 2 ; (4) *anuvāra* occasionally takes the place of a class nasal and a final *m*, for example, in *maṇḍal*, l. 6, and *varjitaṁ*, l. 16.

The characters used in the record are proto-Oriya and may be classed with those used in the Ādipur plate of Durjayabhañja¹, the Mahāḍa plates of Yōgēśvaradēvavarman², the Patna Museum plates of Sōmēśvara³ and the Bandh plates of Kanakabhañja⁴. The last named grant has been assigned to the third quarter of the fifteenth century A.D. by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar. If this dating be accepted, the present plates must be placed in the middle or the third quarter of the sixteenth century A.D., because in the Baudh plates of Kanakabhañja, certain letters, such as *p*, *m*, *s*, and *y* still retain their earlier forms and are found along with most other letters, without rounded tops, while in the present grant, they as well as most other letters show distinct rounded tops, which is a peculiarity of the modern Oriya script and which must have taken at least a century to develop. But in the last quarter of the fifteenth century A.D. we find full-fledged Oriya script, with very slight difference from the modern one in one copper-plate grant of Purushōttamadēva, King of Orissa.⁵ The charter under review, therefore, cannot be assigned to the fifteenth century, much less to the sixteenth century A.D. It must be placed in the fourteenth century A.D. at the latest and consequently other plates containing proto-Oriya characters with less developed rounded tops must be pushed back to the thirteenth century A.D. or even earlier.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village Nayaḍā situated in the Khatyā-vishaya of the Gandharavāḍi-maṇḍala to a Brahmin named Mahādēva, son of Krishṇa and grandson of Gōṇa, belonging to the Kāśyapa-gōtra and the Yajurveda by Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Śrī-Salōṇabhañjadēva, son of Durjayabhañja and grandson of Śilābhañja.

¹ Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 172 f., and plate.

² Ibid., Vol. XII, pp. 218 ff., and plate.

³ Ibid., Vol. XIX, pp. 97 ff., and plate.

⁴ J. B. O. R. S., Vol. II, pp. 356-374, and plates.

⁵ Ind. Ant., Vol. I, pp. 355 ff., and plate.

Salōṣabhañja, the donor, is not known from any other record. Sōlapabhañja of the Baudh plates of Kanakabhañja,¹ represented as the father of Raṇabhañja and grandfather of Kanakabhañja, must be an altogether different person, since, in view of the foregoing palaeographical discussions, the two records cannot be regarded as belonging to one and the same period. The donor, unlike other Bhañja rulers of Khijjiṅgakōṭṭa² and Khinjali³, does not trace the origin of his family to a peahen's egg nor speaks of Vaśiṣṭha as the protector of the family. But like Kanakabhañja of the Baudh plates, he represents Kāśyapa as the progenitor of his family—a name which is generally connected with the persons whose family name is unknown. It seems probable that this branch of the Bhañja family to which the donor belonged, forgot its ancient connection with the main Bhañja line and came to be regarded as a distinct dynasty.

Svarṇapura from which Durjayabhañja, the father of the donor, is said to have ruled, may be identical with modern Sonepur, the headquarters of the State of the same name. **Gandharavāḍi** and **Khatyā** may respectively be identified with Gōḥhābāri in the Baudh State and Kaintrāgarh in the Athmallik State. The latter is situated on the north bank of the Mahānadī river and is not far from the headquarters of the Athmallik State. Since the gift village Nayaḍā included in the *viśaya* of Khatyā is said to have the Mahānadī river as its northern boundary (l. 25), the identification of Khatyā with Kaintrā is placed on surer grounds. The word *garh* (fort) which is generally added to the names of old places in Orissa, must have come to be associated with it later on. From the identification of the place-names given above, it seems clear that the territories ruled over by Salōṣabhañja, his father and grandfather roughly comprised the tracts now known as Sonepur, Baudh and Athmallik States of Orissa.

TEXT⁴

First Plate

1 Siddham⁵ ||* Ōm namō Nārāyaṇāya || Svasti śrī-Kāśya (śya)pō dhanyō mu-

2 ni-mā(r-mā)nyas-tapō-dhikaḥ | tad-vaṁśō(śō) Bhañja-vaṁśō-yam-āsich=chhūra-

3 ḥ sva-dharma-kṛta(t) || [1*] Yō maṇḍalaḥ Gandharavāḍi-saṁjñam=utpōdayāmāsa
bhu-

4 jā-va(ba)lēna | va(ba)lēna Sōm-ōdbhava-bhuktam-āsīt=sa śrī-Śilābhañja u-

5 dāra-kīrttiḥ || [2*] Tasy-ātmaḥ Durjayabhañja-nāmā nripō=vasat=Svarṇapurō-
nvaśā-

6 *ch=cha | yō maṇḍal-ēsō(śā)n=nija-vā(bā)hu-vīryād=āsīd=raṇō śūra-jan-āgraji(ṇi)-
gyaḥ(jūaḥ) * || [3*]

¹ J. B. O. R. S., Vol. II, pp. 356 ff.

² Ind. Hist. Quart., Vol., XIII, pp. 418 ff.

³ J. B. O. R. S., Vol. II, pp. 429 ff. The editor of this document, Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, wrongly reads *es-* (bō)dhayati as *Baudha-pati*, which also seems to have been accepted by Dr. Bhandarkar in his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 1490.

⁴ From inked impressions and the original.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁷ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁸ Before *ch=cha* there is a cancelled letter.

⁹ [The reading appears to be *āgrajāgrajā* which is presumably intended for *āgrajū-ṇa*.—B. C. C.]

- 7 Tat-sūnuḥ śrī-Salōṇaḥ sakala-jana-manō-vāñchhit-ārtha-pradātā datta-kṣmā-gō-
 8 hiraṇy-āṇṇa-kṛta-va(ba)hu-vṛi(bṛi)hat¹-pushkara(ri)ṇy-ādi-va(ba)ndhaḥ || (I) nity-ānush-
 thāna-karma-praja-
 9 nita-yaśas-āchchhādita-dvāhi-paska(paksha)ḥ śaśvat saṁgrāma-mūrdhany-ari-nikara-
 śirō
 10 lāghavēna nyavādāt || [4*]² Madhya-dōḥ-ōdbhavō vipraḥ śruti-smṛti-purāṇa-vit || (I)
 nā-
 11 mnā Gōula ity-āśich=chhāntaḥ Kāśyapa-gōtrajaḥ || [5*]³ Tat-putraḥ Kṛishṇa-nām-āśid=
 Yaju-
 12 rvēda-vid-ātmavit [1*]⁴ vra(bra)hma-nyasta-manaskah san-nīta-kū[1]-āvaśēshakah || [6*]⁵
 Tat-sū.

Second Plate ; First Side

- 13 nus-tārkikō jñāta-vēdāntō vēda-vit-kaviḥ | upāsani-
 14 Mahādēvaḥ śrīmān-pātraḥ sa uttamaḥ(m) || [7*]⁶ Khatyā-vishaya-sa-
 15 mva(mba)ddhaḥ Gandharavādi-maṇḍalē | Nayaḍā-grāmam-ētasmai sa-
 16 rv-ōpadrava-varjitam(m) | [8*]⁷ Sa-nidhy-upanidhiḥ=ch-ōmaḥ s-ōpajāt-ānya-
 17 vastukam | sa śrī-Salōṇabhaṁjō-yam dattavān-pu-
 18 ṇya-vṛiddhayō || [9*]⁸ Prati-samvatsaram dēyam nṛipa-vandāpa-
 19 n-ārthakam(m) | grām-ādhipatiḥ vāsō-yugam-ēkam nṛipē-pa-
 20 ram(m)⁹ [10*]¹⁰ Grāmaś=ch-āyam pūrvasyām diśi rāja-pratīva(ba)d-īha-
 21 purushair-vishaya-pradhāna-purushaiś=cha dṛiṣṭa-sim-ā-
 22 rōpita-śil-āvachchhinnaḥ | dakṣiṇasyām-api diśi tai-
 23 r-dṛi[shṭa]-āimā-samārōpita-śilā-vichchhinnaḥ | paśchi-

Second Plate ; Second Side

- 24 mataḥ Tundaridhiṅgā-simā-vichchhinnaḥ | utta-

¹ This *t* is final, not conjoined with the following *pu*.

² Metre : *Śragdhurā*.

³ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁴ This means : "The village-lord, however, should every year present the king with a pair of garments as a token of respect for the king". The village-lord here undoubtedly refers to the donee, as the village granted was to be entirely his personal property. There is nothing unusual in Brahmins or priests making presents of shawls, etc., accompanied with their blessings, to the ruling chiefs, but to make a stipulation of that nature in a charter as is done in the present instance, strikes as something very uncommon and revolting to the orthodox idea. Such a thing, so far as I know, is not met with in any other grant from Orissa or elsewhere. Still, I may observe that in the Orissa feudatory States there is a custom prevalent to this day, which requires every Brahmin holding rest-free land under a copper-plate grant to present the ruler with one rupee, a coconut and a sacred thread (*upavīta*). Formerly that was done on the Orissa new-year day, but now it is done at any time in the year. The non-presentation of the last two items is generally tolerated, but the rupee is realised even through legal procedure. The headman entrusted with the collection of these presents is called *Pāṇigrāhī* who enjoys the largest share of the land in a Brahmin village (*sāsana*). This custom seems to be a vestige of the one spoken of in the present record. [It may be added that in some later inscriptions from Chambā (*Antiquities of Chambā State*, Part II, under publication), the Brahmin donees are likewise asked to pay certain annual tribute to the ruler. From the Jungṛār plate of Bhōtavarman (c. A. D. 1397-1436), for instance, we learn that the grantee was required to supply the king, presumably every year, with four pieces of elephants' rugs.—B. C. C.]

- 25 ratō dīsi Mahānady-arddha-erōtaḥ-sīmā-vichchhinna-
 26 ḥ || ēvaṁ chatuḥ-sīmā-parichehinnō-yam=asmad-Bhañja-varṁsē
 27 yē maṇḍal-ādhiḥkāriḥ bhaviṣhyanti tāir-avaśyaṁ yathāvat
 28 paripālaniyaḥ || tathā ch-āśmīn=arthē maharāṣhibhir-udāhṛitaṁ ā-
 29 stram smaranti | Va(Ba)hubhir-vasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ |
 30 yaśya yaśya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || [11*]¹ Mā bhūd-aphala-
 31 śaṅkā yaḥ para-datt-ēti pārthivāḥ | sva-dattāt-phaṇam-ādhiḥkyaṁ para-da-
 32 tt-ānupālānē || [12*] Gām-ēkāṁ svarṇam-ēkam-vā bhūmēr-apy-arddham-aṅgu-
 33 lam(lam) | haraṁ-narakam-āpnōti yāvad-āhūta-saṁplavaḥ || [13*]¹ Sva-dattām para-

Third Plate

- 34 dattām vā yō harēta vasundharām(rām) | kra(kṛi)mir-bhūtaḥ sa viśvā-
 35 yām pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatō | (||) [14*]¹ Bhūmim yaḥ pratigrihṇāti yaś-cha bhū-
 36 mīm prayacchati | ubbau tau puṇya-karmāṇau niyatau svarga-gāminau [15*]¹ kiñ-
 cha |
 37 Mama va[m*]¹āḥ parī(ni)kṣiṇē yaḥ kaśchin-nṛpatir-bhavēt | tasy-āhaṁ pāda-la-
 38 gnō-smi mama dattām na lōpayēd=itī(d[|| 16*] iti) || 0 ||¹ Vakaisiṁg-āvasthītau | para-
 39 ma-vaishṇava-samasta-praśasty-alamkṛita-mahāmāṇḍalēśvara-śrī-Sa-
 40 lōṇabhamjadēvasya pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājyē saptaviṁśati-
 41 tamē samvatsarē Phālguna-śukla-trayōdasyām(śyām).....² || 0 ||
 42 likhitam-īdam tāma(mra)śāsanam-iti ||

No. 39.—A FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION OF KING MALAYAVARMAN

By PROF. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY

The inscription, which is here being edited for the first time, has been engraved on a stone fragment, which was lying with an overseer of the P. W. D. of the Kotah State, posted at Mongrol. When I visited this place in 1936 during the course of my archaeological explorations organised by the state authorities, the overseer was good enough to show me the inscribed piece lying with him. He could not say from where it was obtained, but it is obvious that it could not have been from a place far away from Mongrol. The stone fragment is very irregular in shape. Its breadth varies from five to ten inches, and its height from two to six inches. It is at present preserved in the office of the State Historian, Kotah.

¹ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

² These two letters, which were probably *mūṣi*, are cancelled.

Letters of nine lines are visible on the stone ; of these the first is too fragmentary to permit any intelligent reading. The existence of a tenth line can be inferred from the slight traces of the tops of two of its letters that can be seen below the ninth line. The original line of the inscription was longer than the longest line preserved on the stone, but how much longer it was we cannot say. Nor can we make any conjecture as to how many lines the record originally contained.

The inscription has been very neatly engraved and the characters are the Nāgarī characters of the 13th century A. D. The language is Sanskrit and the record is, so far as the preserved portion shows, composed in verse. The composer was a good master of the ornate style of poetry, which was popular in contemporary times.

To judge from the fragments preserved, it would appear that the inscription contained the eulogy of a king named **Malayavarman**. His name appears thrice in the preserved portion, in ll. 2, 3 and 7, though in slightly varying forms. The pedigree of the king and the name of his house are not to be found in the present fragment, but there can be no doubt that king Malayavarman of our record is to be identified with the ruler of the same name belonging to the **feudatory Pratihāra family ruling at Gwalior**, who is known to us from his own plate found at Kurēthā in Gwalior State, dated Vikrama Samvat 1277, and from that of his brother Nṛivarman, found at the same place and dated Vikrama Samvat 1304.¹ It is unfortunate that both these records should still remain unpublished ; we have only their brief summaries given by Dr. Bhandarkar in the *Progress Report. A. S. W. C.*, 1915-16, p. 59. From these it appears that king Malayavarman belonged to the Pratihāra family ruling at Gwalior, that his grandfather was Pratāpasimha and father Vighraha. His mother was Lālhaṇadēvī, daughter of the Chāhamāna king Kēlhaṇadēva of Nādōl. He had a younger brother named Nṛivarman. The identification of king Malayavarman of our record with the Pratihāra king mentioned in the above two records is based upon two grounds. Firstly, the palmography of our record shows that it may have belonged to the 13th century A. D. Secondly, Mongrol, where this inscribed stone was recovered, is only about 100 miles from Gwalior, which was under the rule of the Pratihāra kings Malayavarman and Nṛivarman. It may further be pointed out that we do not yet know of any other king, named Malayavarman, ruling in this part of the country during the 12th or the 13th century A.D.

The Malayavarman of our record is further to be identified with the king of the same name, whose coins have been published by Cunningham in his *Coins of Medieval India* at p. 92 and Plate X. These coins have the crude figure of a horseman on one side and the king's name, written in three lines, on the other. The coins are rather unique, because after the king's name, they also give the year of their issue. Samvat 1280 and [12]83 are the dates supplied by coins for Malayavarman, and his Kurēthā plate was issued in Vikrama Samvat 1277. It is thus clear that the Malayavarman of the coins is identical with the Malayavarman of the Kurēthā plate, as proved conclusively by their dates ; our Malayavarman can be no different personage. It may be added that the coins of Malayavarman are found at Gwalior, Jhansi and Narwar, which are not far distant from Kotah State, where this inscription was found.

We shall now briefly review the contents of the record. Only the letters -*tyatō*- of the first line are visible, but we cannot make out any sense from them. The second line opens with the name of king Malayavarman ; what follows is too fragmentary to be made out. The third line once more mentions the name of the king as one ' in which the word *malaya* precedes the word

¹ Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 475 and 541.

varma; the words *chētō mama* occurring at its beginning cannot be confidently construed. The beginning of the fourth line can be definitely restored as [*yadī*]*yam yasaḥ*; it obviously referred to the king's fame. We are told that its constant proclamation stunned people into deafness and raised tears of joy in their eyes, as described in the remaining part of the line. The next three lines seem to refer to the marriage of the king. In l. 5 apparently the hope is expressed that a certain lady may ascend the bed of dalliance of the king. In l. 6 there is a reference to a *brahmachārī*; it was probably the smoke of the sacrifice in his marriage which blinded the eyes of the damsels moving in the sky, as stated in the remaining portion of the line. The term *ānām* of the next line (l. 7), which is placed in close juxtaposition with king Malaya, probably refers to the bride, the marriage with whom was described in the previous line. L. 8 refers to a world-conquering warrior, who was killed, obviously by the hero of the record. The conquests (*jītāni*) mentioned in the next line must also be attributed to him. It is unfortunate that the portions of our record which mentioned the name of the enemy killed by Malayavarman and, gave further details of his conquest, should not have been preserved in the fragment now available. But from the data supplied by the Kurēṭhā plate of king Malayavarman and the accounts of the Muslim historians, we can well infer as to what may have been described in this part of the record.

Qutbu-d-din Aibak had captured the fort of Gwalior from the Pratīhāras in 1196 A. D. The Kurēṭhā plate of Malayavarman claims that this fort was recaptured by the king from the Muslims,¹ and the Muslim historians also admit that in the confusion that followed the death of Aibak, the Hindus were able to recapture the fort and retain it in their possession till it was stormed by Iltutmish in 1232 A. D.² It is probably this exploit of king Malayavarman that is referred to in ll. 8 and 9 of our record. We are told that the opponent of Malayavarman was killed. It would appear that the Muslim general, who was in charge of the fort of Gwalior, died fighting when he lost the fort to king Malayavarman. The word *jītāni* (conquests), which alone is preserved in the next line, obviously referred to the further achievements of our hero.

What remains of the record makes it fairly clear that it was a very important historical record, giving the Hindu version of the recapture of Gwalior. It is a pity that only a fragment of it should have been found.

TEXT.³

- 1 . . त्वतो
- 2 श्रीमलयवर्मणः । रज्जुदेर्ष्वश्रुतौ] य . . .
- 3 च चेतो मम मन्त्रपुरो वर्मस(सं)प्रचित्तीन्द्रो(न्द्रो)⁴
- 4 [यदी]यं यशः । नृक्षत्रेव पुनः पुनर्ध्वं(ध्वं)धिरतां धत्ते च हर्षाश्रुभिः ।]⁵
- 5 तन्नो हि सः । लीलातल्पमसौ तवैव हि पुनर्मूर् . .

¹ *PRAS. W. C.*, 1915-6, p. 59.

² *Cunningham, A. S. R.*, Vol. II, p. 379.

³ From an ink-impression.

⁴ Metre: *Śrāgharā*.

⁵ Metre: *Śārdūlavikīṭīṭā*.

- 6 स ब्र(ब्र)ह्मचारी । धूमवक्रैस्व(म्ब)रक्षरवध्वा(वा)व्यवर्षे वि^१ . . .
 7 ी नो हरिः । अयोना मलयजितोद्धर^२ . . .
 8 ... विम्बविजयी नामावशेषौकतः । इ . . .
 9 . . . जितानि . . .
 10

No. 40—A COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF SILAHARA CHHADVAIDEVA

By PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., AND M.G. DIKSHIT, B.A.

This grant was first brought to notice by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for 1919-20, pp. 55-6. No information is available about its original find-spot. It was in the collection of the late Mr. Gerson Da Cunha and was purchased by the Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, in 1919. It has since been preserved in that Museum. In the aforementioned report Mr. Banerji has given a brief and, in some respects, incorrect account of the grant, but it has nowhere been critically edited so far.³ In view of its historical importance, we edit it here with the kind permission of the authorities of the Prince of Wales Museum, which we secured through the good offices of Mr. G. R. Gyani, M.A., Curator of the Archaeological Section of the Museum.

The grant is engraved on **three copper-plates**, of which the first and the third bear writing on one side only and the second on both the sides. The plates measure about 7·4" broad and 6" high. Their total weight is 175 *tolas*. At the centre of the top of each plate there is a hole⁴ 5" in diameter for the ring which originally held all the plates together, but no ring or seal has yet been found. The inscription contains 76 lines of writing, of which twenty are written on the inner side of the first plate, twenty-one and twenty on the first and the second side respectively of the second plate and the remaining fifteen on the inner side of the third plate. The writing is throughout in an excellent state of preservation.

The **characters** are of the Nāgarī alphabet resembling those of the Sinda prince Adityavarman's grant dated Śaka 887⁵. Like the latter record, the present grant is written in a cursive hand. The technical execution is very bad as the record has throughout been written and engraved in a most negligent manner. Several letters, being very crudely and imperfectly formed, are changed quite out of recognition. There are, besides, mistakes of orthography, omissions of letters, and words and in two places (*viz.*, in lines 20 and 21) of nearly half a verse. As Mr. Banerji

¹ Metre : *Mandakrāntā*.

² Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīṭita*.

³ Dr. Altekar has cited two passages from it and discussed some historical information contained in it in his *Bhāṣṇakāṣas and Their Times*, pp. 106 and 109, but he has not included it in his list of Śilahāra inscriptions in the *Ind. Cal.*, Vol. II, pp. 430 ff.

⁴ Banerji's statement that the copper-plates were not joined together as there is no hole in any one of them is incorrect.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 164 ff.

has remarked, these defects make the task of the decipherer none too enviable. In the genealogical portion which is in verse, the metre and the context often help him to make a lucky guess, but these aids also fail him when he has to read the formal portion, especially that which contains place-names. The subjoined transcript, therefore, shows, notwithstanding our best attempts, some lacunæ and uncertain readings, but nothing of historical interest has, we hope, been left undeciphered. The language is Sanskrit and the record is written partly in verse and partly in prose. The initial genealogical portion in lines 1-39 is in verse. Then follows the formal portion in prose in lines 39-61. The usual benedictive and imprecatory verses occur in lines 62-74. The record finally closes with a sentence in prose, mentioning the royal sanction of the grant. As shown below, the present inscription records a grant by a Śilāhāra prince of North Koṅkaṇ, but the draft of the genealogical portion used here is altogether different from that of the later grants of the Northern Śilāhāras. Curious as it might appear, however, it has one hemistich and one complete verse¹ in common with the Khārīpāṭaṇ plates dated Śaka 930 of the Śilāhāra Raṭṭarāja who ruled over South Koṅkaṇ. As regards orthography, we may point out that the vowel *ri* is used for *ri* as in *trilōki*, l. 6; the consonant preceding and following *r* is doubled as in *putrō-*, l. 8; *tarppit*-, l. 3; *e* is throughout used for *o* and the final *a* is in some places wrongly changed to *anuvāra*, see *bhagavām*, l. 31.

The inscription is one of the Śilāhāra Mahāsāmanta Chhadvaidēva² of North Koṅkaṇ. The object of it is to record that Chhadvaidēva executed the grant which had been made by the illustrious Vajjadādēva³, son of the illustrious Goggi, who, as shown below, was Chhadvaidēva's elder brother and predecessor on the throne. It seems that the grant though promised by Vajjada I had not been reduced to writing during his lifetime. Lines 75-6 tell us that on coming to know of it, Chhadvaidēva granted the present charter recording the religious gift (*dharmadāya*⁴) without any alterations. The grant was of some land situated in the eastern part of the village Sālapaka⁵ in the *vishaya* of Pāpāda.⁶ It was bounded on the east by the boundary of Manchakapalli, on the south by the road leading to Vakōlā and some salty land, on the west by a ditch and on the north by the junction of two streams. The grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Chādādēva⁷ of the Kāśyapa *gōtra* who was a student of the R̥gveda and was then residing at Janhupura.⁸

¹ The first hemistich of verse 7 of the present record appears as the first half of verse 3 in the Khārīpāṭaṇ plates, while verse 11 which describes Kṛishṇa III occurs in the same context as verse 6 in the latter grant. See above, Vol. III, p. 293.

² The name of this prince occurs four times (not twice as said by Banerji), viz., in verses 16 and 25 in the metrical portion and in lines 42 and 75 in the prose portion. In the first two cases its reading is not quite certain owing to the extremely cursive nature of the letters, but in the last two cases the reading is undoubted. The form must have been *Chhadaya* in v. 25, *Chhadvai* in all other cases.

³ Owing to the carelessness of the drafter of the record the text in l. 49 seems to convey that Chhadvaidēva himself made the grant. Lines 74 and 75, however, make it clear that it had already been made by Vajjada (I) and that Chhadvaidēva only caused it to be recorded on the copper-plates.

⁴ Banerji seems to have read *dharmad=yash* (instead of *dharmadāya=yash*) in ll. 74-5. He doubtfully translated it as 'this law'.

⁵ Banerji gives the name of the village as Salaprāka in one place and as Salapaka in another. The name probably occurred in two places, viz., in lines 44-5 and 57-8, but the reading in the latter place is uncertain.

⁶ Banerji read the name of the *vishaya* as Mālāda, but the impression before us certainly reads Pāpāda.

⁷ The name is clearly Chādādēva, not Chādādēva as read by Banerji.

⁸ According to Banerji the donee was a *Brāhmachārin* of the Vajasanāya (branch of the Yajurveda), but the text in lines 54-5 seems to read *vācīrīcha-as-vrahmachāriyā*.

The inscription is not dated and in the absence of the necessary details the lunar eclipse mentioned in it cannot be verified. But as shown below, Chhadvaidēva was a feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭa Emperor Kṛishṇa III. As the latter is known to have reigned from A. D. 939 to A. D. 967,¹ the record under discussion can be assigned to the middle of the 10th century A. D. It may be noted in this connection that the Bhādāna grant of Chhadvaidēva's nephew Aparājita, who apparently succeeded him is dated Śaka 919 (A. D. 987). As stated above, the characters of the present grant resemble those of the Sinda Ādityavarman's grant which is dated Śaka 887 and therefore both the grants belong to the same period.

The inscription opens with two *maṅgala-slokas* in praise of Viṣṇu and Śiva,² the second of which usually occurs in the beginning of Rāshtrakūṭa records. The inscription then proceeds to give the genealogy of the Rāshtrakūṭas³ to whom the Northern Śilāhāras owed allegiance. After mentioning such mythological and legendary ancestors as the moon, Budha, Purāṇavas, Āyu, Yayāti and Yadu, the inscription introduces the Rāshtrakūṭa family in verse 6. The next verse mentions the following rulers: Dantidurga; his uncle, Kṛishṇarāja (I); Gōvinda (II); Nirupama (Dhruva); his son Jagattuṅga (i. e., Gōvinda III); his son Amōghavarsha (I); his son Akālavarsha (i. e., Kṛishṇa II) and his grandson Indra (III). Verse 8 states that Indra III's brother Amōghavarsha (III)⁴ completely eradicated the former's son Gōjjiga (i. e., Gōvinda IV) who had acted unjustly and ruled the earth so as to please Śiva. It will be noticed that the present record omits the name of Amōghavarsha II, the elder son of Indra III, who preceded Gōvinda IV. Again, it does not state what injustice Gōvinda IV had committed. It has been suggested that the injustice was in respect of Gōvinda's elder brother Amōghavarsha II⁵. From the Bhādāna grant we know that the latter ruled only for a year. The Deoli and Karhād plates of Kṛishṇa III state that Amōghavarsha went to heaven soon after his father as if out of love for him. The premature death of this prince is regarded as suspicious. It has been suggested that it was brought about or at least hastened by Gōvinda IV and confirmation of this is sought in the following verse which occurs in Gōvinda's own Sāngli⁶ and Cambay⁷ grants :—

सामर्थ्यं सति निन्दिता प्रविहिता नैवायजे क्रूरता
व(व)सुस्त्रीगमनादिभिः कुचरितैरावर्जितं नाययः ।
शौचाशौचपराङ्मुखं न च भिया पैशाचमङ्गीकृतं
त्वाग्निनासमसाहसैश्च भुवने यः साहसाङ्गीभवत् ॥

which means " Ignominious cruelty was not practised (*by him*) with regard to (*his*) elder brother, (*though he*) had the power; (*he*) did not obtain infamy by evil courses such as (*illicit*) inter-course with the wife of (*his*) brother; (*he*) did not through fear resort to diabolical conduct which is

¹ See Altekar's *Rāshtrakūṭas*, etc., pp. 115 and 122, and above, Vol. XXI, p. 262.

² Banerji's statement that both the verses are devoted to the praise of Śiva and Umā is not quite correct.

³ Three other Śilāhāra grants are known to have opened with the genealogies of the Rāshtrakūṭas, viz., the Khirpāṭa plates of Bhatṭarāja (above, Vol. III, pp. 297 ff.), the Bhādāna grant of Aparājita (*ibid.*, pp. 267 ff.), and another grant of the same king which has not yet been published. See Vaidya, *History of Medieval Hindu India*, Vol. II, pp. 349 ff.

⁴ Banerji's statement that Amōghavarsha mentioned in v.8 is Amōghavarsha II and that he was uprooted in battle by Gōvinda IV is absolutely wrong.

⁵ Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas*, etc., p. 106.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 249.

⁷ Above, Vol. VII, p. 36.

indifferent to what is pure and impure; (*but*) by (*his*) munificence and unparalleled heroic deeds he became Sāhasāṅka in the world"¹. This is supposed to be a case of protesting too much and it is believed that Gōvinda IV, if not actually caused, at least hastened the death of his elder brother, had incestuous connection with his wife and usurped his throne.

But one would like to have stronger evidence to prove these serious charges. The aforementioned verse institutes a comparison between Gōvinda IV and the Gupta king Sāhasāṅka (i.e., Chandragupta II). It states that though Gōvinda IV resembled Chandragupta II in munificence and daring, he did none of the heinous crimes of which the latter was guilty. We must remember that a similar comparison occurs in the Sañjān plates² of Amōghavarsha I. He is described therein as feeling ashamed when he was compared with a Gupta prince known for liberality (evidently Chandragupta II-Vikramāditya) as the latter had killed his brother and married his wife. In the *Kōvyamīmāṃsā* of Rājasekhara again we have a comparison between Rāmāgupta and Kārttikēya who has elsewhere³ been shown to be the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Mahipāla I of Kanauj. It seems that it was the practice of court-poets to institute such comparisons between their patrons and well-known princes of the Gupta dynasty and to show the superiority of the former to the latter. It would be unwise and unjust to see unintended insinuations in such comparisons. Besides, we have no other reference to the alleged evil actions of Gōvinda IV in any records of his successors, some of whom had little love for him and therefore would not have refrained from mentioning them if they had been true. From other inscriptions⁴ we know that Amōghavarsha III fomented a rebellion among the feudatories of Gōvinda IV, which cost the latter his life. The present record also states that Amōghavarsha completely uprooted Gōvinda IV. It is therefore noteworthy that the Deoli and Karhād plates of Amōghavarsha's son Kṛishṇa III refer to Gōvinda's dissolute life⁵, but are silent about these charges. On the other hand, they intimate that Amōghavarsha II died a natural, though premature, death. In the absence of further evidence, therefore, we are not inclined to hold Gōvinda IV guilty of the murder of his elder brother.

To the glorification of Amōghavarsha III the present inscription devotes two more verses. Verse 9 states that with the water of his coronation Amōghavarsha washed away his taints as well as his wealth and greatly purified his self. Verse 10 states that he surpassed the god of love in handsome form and that, as he had three white royal umbrellas, he was as it were waited upon by the moon in three forms, mistaking him for Mahēśa (Śiva). Amōghavarsha's handsome form is described in the Bhādāna grant⁶ of Aparājita also, but that he had three royal umbrellas indicative of his suzerainty over three countries is stated nowhere else. The record under discussion does not specifically mention these countries, but the Deoli plates⁷ of Amōghavarsha's son Kṛishṇa III, which were issued soon after his accession, mention some victories which he had gained while he was a crown-prince. We learn that Kṛishṇa killed Rachhyāmalla (Rāchamalla),

¹ This translation is practically the same as Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's (above, Vol. VII, p. 44), except that *bandha* has been rendered as 'a brother' and not as 'a relative' in view of the information supplied by the recently published extracts from the *Dēvī-Chandragupta*.

² Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 248.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII, pp. 201 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 328 ff.

⁵ Even these statements appear to be suspicious. They seem to imply that Gōvinda died of consumption as a result of his dissolute life. But the present record and the *Vikramādityavarjaya* of Pampa show that he lost his life in a rebellion of his feudatories fomented by Amōghavarsha III and his son Kṛishṇa III.

⁶ Above, Vol. III, p. 271.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 192 ff. The verses occur also in the Karhād plates of the same king which were issued sometime later.

the ruler of Gaṅgapāṭi or Gaṅgavāḍi and gave his kingdom to Bhūtārya (or Būtuga) and that he defeated and reduced to a sad condition the Pallava Appiga. Bhūtārya and Appiga are known from other records¹ also as the rulers of Gaṅgavāḍi and Nalambavāḍi respectively. They were contemporaries of Amoghavarsha III. Gaṅgavāḍi and Nalambavāḍi were thus included in the Rāshtrakūṭa Empire during the time of Amoghavarsha III, though they were actually governed by his feudatories. These were evidently two of the three countries implied in v. 10. The third country must of course have been Kuntala, the home-province of the Rāshtrakūṭas.

Krishṇa III who succeeded Amoghavarsha III is eulogised in five verses (11-15), but the description is merely conventional. He is said to have made several new grants and restored old ones and to have overthrown four kinds of feudatories². The genealogy of Rāshtrakūṭa rulers stops with Krishṇa III, during whose time the present grant was evidently made.

With verse 16 begins the description of the Śilāhāra dynasty. The dynastic name appears here in the form Śilāra. Verse 17 mentions the Vidyādhara Jimūtavāhana, the son of Jimūtakētu, who offered his body to save serpents. His descendants assumed the form of Śilāra in order to give protection to the ocean when it was harrassed by the arrow of (Jāmadagnya, i.e., Paraśurāma)³. Since then the princes of this dynasty came to be known as Śilāras. This is a novel interpretation of the dynastic name which, so far as we know, occurs nowhere else. The text does not make clear what is meant by Śilāra and no Sanskrit dictionary gives this word. The dynastic name sometimes appears in the form Śilāhāra and is then usually taken to mean 'food on a rock' with reference to the story of the Vidyādhara Jimūtavāhana who sat on a rock to serve as food to Garuḍa.

Verses 20-25 name the following Śilāhāra princes: Kapardin (I); his son Pulaśakti; his son Kapardin (II); his son Vappavana; his son Jhañjha; his younger brother Gōggi; his son Vajjaḍa (I)⁴; and finally, his younger brother Chhadvaya (or Chhadvaideva), the donor of the present plates. The description of all these princes is quite conventional and altogether devoid of historical interest. About Chhadvaideva we are told that he bore the title *Mahāsāmanta* and attained the right to the five great (musical) sounds.

The importance of the present inscription lies in this that it has brought to notice a prince of the Śilāhāra dynasty who was not known from any other source. The Bhādāna plates dated Śaka 919, which were issued by Vajjaḍa I's son Aparājita, give the same genealogy as the record before us, but they omit the name of Chhadvaideva. This prince is not again mentioned in any of the numerous later records of the Śilāhāras. The reason for this omission is not clear. It cannot be said that Chhadvaideva's name was omitted because he was a collateral; for, as Banerji has already pointed out, Śilāhāra records invariably mention Jhañjha, though his progeny did not reign, and he was succeeded by his brother Gōggi. Another instance is that of Arikēsarin

¹ See e. g., above, Vol. IV, p. 351, and Vol. X, pp. 54 ff.

² The Karhād plates of Krishṇa III also mention four kinds of feudatories, but they are said to have received different kinds of treatment at his hands. See above, Vol. IV, p. 285. In verse 15 of the present inscription there is an interesting comparison of Krishṇa III with a physician, based on a play on the words *māṇḍalin*, *narēndra*, etc., but the verse is not completely legible.

³ The *Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa* (III, 57, vv. 47 ff) graphically describes the consternation in the ocean caused by Paraśurāma's arrow. It further states that Varuṇa, the lord of the ocean, ultimately submitted to Paraśurāma and withdrew the ocean from the Śūrpāraka-kshētra. The *Purāṇa* does not of course make any mention of the Śilāras.

⁴ Banerji's statement that the name of Vajjaḍadēva is omitted in the genealogy of the Śilāra family in the second plate is not correct; for his name occurs in the second half of verse 24, though in a corrupt form.

alias Kōṭirāja who ascended the throne after his brother Vajjaḍa II. He was succeeded by his nephew Chhittarājadēva, the son of Vajjaḍa II, but his name is not omitted in the later records¹ of the Śilāhāras. Chhadvaidēva again was not probably a usurper; for, in the present record, he not only states that the grant had been promised by his elder brother and was only executed by himself, but also pays a tribute of praise to him in verse 24. Nor does he seem to have been only a regent during the minority of his nephew Aparājita; for he claims the title *Mahāsāmanta* for himself and does not even mention his nephew, the *de jure* ruler of the kingdom. The record may therefore be suspected to be spurious. Apart from the absence of the date, however, there does not seem to be any cause for suspicion. As stated before, the characters, though very carelessly written and engraved, are of the age to which the record refers itself. There are no discrepancies in the description of the Rāshtrakūṭa and Śilāhāra genealogies which occur in verses 7-15 and 20-25 respectively. On the other hand, the grant furnishes certain details which, though not met with in other records, are not inconsistent with their evidence. It is of course true that the draft of the genealogical and formal portions of the grant differs from that used in later Śilāhāra grants, but that is because no particular draft had yet become stereotyped in the Śilāhāra secretariat. Even in the Bhādāna grant of Aparājita, which was made some years later, the stereotyped draft has not been used. There does not therefore appear any reason why the present grant should not be regarded as genuine.

This is the earliest known copper-plate grant of the Śilāhāra dynasty of North Koṅkaṇ. Some earlier inscriptions of this dynasty have of course been discovered at Kānhēri², but they are all inscribed on stone. The last of them which belongs to the reign of Kapardin II is dated Śaka 799. The next inscriptional date of this dynasty so far known was Śaka 919, furnished by the Bhādāna grant of Aparājita. There was thus a gap of 120 years during which we had no record of this dynasty. The present grant though undated belongs to this period. Like the Kānhēri stone inscriptions, it belongs to a time when the Rāshtrakūṭas held imperial sway over North Koṅkaṇ. Like the present record two other Śilāhāra grants³ open with a Rāshtrakūṭa genealogy, viz. the Bhādāna grant of Aparājita, dated Śaka 919, and the Khārēpāṭan grant of Rattarāja, dated Śaka 930, but the Rāshtrakūṭas had then been overthrown by Tailapa, the founder of the Later Chālukya dynasty. The present record is thus of special interest as it shows what position the Śilāhāras enjoyed during the heyday of Rāshtrakūṭa paramountcy. As Mr. Banerji has already pointed out, the record under discussion shows that the Śilāhāras did not then assume such high-sounding titles as *Mahāmaṇḍalīśvara*, *Tagarapura-paramīśvara*, *Abhimāna-mahōdadhi*, *Gaṇḍakandarpa*, which we find in the later records of Aparājita, Chhittarāja and others. They had to content themselves with the modest title of *Mahāsāmanta*⁴ which we notice also in the earlier inscriptions of Puṣaṅkti and Kapardin II.

In the absence of any information about the original findspot of the present plates, it is difficult to locate definitely the places mentioned in it. But we tentatively suggest the following identifications. *Pāpāḍa*, the headquarters of the *Pāpāḍa-vishaya* may be Poinād about 8 miles

¹ See, for instance, the Bhāpḍāp plates of Chhittarāja (above, Vol. XII, pp. 250 ff.); the Prince of Wales Museum plates of Mumukṣu, *ibid.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 53 ff., etc.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 133 ff.

³ A third of the same type, dated Śaka 915, which belongs to the reign of Aparājita was discovered some years ago, but is now untraceable. See C. V. Vaidya, *History of Medieval Hindu India*, Vol. II, pp. 349 ff. and Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas*, etc., p. 110. See below, p. 288, f.n. 1.

⁴ In two Kānhēri inscriptions the title is *Mahāsāmantaśīkhara*. In the third no title is mentioned at all. It may be noted, however, that none of these is an official record of the Śilāhāras.

north by east of Alibāg, in the Kolābā District of the Bombay Presidency. The village Sālāṇaka in which the donated land was situated may be Sālīnde which lies about 6 miles south by east of Poinād.¹ Mañchakapalli is possibly represented by Pālā about a mile to the north of Sālīnde. Vākōla may be Kolēti which lies about 4 miles to the south. The map shows two small streams joining each other to the north of Sālīnde as stated in the present grant. Janhapura where the donee was residing we are unable to identify.

TEXT²

[Metres : Verses 1-5, 18, 19, 27-29 and 31-33 *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 6 and 21 *Upajāti* ; vv. 7 and 13 *Śraṅgharā* ; vv. 8, 9, 12, 16, 24 and 25 *Āryā* ; v. 10 *Upēndrasajrā* ; vv. 11, 14, 17 and 20 *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 15 *Sārdūlavikrīṣita* ; vv. 22 and 23 *Giti* ; v. 26 *Indrasajrā* ; v. 30, *Sālīnī* ; and v. 34 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

First Plate

- 1 श्री [१*] श्रीर्वहता नवोद्यानराजीवायतनेक्षया³ । शिवः सहोमया चास्तां राजो-
वायतनेक्षया ॥[१०*]
- 2 स वीश्याद्वेधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं(तम्) । [इ]रस्य यस्य कान्तोदुकलया
कमलं कृतम् ॥[२*]
- 3 मीनादचैरभूडूरिसुधां[३*] तर्पितामरः । चंद्रमा जगदानन्दकन्दकन्दलनचमः ॥[३१*]
- 4 तस्यांगजोजनि वु(वु)धो विवु(वु)धाधौगपूजितः । सुतः पुरुरवास्तस्य तस्याप्यायुरजायत
॥[४०*]
- 5 एवमच्छिवसंतानजायमानेषु राजसु । ययातिरभवत्तस्य स्रुत्यदुरभूदिह ॥[५०*]
- 6 ततस्तृलोकौतिलकायमानो वंशो यदूनामभवत्पृथिव्यां(ध्याम्) । श्रीराष्ट्रकूटापरनामधेयो
- 7 [य]न्नाभिलेभे हरिरा[क]जम् ॥[६०*] तन्नासीदन्तिदुर्गः प्रभुरपि च ततः क[ण]-
राजः पि-
- 8 दृश्यस्तस्माद्विंदराजस्तदनु ति(नि)रुपमोऽप्राजगत्तुंगदेवः । पुत्रोऽस्वामीधव-

¹ After this article was sent to the press we noticed Mr. A. S. Gadre's account of two unpublished copper-plate inscriptions of the Śālāhāra Aparājita, dated Śaka 915. (*Proceedings and Transactions of the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference*, p. 880.) These inscriptions were found at Murunja-Janjirā in the Kolābā District of the Bombay Presidency, and are now preserved in the Baroda Museum. One of them registers the grant of an orchard in the village Sālāṇaka lying in the Pāpāda district. These places are evidently identical with those of the same names mentioned in the present grant of Chhadvaidēva, which we have located in the Kolābā District. This account has unexpectedly confirmed our readings of the place-names and their identifications proposed above. The two grants have since been published by Mr. Gadre in *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, Vol. I, pp. 35 f.

² From ink-impressions.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ The expression means 'who resorts to (Vishnu) whose eyes are long like a fresh garden-lotus'.

⁵ Read -*sudhā-dīpāntarppit*.

⁶ Read *tatam-trilokt*.

ॐ महादेव विष्णु परमेश्वरः । सत्त्वगुणरूपमवततः । मन्त्रोक्तं यथा ।
मन्त्रोक्तं यथा । मन्त्रोक्तं यथा । मन्त्रोक्तं यथा । मन्त्रोक्तं यथा ।
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KHADIPADA Image Inscription of the Time of SUBHAKARA.

Left side

ॐ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥

Right side

ॐ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥

१ ॥ २ ॥ ३ ॥ ४ ॥ ५ ॥ ६ ॥ ७ ॥ ८ ॥ ९ ॥ १० ॥ ११ ॥ १२ ॥ १३ ॥ १४ ॥ १५ ॥ १६ ॥ १७ ॥ १८ ॥ १९ ॥ २० ॥ २१ ॥ २२ ॥ २३ ॥ २४ ॥ २५ ॥ २६ ॥ २७ ॥ २८ ॥ २९ ॥ ३० ॥ ३१ ॥ ३२ ॥ ३३ ॥ ३४ ॥ ३५ ॥ ३६ ॥ ३७ ॥ ३८ ॥ ३९ ॥ ४० ॥ ४१ ॥ ४२ ॥ ४३ ॥ ४४ ॥ ४५ ॥ ४६ ॥ ४७ ॥ ४८ ॥ ४९ ॥ ५० ॥ ५१ ॥ ५२ ॥ ५३ ॥ ५४ ॥ ५५ ॥ ५६ ॥ ५७ ॥ ५८ ॥ ५९ ॥ ६० ॥ ६१ ॥ ६२ ॥ ६३ ॥ ६४ ॥ ६५ ॥ ६६ ॥ ६७ ॥ ६८ ॥ ६९ ॥ ७० ॥ ७१ ॥ ७२ ॥ ७३ ॥ ७४ ॥ ७५ ॥ ७६ ॥ ७७ ॥ ७८ ॥ ७९ ॥ ८० ॥ ८१ ॥ ८२ ॥ ८३ ॥ ८४ ॥ ८५ ॥ ८६ ॥ ८७ ॥ ८८ ॥ ८९ ॥ ९० ॥ ९१ ॥ ९२ ॥ ९३ ॥ ९४ ॥ ९५ ॥ ९६ ॥ ९७ ॥ ९८ ॥ ९९ ॥ १०० ॥

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16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

[illegible]

ii. a.

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SEAL.



(from a photograph).

- 9 [यः] सकलगुणनिधिः¹ तस्य चाकालवशः(धः) ।² तन्नप्ता श्रीविराजः प्रथितपूय[य*]शः सार्व-
 10 भीमः प्रजातः ॥[७॥*] श्रीमात(न)मोघव[र्षो] भ्रातास्य सुत(तं) समूलमुन्मूल्य । गोन्जिग-
 मन्वा-
 11 यकृतं सा(सोऽ)मोघं [स्व]य³मशात्पूष्वी(ध्वीम्) ॥[८॥*] अग्नि[वे]कजलेन समं तपस्वि[पु]⁴
 श्रेयसे स-
 12 मुच्छ[त्य]⁵ । येन धनानीव मलान⁶नीयतात्मा परां शुद्धिं(द्धिम्) ॥[९॥*] सितात-
 पत्र[र]यमध्यव-
 13 र्त्ती रराज यो रूपजितेक्षुधन्वा । उपास्यमानः शरदिदुनेष त्तिरूपतामेत्य महेश-
 14 बुध्या⁷ ॥[१०॥*] शंभोः षडा[न]न इवात्त्रिमूनेरिबेदू रामो यथा दशरथस्य ८ —⁸
 जय[तः] ।
 15 तस्यांगत्रोपि चतुरं(वु)धिमेखलाया भर्ता भुवः समभवद्भुवि कुण्डराजः ॥[११॥*] सत्य-
 16 पि र[त्ना]भरणे जानानोपि प्रसाधनविशेष(धम्) । यो बहति भुजेन सदा कुष-
 लय⁹मादव-
 17 र्दकं लोके ॥[१२॥*] लक्ष्म्या नागैर्द्रकर्णातिशयचपलतां यौवनस्याप्युपश्रव ।¹⁰ यां(यान्)
 देवव(व)ह-
 18 [दायां]¹¹ लुत्तपुरवनिपाः पूर्वजा विस्मरन्तः । संसारासारभा[वं] मनसि कलय-
 19 ता येत(न) तेन्येपि मुक्ता ।¹² दत्तास्तेभा(भ्य)श्च¹³ गात्वः¹⁴ शिवभवनजुषां कोटिशः कांचनं
 च

¹ Here *sandhi* has not been observed.

² This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

³ Dr. Altekar reads *s-āmōghamayam* = . See his *Rāsh(rakū)as*, etc., p. 106, n. 59. Perhaps *sāmōghapriyam* = is the intended reading. *Amōgha* is a name of Śiva.

⁴ Dr. Altekar doubtfully reads *tapas* = *chitya*, *ibid.*, p. 109, n. 68. The context requires a reading like *tapasvibhiḥ*.

⁵ The context requires a reading like *samunmriyya*.

⁶ Dr. Altekar reads *malād* = but the *aksharas* are clearly as read above.

⁷ Read *buddhyā*.

⁸ The two *aksharas* lost here were *Harē* as seen in verse 3 of the Khārēpāṭan grant of Rattarāis; above,

Vol. III, p. 298.

⁹ There is a play on this word which means (1) a blue lotus, and (2) the orb of the earth.

¹⁰ This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

¹¹ Read *-brahmadhyāi* = *lūnpur* = .

¹² The context requires a reading like = *tāhān* = *cha*.

¹³ Perhaps *pāvāḥ* is intended.

- 20 ॥[१३॥*] तस्मिन्प्रशासति महीं समहीषरेद्रा(न्त्रा) सि[इह]^२द्युती चतुर्वद्व(न्व)दनिच्छकांची[म्] ।
ग[त्वा ?] हि^३

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 21 'तानतिज[वा]न्मायाविनो घा[त]का[न्] चंडान्मंडतिनो [वि]लुप्तसमयान्-
22 धु(द्व)त्य [संवासायन् ?] । — — — ∪ ∪ मंत्रधर्मरभसा[न्] वंडेन पा[यंडि ?]-
23 [कान् ?] [सा]नंतांश्चतुरोपि येन दलता का[म्] नरेद्रायितं(तम्) ॥[१५॥*] तस्मिन्व(न्)
शास-
24 ति पृथ्वी [हृ]ष्णनरेद्रे(न्त्रे) नरादि(धि)पः श्रीमान(न्) [१*] शी[ला]रामलब्धो सकल-
गुणालंकृते . . .^४
25 —॥[१६॥*] विद्याधरः[५] [स्व]वरिताधरितान्यकीर्तिजो[६] [मू]त[के]तुलनयो नयविक्रमाद्यः [१*]
26 जो[मू]तवाहन इति प्र[वि]तः पृथि[व्या] श्रीमा[न्]* स्वकायमुपदाय मु^७(?)दञ्चता-
27 हीन् ॥[१७॥*] [गन्धर्व ?] ∪ ∪ — — ∪ [भु]त्वाहिञ्च विवि [पु](प्रि)यं(यम्) ।
गुणानुरागा[ञ्जन्मा ?]वं [पु]-
28 र्व्वजा [यम]शिधियत्(न्) ॥[१८॥*] जामदग्न्यशरात्र(न्त्र)[स्तः] शीलारच्छयना तदा ।
[साग][रो*]
29 रक्षित[स्ते]श्च प्रापुस्तन्नाम पू[र्व्व]जाः ॥[१९॥*] शीलारनाम्नि तद[इ]ययेन^७ देवः
30 सा[क्षा]दभा^८ निजभुजाजितकामदेवः । [भा]रातिसिधु(न्व)मुपम[ध्य] करे क-
31 पद्मी लक्ष्मीम[यत्] सत(तु)कान्ग^९कंकणेन ॥[२०॥*] त[स्यात्म]जो [यः] पुलशक्तिना[मा*]
32 [पृथ]यमः पार्थसमानकीर्तिः । [भासी]त्प्र(त्पु)[वि]द्या(व्या) प्रथितप्रतापः समस्त-
33 सामन्तनतांश्च[प्रि][भूष]ः ॥[२१॥*] तस्याप्यपरः श्रीमान्कपटिनामाभवताभा^{१०} नृप-

^१ The *akshara* *sa* which was at first omitted is written below the line.

^२ Read *siṃha*.

^३ The further portion of this fourteenth verse has been omitted inadvertently.

^४ The first seven *aksharas* of this verse have been omitted.

^५ Perhaps the name of the donor *Cāṇḍarai* occurred at the end of this verse. Read=*bhavad*=*Cāṇḍarai* [in which case the metre of this verse will be *Giti*.—B. C. C.] The *akshara* at the beginning of the next line has two *mātrās* at the top.

^६ The context requires a reading like *amūṣhat*=*śūṣa*, but it would involve a *hata*.

^७ The reading is uncertain here. Besides, one *akshara* is wanting.

^८ Read *sākṣād*=*śākṣa*.

^९ Read *kāśchana*.

^{१०} Read *bhavad*=*śūṣa*.

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[illegible]

62	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम्	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम्	62
64	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम्	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम्	64
66	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम्	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम्	66
68	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम्	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम्	68
70	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम्	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम्	70
72	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम्	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम्	72
74	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम्	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम्	74
76	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम्	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम्	76

- 34 तिः । वप्नुवन्तीति(मि)तश[क्ति]ः शसित[भूम]डलोभवत्त[स्मा]त् । [12211*] भूमः सक-
लग-
- 35 गौधैः संपहो(प्रो) गोयते जगत्पनिशं(शम्) । आलंडल इव तस्मादभवत्ता[धामिकंर*]
- 36 गुणैः [वि]दितः¹ । [12311*] तस्याप्यनुजो जयवा[न्*] गोमिगन्पो द्विगुणभूम इति ग-
- 37 दितः । [तेना मालंडोर्वा ?] त[स्मा]दपि कीर्ति[संप]न्नः । [12411*] . तस्याप्यनुजः
धी[माद्य ?]²
- 38 [दय]न्पो व(ब)लिनिभोभवत्पागात् । महाहरेरिव रिपवो ध्वस्ता ह्यः(ह्या)संदध
- 39 ति'नाम्नैव । [12511*] स चानेकघोटका[रु]डवाद(?)हा(चा)टभटविनि[जि]तप्रतिपक्षसीमं-
- 40 तिनीनघनवारि[धा]रा[प्रवा]ह[धी]तमलिनीकृतकरो⁵ [धा ?]रातिव[सो]व[गुंठ]-
- 41 [वि]जयलक्ष्मीकल्याणपरंपराभ्युदयः समधिगत[पं]चम[हा]शब्द(श्च)महा-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 42 सग[मं]ता(तः) [धी]⁶च्छदं देवः सर्वानेव यथासंब(ब)ध्यमानका[न] शौलिकगोल्बि(लिम)कचो-
- 43 रे(रो)[ड]रणिकान् कीर्त्तित⁷भविष्यद्वत्मानकांश्च [भू*]भृडं(डं)[धु]न(न्) चरादीन् [प्र]ति[दि]व्य(श्य)
- 44 चितकपयंश्च(?)⁸ समनुवो(वो)षयत्येवं य[धा] पाणाड⁹विषयांतःपाति¹⁰साल[ण]-
- 45 कषामे प्राचयां दिशि¹¹ यस्य चाघाटनानि [पू]र्वतो [मं]वकपल्ले(स्ली)सीमा । दक्षिणतो
- 46 व[को]लावि[ध्या]¹² सब[ण]चरिका च । पश्चिमतः¹³[तपारुप्यंतिकारिसंकानिवा?]ग-

¹ Read *gunair=viditāh*.

² The text is very corrupt here. One would expect a reading like *lasy=āpi Vajjadō=śhūf*.

³ Read *śrīmādh=Chhadaya*.

⁴ This *akshara* is superfluous.

⁵ Read *-kara*.

⁶ For the form of *cākhā* here, see the same *akshara* in *Śūlāra-chchhadmanā* in l. 28 above.

⁷ The usual expression is *kīrtit-ākīrtitān*.

⁸ [Could the intended reading be *pratinivāsinah krishakāmā=cha* ? B. C. C.]

⁹ Banerji read the name of the *vishaya* as *Māhāda*, but the *aksharas* are clearly as read above.

¹⁰ Banerji gives the name of this village as *Salapraṭha* in his account of the plates and as *Salapaka* in the heading of the section ; see *P. R. A. S. I. W. C.* for 1919-20, p. 55. But both the readings are incorrect.

¹¹ Here some word denoting the object of the gift (such as *kaṣṭra-trayaṁ* which occurs below in l. 57) is required.

¹² Read *-vithāh*.

¹³ We are not certain about the reading of these eleven *aksharas*.

- 47 तैवं च । उत्तरतो भिरिकाद्वयसंगमः । एवं चतुराष्टाट[नो]वल[सि]तं स-
- 48 वृक्षमालाकुलं पोडकस[मे]तं गंहि[रा]तटे कार[जा]वृ[क्ष]समेततलपटि[त](?) -
- 49 निवातक्षेत्रं मयेदं जलधरधारानिपात[भि¹]तं [निवाता]वनोद्यतति[डि][इ²]दु[इ]व-
- 50 विनाशजीवितमवलोक्य जललवलोत्तरततरं चासारं सं[सा]र[म]वेत्य
- 51 पुत्रपौत्रान्व[यो]पभोग्यमाचंडाका[णं]वक्षितिसमकालीनतया पित्रोरा[त्म*]-
- 52 न[श्च]ंहिका[म]स्मिकपुष्पय[शो]मिवृद्ध[ये] विधुष[प्रा]सेन तनंता³(?)योग[प्र]-
- 53 [ह]णपर्वणि [प्र]गारि[कायां]तिथी⁴ ह[स्तो]दकपूर्व[ब्ध] [स]कलसुरासुराभ्य[स्त्रिं-]
- 54 तचरण[कमल]-⁴ श्रीमच्छिवभट्टारकं [प्रपूज्य ?] [का]श्यपसगोत्र[व(व)]हृष[स]-
- 55 [व(व)]हृषारि[णे*] वेदवेदा[ग]वेदान्त[पुराणमीमांसास्म]तिन्याय[या]भित्त[जम्ह]पु-
- 56 रनिवासिने चाडावेव[भ]ट्टाय ⁵वेसद्यवतचरकाग्निहोत्रकतुकि-
- 57 या[द्यु]पसर्पणा[र्त्यं] प्रा[मम]ध्य[ध्ये] ⁶प्रलयवाव[मा]न[ने]न श्रीक्षततृ[य] स[श ?]-⁶
- 58 कगा[प्रा][मान्तः*]पातिपानपोडकसहितं ता[म्र][शास]नेन प्रदत्तं[त्तम्] । तदागामि-
- 59 नृपतिभि[श्च] भूदाना⁹ पुष्पफलमवेत्य धर्म[दा]योयं
- 60 प्रतिपालना[नी]यः । यतः सामान्येयं [भू]दान[पालन ?]पुष्प-
- 61 फलावाप्तिः । तथा चोक्तं भगव[ता] वेदव्यासेन [व्या]से[न] [।*]

Third Plate.

- 62 अ[ग्ने]रप[त्यं] प्रथमं सुवर्णं भू[र्व्वेण]वी [सु]र्व्वसुतादच गावः । लाक-
- 63 [त्र]यं तेन भवेचि[द्धि] दत्तं यः काचनं गं[गा] च महीं च दद्यात् [।१२६॥*]
[यस्मा¹⁰]दाद[दा]-

¹ The reading of this and the next seven aksharas is uncertain.

² These three aksharas are uncertain.

³ This tithi occurs when the fourteenth of the dark fortnight of a month falls on a Tuesday.

⁴ One akshara is illegible here. [The reading looks like -charaya-nakha-[ma]sim.—N.L.R.]

⁵ Read *vaidān-bali*.

⁶ We are not certain about the reading of these eight aksharas. Perhaps some expression like *lad-vishaya-mānā* denoting the intended measure is required.

⁷ Perhaps *kshātra-traya* is meant, but line 49 mentions only one *kshātra*.

⁸ Perhaps the intended reading is *Sālanaka* as in lines 44-45 above.

⁹ Five aksharas are illegible here. The context requires some expression like *bhūdanasya sāmānyam*.

¹⁰ These five aksharas are doubtful.

- 64 य सोवर्णं(र्णं) वसुधारा(धी)शसानय¹[ः] । गव(वा)[ञ्चोद्धारको] यत्र तत्र गच्छति [भू]-
 65 [नि]वाः ।[२७॥*] कल्पकोटि[स]हस्राणि [क]ल्पकोटि[शता]नि च । निवस्ते^२ पुरुषो
 66 लोके अ[स्ति][ति]दानं ददाति यः ।[२८॥*] व(व)हृमिर्व्य[सु]धा भू[क्ता] रा[ज]भिः
 सगरादिभिः ।
 67 य[स्य] यस्य य[दा] भू[मि]स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ।[२९॥*] [सर्वाने]ताम्भाविनः
 पापि(पि)वेद्वा-
 68 न्भू[यो] [भूयो] यावते रा[म]भ[इ]ः । [सामा]न्योयं अ[मं]सेतुनू(नू)पाणां पा[का]ले काले पा-
 69 सनो[यो] भवद्भिः ।[३०॥*] अ[ष्टि]व[पर्व]हस्राणि [स्व]र्गं ति[ष्ठ]ति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता
 चा-
 70 नु[मं]ता च तान्येव नरकं(के) वसेत् ।[३१॥*] स्वदत्तं(त्तां) परदत्तां वा यो हरेत्
 वसुंधरां(राम्) ।
 71 [स] वि[ष्टा]यां कृमिभूत्वा कृ[मि]भिः सह पच्यते ।[३२॥*] गामेकां सुवर्णमेकं
 भूमे-
 72 रप्येकमंगुलं(लम्) । हरश्चरकमाप्नोति [या]त(व)दाह(भू)तसंप्लवं(वम्) ।[३३॥*] इति
 कमल-
 73 इलांबु(बु)वि(वि)न्दुलोतां श्रियमयतो[श्च] म[नु]ष्यजीवितं च । [अ]तिविमलम-
 74 [नो]भिरात्मनीनं(नं) हि पु[र्व]ः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ।[३४॥*] अ[मं]दा[यो]-
 75 यं श्रीगो[गिग]मुतश्रीव[ज्जं](ज्ज)इदेववि[हि]तः शू(श्रु)तः । यथैवं तथा श्रीचन्द्रदे-
 76 वः [शा]सनं ददाति ॥

NO. 41.—DATE OF MATHURA PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION OF KANISHKA.

By PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

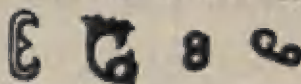
This inscription was discovered at Mathurā by Rai Bahadur Pandit Radha Krishna. It is incised on the pedestal of a broken statue of the Buddha. It has been edited before, with a photo-lithograph, by Rai Bahadur D. R. Sahni in this journal, above, Vol. XIX, pp. 96 f. It is proposed to discuss the date of this epigraph here in view of its importance for the Kushāna period of Indian history.

¹ Read -*śāśana*.² The correct form would be *śāśana*, but it would not suit the metre. Read *śāśana*.

The date of this inscription was read by Sahni as *Mahārāja-Dēvaputrasya Kanishkasya saṃvatsarē 10 4 Pausa-māsa-dīvasē 10*, i.e., on the 10th day of the month of Pausa in the year 14 of *Mahārāja Dēvaputra Kanishka*. Sahni referred this inscription to the reign of Kanishka, the great founder of the Kushāṇa era. His reading of the date and the consequent attribution of the record have not generally been called in question.¹ But even a cursory glance at the photo-lithograph which accompanies his article will show that the date has been misread. As in other Kushāṇa records, it is expressed in numerical symbols. The year of the date is shown by two symbols, the second of which is undoubtedly 4 as read by Sahni. The first symbol,² however, does not stand for 10. This will be quite clear from the fact that it is not identical with the symbol for 10 used further on in the same line to denote the day. I read this symbol as 50, so that the date of the record is 50 4, i.e., the year 54.

In support of my reading I call attention to the form of the symbol which occurs in another Mathurā inscription of the same year,³ edited by Bühler. There the form is the same as in the present inscription with only this difference that, whereas the symbol appears quite vertical in the former, it is slanting in the latter. It is a cursive form of the usual symbol for 50 which consists of an arc open to the right, with both the ends turned inside. See, for instance, the form of the symbol in the Ginjā inscription of Bhīmasēna, dated in the year 52.⁴ In both the aforementioned Mathurā inscriptions of the year 54, the lower and upper curves of the symbol are turned into loops. An intermediate form is shown by the symbol used in another

Symbols for 50 used in the Brāhmī records of Mathurā.



1 2 3 4

inscription found at Mathurā itself, which is dated in the year 50.⁵ In this only the lower curve has been turned into a loop. The value of this symbol is clearly shown by two inscriptions⁶ from Mathurā dated in the years 52 and 57 where the date is given both in words and in numerical symbols.

The Mathurā pedestal inscription is thus dated on the 10th day of the month Pausa in the year 54 during the reign of *Mahārāja Dēvaputra Kanishka*.⁷ As already remarked by Sahni,

¹ It has of course been pointed out by some that the characters of this inscription are too developed for the reign of the great Emperor Kanishka, the founder of the Kushāṇa era; for, it shows the cursive forms of *m*, *s* and *ā* which are believed to have become current in the Gupta age. But the difficulty is sought to be removed by one scholar by referring the date to the Kalachuri-Chādi era of A. D. 248-49 (See *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IV, p. 413). Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has accepted the reading of the date given by Sahni (above, Vol. XXI, p. 2).

² See above, Vol. XIX, pl. facing p. 97 and No. 4 of the symbols reproduced here.

³ Above, Vol. I, p. 391, No. XXI, and plate. See No. 3 of the symbols reproduced here. Bühler at first read this symbol as 80, but in view of another inscription from Mathurā (above, Vol. II, p. 210, No. 38, and plate), in which the year 57 is given both in words and numerical symbols, he took it to be equivalent to 50. Vincent Smith read the same symbol as 40, but, as Lüders has shown, it undoubtedly stands for 50. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 105.

⁴ See No. 1 of the symbols reproduced here.

⁵ Above, Vol. II, p. 203, No. XVII, and pl. See No. 2 of the symbols reproduced here.

⁶ Above, Vol. II, p. 203, No. XVIII, and p. 210, No. XXXVIII, and plates.

⁷ This will also explain why the characters of this inscription are somewhat more developed than those in the records of Kanishka I. As a matter of fact, the looped *s* occurs throughout in a Mathurā Brāhmī inscription of the year 25 as shown by Bühler (above, Vol. I, pp. 372-73). *M* with an unjoined middle and cursive *s* occurs in an inscription of Saka 127 at Jaśdan (Kāthiāwād) as pointed out by D. R. Bhandarkar (above, Vol. XXI, pp. 2-3).

this is a peculiar date, for it is recorded in a Hindu solar month instead of in seasons as in other Brāhmī inscriptions from Mathurā. This should not, however, cause any suspicion, for we have now another Kushāṇa Brāhmī inscription from Mathurā which also has a peculiar date. The latter is recorded in the Macedonian month Gurppiya.¹

This new reading of the date of the Mathurā pedestal inscription presents a problem to which we may now turn. As stated before, the inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja Dēvaputra* Kanishka. The reign of this Kanishka overlaps that of Huvishka. We have had till now records of Kanishka dated in the years 2-23,² those of Vāsishka dated in the years 24 and 28³ and those of Huvishka dated in the years 28-60.⁴ It has therefore been supposed that Kanishka was succeeded by Vāsishka in the year 24 and the latter by Huvishka in the year 28. Huvishka is known to have ruled at least till the year 60. How is it then that this *Mahārāja Dēvaputra* Kanishka appears suddenly at Mathurā in the year 54? The discovery of the Ārā inscription dated in the year 41 which referred itself to the reign of *Mahārāja, Rājātīrājā, Dēvaputra, Kāisara* Kanishka, the son of Vājḥeshka, had also presented a similar difficulty; for its date also fell in the reign of Huvishka. Two explanations of this sudden appearance of Kanishka in the year 41 were given. According to R. D. Banerji who indentified Kanishka of the Ārā inscription with the great founder of the Kushāṇa era, 'the only explanation of the synchronism of Kanishka and Huvishka, . . . is that, after the first ten years of Kanishka's reign, Huvishka was left in charge of Indian affairs with full imperial titles, while the former attended to the long war in the frontier and in trying to reclaim the lost provinces.'⁵ This explanation was adopted by Mr. Vincent Smith in the third edition of his *Early History of India*. As an inscription of Vāsishka dated in the year 24 was subsequently found, Smith suggested the following reconciliation of the known data:—'Vāsishka and Huvishka were sons of Kanishka, who both acted in succession as Viceroys of Upper India while their father was warring beyond the mountains. Vāsishka, of whom no coins are known, seems to have predeceased his father, who was succeeded in his whole empire by Huvishka.'⁶ Dr. Lüders, on the other hand, suggested that Kanishka of the Ārā inscription who calls himself the son of Vājḥeshka was different from the homonymous great Emperor. He was the latter's grandson, being the son of Vāsishka (called Vajheshka in the great Emperor). He was the latter's grandson, being the son of Vāsishka (called Vajheshka in the Ārā inscription) who is known to have ruled at least from the year 24 to the year 28. He thus described the course of events:—'Kanishka was followed by Vāsishka between the years 11 and 24.'⁷ After Vāsishka's death, which occurred probably soon after Sam. 28, there was a division of the empire. Kanishka II took possession of the northern portion of the kingdom. In India proper, Huvishka made himself king. The reign of Kanishka II endured at least as far as Sam. 41, the date of our (i.e., Ārā) inscription. But before Sam. 52 Huvishka must have recovered the authority of the northern portion of the empire, for in this year he is mentioned as king in the Kharōshthi inscription which was found at Wardak to the south west of Kābul'.⁸ This theory was adopted by Dr. Sten Konow. He pointed out that Huvishka did not make himself independent before the year 40, for until then he is simply styled *Mahārāja Dēvaputra*. Soon after that

¹ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 55 ff.

² The latest date of Kanishka is the year 23 recorded in a stone inscription in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Mathurā. *An. Rep., A. S. I.*, for 1920-21, p. 35. It is very desirable that this record should be published.

³ Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, Nos. 149a and 161.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 51 ff. and Lüders' *List*, etc., No. 56.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 59.

⁶ V. A. Smith, *Early History of India* (Third Ed.), p. 270.

⁷ We now know that Kanishka I continued to rule till the year 23; see note 2 above.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 135.

he declared his independence and began to issue coins in his own name. 'We cannot tell,' says Dr. Konow, 'whether Kanishka II survived this new departure of Huvishka by more than a year, or if it was brought about by rumours of his approaching death.'

The date of the Mathurā pedestal inscription throws fresh light on these problems. In the first place, the proximity of its date to that of the Ārā inscription shows that the Kanishkas mentioned in the two records are identical. Secondly, it is clear that this Kanishka must be distinguished from the great Emperor Kanishka who founded the Kushāna era. Before the discovery of this date 54, it was possible to argue that the year 41 of the Ārā inscription was of the reign of Kanishka I, for a reign of 41 years is not very unlikely. But it is improbable, though not impossible, that Kanishka I ruled for 54 years. This Kanishka of the Ārā and Mathurā pedestal inscriptions may therefore be called Kanishka II.² As conjectured by Lüders, Vajheska is probably identical with Vāsishka³ who may have been a son of Kanishka I and who is known to have ruled from the year 24 to the year 28. Kanishka II seems thus to have been a grandson of Kanishka I, for in India grandsons are often named after their grandfathers.

As stated before, the reigns of Huvishka and Kanishka II are overlapping. So long as only one inscription of Kanishka II was known, it was possible to explain this by supposing that Kanishka II ruled over the northern and Huvishka over the southern parts of the great Kushāna empire; for, the inscription of Kanishka II was found at Ārā near Peshāwar, while the inscriptions of Huvishka were found in the vicinity of Mathurā and Aligarh in the United Provinces.⁴ But now this inscription of Kanishka II comes from the same part of the country over which Huvishka was ruling. And what is more, its date (year 54) falls just midway between the years 50 and 58 recorded in inscriptions of the reign of Huvishka⁵ found at Mathurā itself. It is again noteworthy that in all these three inscriptions of the years 50, 54 and 58 found at Mathurā, both Huvishka and Kanishka II bear the ordinary title of *Mahārāja*.⁶ In the Ārā inscription dated in the year 41, Kanishka II bears the imperial titles *Rājātirāja* and *Kaisara*, while in the Wardak inscription dated in the year 50, Huvishka also bears the imperial title *Rājātirāja*. It will be noticed that the aforementioned Mathurā inscriptions of both Huvishka and Kanishka mention no such imperial titles in connection with either of them. To reconcile these apparently contradictory data, it may be suggested that there was a civil war in the Kushāna Empire after the death of Vāsishka. At first Kanishka II was victorious and he ruled as Emperor till the year 41. Some time between 41 and 50 he suffered reverses at the hands of Huvishka who reduced him to a subordinate position. Soon thereafter both of them were defeated by some one else and made to assume the subordinate rank of *Mahārāja*.

¹ *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, pt. i., p. lxxxii.

² Lüders thought that the use of the patronymic in the Ārā inscription was intended to distinguish Kanishka II from Kanishka I (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 135). The argument now loses its force, because in the present inscription which belongs to the reign of the same king Kanishka II no such patronymic has been used.

³ [Vāsishka is undoubtedly identical with Vajheska, Vajushka of inscriptions and Jushka of the *Rājatarāngīnī*. Sten Konow has already shown that *j*, *jā* and *s* are attempts at rendering the voiced *s*. See *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, pt. i., p. 163—Ed.]

⁴ An inscription of the reign of Huvishka dated in the year 45 from the collection of Pandit Bhagwanlal was found in the Library of the Bombay University, but its original find-spot is not known. *J. Bom. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 269 ff.

⁵ Lüders' *List*, etc., Nos. 51 and 42: above, Vol. XIV, p. 138.

⁶ In two of these (*viz.*, in those of the years 50 and 54) the title *Devaspita* is used in addition to *Mahārāja*(s).

Such a reconstruction of Kushāpa history, however, does not seem probable; for, the titles mentioned in these private records may be merely matters of accident. We notice the same thing in the case of Kanishka I. The records of the years 2 and 3 of his reign mention only the title *Mahārāja*.¹ Even this title is absent in the subsequent record of the year 5.² Then we find the title *Rājātirāja* in the records of the years 7, 8 and 11,³ but it is absent again in those of the years 9 and 10.⁴ We cannot therefore draw any conclusion from the absence of the imperial titles in the records of Huvishka and Kanishka II.

How then are we to explain this strange phenomenon of both Huvishka and Kanishka II ruling at Mathurā in the years 50-58? I think the only theory which can explain it is that of the joint rule of these kings. In the Andhan inscription of Śaka 52,⁵ we have a very similar case of Chashtana and his grandson Rudradāman ruling jointly in Mālwa and Kāthiāwād.⁶ Another analogous instance is that of the Rāshtrakūṭa princes Karka and his younger brother Gōvinda who were ruling in Gujarāt jointly from Śaka 732 to Śaka 748.⁷ Kanishka and Huvishka may similarly have ruled jointly at least during the period from the year 41 to the year 54.

NO. 42.—DATES OF SOME EARLY KINGS OF KAUSAMBI.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

From several stone inscriptions discovered at Kosam (ancient Kauśāmbī) and Giñjā in the United Provinces and Bāndhogarh in the Rewah State, we have come to know the names of some ancient rulers of Kauśāmbī. The records are dated in an era, the beginning of which is still to be determined. It is proposed to examine the question in this article and to suggest a solution.

The records at Kosam and Giñjā, which have been published, may be chronologically arranged as follows. Their date portions are also given below for ready reference.

(1) Giñjā inscription of *Mahārāja* Bhīmasēna (year 52)*—*Mahārājasya Śrī-Bhīmasēnasya sa[ri*]vatsarē 50 2 gīmha-pakshē 4 divasa 10 2.*

¹ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 212; and Lüders' *List*, etc., No. 925.

Ibid., No. 18.

² *Ibid.*, No. 21; above, Vol. XVII, p. 11 and *G. I. I.*, Vol. II, pt. i, pp. 138 ff.

³ Lüders' *List*, etc., Nos. 22 and 23.

⁴ Above, Vol. XVI, pp. 23 ff.

⁵ For a discussion of this problem, see *J. R. A. S.* for 1926, pp. 659 ff.

⁷ Karka's grants are dated in Śaka 734, 735, 743 and 748 and those of his younger brother Gōvinda in Śaka 732, 735, and 749. In his grants Gōvinda does not say that he made them with the permission of his elder brother. Again he pays in them a tribute to Karka which makes the theory of a civil war and usurpation of the kingdom by Gōvinda unlikely. As the villages granted by these brothers are in the same part of the country, in some cases are situated within a few miles of one another, the theory that there was a division of the kingdom between them is also untenable. Dr. Altekar has suggested that Gōvinda was governing Gujarāt as a deputy for his elder brother while the latter was acting as a regent for the boy king Amoghavarsha I, but the discovery of Gōvinda's grant dated Śaka 732 has shown that Gōvinda was holding Gujarāt even before the death of the Rāshtrakūṭa Emperor Gōvinda III. We must therefore suppose that the two brothers were ruling jointly in Gujarāt.

* Cunningham, *A.S.R.* Vol. XXI, Pl. XXX, and above, Vol. III, Pl. facing p. 306.

(2) Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja* Bhādrāmagha (year 81)¹—Maharajasya śrī-Bhādrāmaghasya sa[mh*]vatsarē ākasītē 80 1 grishma-pakshē dvitīyē 2 divasē pañchamē 5.

(3—4) Allahabad Museum (Kosam) inscriptions of *Mahārāja* Bhādrāmagha (year 87)²—Mahār[ā]jasya śrī-Bhādrāmaghasya sa[mh]vatsarē sapt[ā]sitē 80 7 varsha-paksha tṛtīya 3 divasa 5.

(5) Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja* Bhādrāmagha (year 88)³—Mahārājasya śrī-Bhādrām[aghasya] sa[mh]vatsa[rē] 80 8 varsha-paksha 3 divasa 5.

(6) Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja* Vaiśravaṇa (year 107)⁴—[Ma]h[ā]r[ā]jasya śrī-Vaiśravaṇasya sa[mh]vatsarē sapt-ōttara-śatimē 100 7 grishma-pakshē saptamē 7 divasē prathamē.

(7) Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja* Śivāmagha (date lost)⁵—[Mahā]rajasya śrī-Śivāmaghasya sa[mh]vatsarē...[varsha-pakshē] 2 divasē prathamē 1.

(8) Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja* Bhīmavarman (year 130)⁶—Mahārāja-śrī-Bh[ī]mavarmanāṁ sa[mh]vatsa[rē*] trī[m]ś-ōttara-śatimē 100 30 grishma-pakshē prathamē 1 di[vasē].

(9) Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja* Bhīmavarman (year 139)⁷—Mahar[ā]jasya śrī-Bhīmavarmanapah sa[mh]va[t*] 100 30 9...2(?) diva 7.

The records found at Bāndhogarh have not yet been published, but from the information occasionally communicated by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist, we learn that they are records of the reigns of the *Mahārāja* Vāsishṭhiputra Bhīmasēna (year 51) and his son Poṭhasiri (year 86) (? 76) and grandson Bhādadēva (year 90).⁸ Two other small inscriptions discovered at Bāndhogarh record each the construction of a cave by the *Rājā* Vaiśravaṇa,⁹ son of the *Mahāsēnāpati* Bhadrabāla. They are not dated. Two sealings, one of *Rājā* Vāsishṭhiputra Bhīmasēna and the other of *Mahārāja* Gautamiputra Śivāmagha were found during excavations at Bhīṭā.¹⁰ They contain among others the devices of the bull and the tree-in-railing, which, as stated below, occur on the coins of the kings of Kauśāmbi. Some coins of Prishṭhaśriya with the same devices were also discovered at Bhīṭā.¹¹ As conjectured by Dr. Motichandra,¹² this Prishṭhaśriya is probably identical with Poṭhasiri of the Bāndhogarh inscription. Again, a hoard of copper coins has recently been discovered at Sāton in the Fatehpur District of U. P. It has been described by Dr. Motichandra.¹³ It contained the coins of Bhādrāmagha, Vaiśravaṇa, Śivāmagha and Bhīmavarman. These coins have the same devices of the bull and the tree-in-railing. Again, Dr. Allan's *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum (Ancient India)*, pp. 157-58, describes some coins with the legend Jayama[gha*]. It is

¹ Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 253 ff., and plate.

² Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 245 ff., and plate.

³ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 160, and plate. Jayaswal read the date as 86. (*History of India*, 150 A.D.—350 A.D., p. 230.) According to Dr. Konow this inscription is of the same date as Nos. 3 and 4 above.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 146 ff., and plate.

⁵ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 159, and plate.

⁶ *Ind. Cul.*, Vol. III, pp. 177 ff., and plate.

⁷ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 266 ff., and plate. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar refers the date of this record to the Chāḍi era (see his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 173, n. 3), while Mr. A. Ghosh refers it to the Gupta era (*Ind. Cul.*, Vol. III, pp. 178 ff.), both on palaeographic grounds. Its characters do not materially differ from those of other Kosam inscriptions listed here. Its date must therefore be referred to the same reckoning.

⁸ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 146, n. 2.

⁹ *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. II, p. 101.

¹⁰ *An. Rep. A. S. I.* for 1911-12, p. 51.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

¹² *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. II, p. 99, n. 18.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 95 ff.

of other evidence, more or less indefinite, of palaeography, language and the mode of dating adopted in these records and the stratification of the level at which their coins and seals were found.

As regards **palaeography** the following peculiarities have been noticed :—

- (1) The medial short *i* is shown by a small curve on the top of a letter as in the Kushāṇa inscriptions. In the Gupta records this curve is brought down much lower on the left of the letter.
- (2) The medial *ē* is generally indicated by a short horizontal stroke to the left as in the Kushāṇa inscriptions. In the Gupta records the *mātrā* is usually placed on the top.
- (3) The medial *ō* is shown by a concave curve as in the Kushāṇa inscriptions. In the Gupta records, the vowel is shown by two *mātrās* turned in opposite directions.
- (4) The right verticals of *g*, *t* and *ṣ* are of the same length as the left ones. This is a peculiarity of the Kushāṇa records. In the Gupta inscriptions the right verticals of these letters are much elongated.
- (5) *Gh*, *p* and *y* are rectangular as in the Kushāṇa period. In the Gupta period these letters become round and cursive.
- (6) *N* has a curved base as in the Kushāṇa records, but no loop except in the late inscription of Vaiśravaṇa's reign. This letter became looped in the Gupta period.
- (7) *M* and *ḷ* have the later, so-called eastern, forms known from Gupta records, though on the coins of these kings *m* has the archaic shape of the Kushāṇa period.
- (8) *S* appears both in looped and unlooped forms. The unlooped form of it was generally current in the Kushāṇa period and the looped one in the Gupta period.

As regards **language**, these records bear affinity to the Kushāṇa rather than to the Gupta records. They are written in a **mixed dialect** which was current in the Kushāṇa age. Such Prākṛit expressions as *ṛtāya puruṣaya* for *ṛtasyām pūreṣyām* or *śatimē* for *śatālamē* are used side by side with correct Sanskrit forms. The language of the Gupta records is generally good Sanskrit.

The method of **dating** adopted in these records is slightly different from that of the Kushāṇa records from Mathurā. The dates are recorded in years and seasons, but instead of mentioning the number of months within the seasons as in the Kushāṇa records from Mathurā, they state the number of fortnights like the Sātavāhana records from the Deccan.¹ In North India such season dates were current during the Kushāṇa period, but they seem to have gone out of use in the Gupta age as there is not a single certain date of that age recorded in seasons.²

¹ Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, Nos. 1122-26.

² Mr. R. D. Banerji drew attention to the date of a Mathurā Brāhmī inscription which he took as indicating a compromise between solar month dates and season dates. He read the date as *Vijaya-rājya sam 100 10 3 Kā[rttika Hīma]nta mā[sa 3] di[va]sa 20* (above, Vol. II, p. 210, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 46). But the facsimile shows that the reading *Hīmanṭa* is extremely uncertain. Incidentally it may be pointed out that the date of the record appears to be 110, not 113. Mr. A. Ghosh mentions three season dates of the Gupta period, but they too are not certain. Of these the first one, viz., the date of the Kosam inscription of Bhīma-varman (year 139) refers to the same era as those of the other Kosam inscriptions of this dynasty, as shown above. The date of the Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II is not a season date as shown by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. As there was an intercalary month in the Gupta year 61, Dr. Bhandarkar's suggestion that the last letters of the date were *Aśvādha-māse* is quite plausible. As for the date of the Mathurā inscription No. XXXVIII, (above, Vol. II, p. 210), its attribution to the Gupta period rests only on palaeographic evidence which is not quite certain. See also *J. R. A. S.* for 1903, p. 11. In South India the custom of using season dates lingered much longer; for we have some records of the Vākāṭakas and the Viṣṇukūṇḍins of the fifth and sixth centuries A. D., which have season dates. See above, Vol. III, p. 262; Vol. IV, p. 197; Vol. XVII, p. 339, etc.

As regards the evidence of stratification, it may be pointed out that the sealings of Bhīmasēna and Śivamagha were found during excavations at Bhīṭā at the level of the lower floor of Nāga-dēva's house all the finds of which belong to the Kushāṇa period.¹ According to Sir John Marshall the house was deserted, owing to some catastrophe, in the Kushāṇa period.

Having thus stated the nature of the evidence available for determining the age of these records, let us proceed to examine the theories advanced so far.

(I) Rai Bahadur D. R. Sahni referred the date of the Kosam stone inscription of Bhādrāmāgha to the **Gupta era**. The years 51—139 of these records would, on this supposition, correspond to A.D. 370—458. This theory does not appear plausible; for, though these inscriptions exhibit some forms of letters (such as *m* with unjoined middle, the cursive *k* and the looped *a*) which are believed to have become current in the Gupta period, the general appearance of their characters is **pre-Gupta**. The evidence of language and the manner of dating is also against this theory as stated above.

(II) The second theory, which has been advocated by Dr. Jayaswal, and Messrs. N. G. Majumder, A. Ghosh and Krishna Deva, refers these dates to the **Chēdi era**. It is pointed out that these Kosam records show greater maturity than is evident in the Kushāṇa, without approximating to the Gupta in cursiveness.² They thus belong to the period of transition between the Kushāṇa and the Gupta. The system of dating and the mixed nature of the language are also believed to point to the same period. These records are, therefore, assigned to 'some time from the third to the fourth century A.D.'. The only era in this period to which the dates could be referred is the Chēdi era of A.D. 248-49.

This theory has much plausibility and the fact that some of these records come from that part of the country which in ancient times was known as Chēdi lends colour to it. The origin of the Chēdi era is still uncertain. The earliest certain date³ of this era so far known is the year 207 recorded in the Pārṣi plates of the Traikūṭaka Dahrasēna. The era was current in Gujārāt, Koṭkan and northern Mahārāshṭra down to the beginning of the eighth century A.D. It is found used in the records of the Traikūṭakas, Kalachuris, Western Chālukyas and their feudatories. Later on it was taken by the Kalachuris to the United Provinces and Chhattīsgarh when they founded their kingdoms there. But no dates of the first two centuries of this era have been found till now. The discovery of these Kosam records which apparently belong to the third or fourth century A. D. seemed to supply the early dates of the era which had been missing so far.

This theory does not, however, appear to be convincing; for, if these dates are referred to the Chēdi era, Bhādrāmāgha, Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīmavarman become the contemporaries of the Gupta Emperors, Chandragupta I, Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. That the Guptas extended their sway to Allahābād and the Ganges-Jumna Doab soon after their rise appears clear from an oft-quoted statement in the *Purāṇas*.⁴ If these rulers of Kauśāmbī (36 miles from Allahabad) were ruling in the fourth century A. D., they must have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Guptas. It seems strange therefore that none of these records mentions the name of any Gupta overlord. The explanation that these are private records will not avail, because even when Vaiśravaṇa records his excavation of a cave at Bāndhogarh he does not name any suzerain.

¹ *As. Rep. A. S. I.* for 1911-12, pp. 34, 51, 66 ff.

² Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 255.

³ The dates of the Uchchakalpa records which are earlier are referred by some to the Chēdi era, but this does not seem to be the correct view. See above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 171 ff.

⁴ *anu-Gaṅgā Prayāgaṁ cha Sākētaṁ Magadhānaḥ—tathā |*

ētān janapadān sarvān bhōkshyantē Gupta-varāṇasjāb || Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 53.

Secondly, it does not appear credible that the Gupta Emperors allowed these feudatories to strike coins in their own names. The Guptas seemed to have valued highly the Imperial prerogative of issuing their own coinage; for, instead of allowing the coins of the Kushāpas to circulate in their kingdom, they issued a varied and magnificent coinage of their own. When Chandragupta II exterminated the Western Śaka Satraps and annexed Mālwa and Kāthiāwād he issued fresh silver coins to meet the needs of the people of the newly acquired provinces. It may be urged that the coins of these Kauśāmbi kings are all of copper, while no copper coins of Chandragupta I and Samudragupta have yet been found.¹ The first Gupta king whose copper coins have been discovered is Chandragupta II.² Chandragupta I and Samudragupta may therefore have allowed these coins to circulate in their kingdom for the sake of convenience. But this argument does not explain why Bhimavarman who was a contemporary of Chandragupta II was allowed to strike coins in his own name. From inscriptional records we know of some feudatories of the Guptas, but the coins of none of them have been found. It is extremely unlikely that the Guptas made an exception in the case of these feudatories of Kauśāmbi.

(III) The third theory is that these dates refer to the **Kushāpa era** founded by Kanishka. The palaeographical evidence detailed above shows that these Kosam records must be classed with the Kushāpa and this has indeed been admitted even by the advocates of the second theory. But they point out that some of the letters, viz., *m*, *s* and *h*, have more developed forms which are usually met with in Gupta records. It is, however, not realized that if these dates are referred to the Chēdi era, the resemblances should be many more and striking; for, Vaiśravaṇa and Bhimavarman become then the contemporaries of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. The stone pillar on which Harishēpa's *prastasti* of Samudragupta is incised is believed to have originally stood at Kauśāmbi itself.³ The inscription was incised about A.D. 360,⁴ i.e., somewhat earlier than the inscription of Vaiśravaṇa and much earlier than those of Bhimavarman. A comparison of Harishēpa's *prastasti* with the Kosam records will show that its characters are much more developed than those of the latter. It exhibits throughout the looped *n*, *śh* and *s*; the right verticals of *g*, *t* and *ṣ* are elongated and the letters are generally cursive, instead of being squat and square. In all these respects the letters of the Kosam records, especially those of Bhimavarman's inscription dated in the year 130, present decidedly early forms approximating those of the Kushāpa. As for the letters *m*, *s* and *h*, it may be pointed out that the so-called eastern Gupta forms of these occur much earlier than the age of the Guptas and as far west as Mathurā and Jasdān in Kāthiāwād. Bühler pointed out long ago that the looped form of *s* occurs throughout in a Mathurā inscription dated in the year 20 of the era of Kanishka.⁵ Dr. D. R. Bhandarakar has recently drawn attention to the

¹ Allan, *Catalogue of Indian Coins, Gupta Dynasties*, p. lxxxvii. Prof. C. J. Brown thinks that Samudragupta did not mint copper coins because in the time of the Guptas, the bazars must have been full of Kushāpa copper money (*The Coins of India*, p. 42).

² R. D. Banerji states in his *Age of the Imperial Guptas* (p. 214) that he saw two copper coins of Samudragupta. They have not been published.

³ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 2.

⁴ V. A. Smith, *Early History of India* (third ed.), p. 282. This *prastasti* does not mention Samudragupta's performance of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. According to Dr. H. R. Dīvekar, the expression *tyipasa-din-anāth-ātura-jan-śiddhorapa-ma(sa)stra-dīkṣā-abhyupagata-manasaḥ* in l. 26 indicates the intention of Samudragupta to perform the sacrifice (*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. VII, p. 165). But this is incorrect. *Sastra-dīkṣā* is used there only for a metaphorical description, the figure being *rāpeka*. For an exactly similar idiom, see *āpana-abhaya-sattvāśu dīkṣitāḥ śhalu Paurāṇi* in Kālidāsa's *Śakuntala*, Act II, v. 16.

Above, Vol. I, pp. 372-73.

occurrence of the so-called eastern forms of *m* and *h* in a Western Kshatrapa record of Śaka 127 (A. D. 205).¹ The Gupta forms of these letters were thus not unknown in the second and third centuries A. D.

But it may be objected that these forms occur only sporadically in the aforementioned records of the Kushāṇa period. They do not show that these forms had become current at the time. To prove this we must have some record which definitely belongs to the Kushāṇa period and exhibits all these forms together as in the Kosam inscriptions under consideration. Such a record is not difficult to find. I draw attention to the Mathurā pedestal inscription of the reign of Kanishka.² The characters of this inscription closely resemble those of the Kosam records. They include the so-called Eastern Gupta forms of the letters *m*, *s* and *h*. In other respects, such as the forms of the medial vowels, of *n*, *v*, *śh*, etc., they are akin to other Kushāṇa records, though they are somewhat more cursive. The date of this record should give a clue to the age of the Kosam records under discussion.

This Mathurā inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja Dēcaputra* Kanishka. It is dated on the 10th day of Pausa in the year 54.³ As shown elsewhere, this Kanishka must be identified with Kanishka II whose Ārā inscription is dated in the year 41. The date 54 must of course be referred to the era started by Kanishka I. The beginning of this era is still uncertain, but most scholars are now in favour of identifying it with the Śaka era of A. D. 78.⁴ In view of the similarity of the characters used in this Mathurā pedestal inscription of the year 54 and the Kosam records of the years 52—139, it seems certain that all these records are dated in the same era, viz., the Kushāṇa era founded by Kanishka. And this is but natural; for Kanishka carried his arms as far as Pāṭaliputra in the east. In the south his empire extended at least up to the Narmadā. His era seems to have been current throughout his extensive empire long after his death. Inscriptions dated in it have been found at Sārnāth in the east, Sānchi in the south and Wardak near Kābul in the north-west. Once an era becomes current in a part of the country and the people become accustomed to use it, it continues to be used long after the founder or his family has ceased to rule. The era of Harsha continued to be used long after him, though his empire crumbled to pieces almost immediately after his death. We do not know who founded the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdi era.⁵ But it was used in Gujarāt, Kānkaṇ and Mahārāshṭra for several centuries after the memory of its founder had faded from the public mind. The same thing must have happened in the case of the Kushāṇa era.

It is not known if the Vatsa and Chēdi countries were included in the Kushāṇa Empire during the reign of Huvishka; for, no inscriptions of the king have been found there.⁶ R. D. Banerji conjectured from the absence of Kushāṇa records between the years 60 and 74 that during the last years of Huvishka's reign the Kushāṇa Empire in India was convulsed by civil

¹ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 2 f.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 96 f., and plate.

³ See for the discussion on the date of this record, above, pp. 293 ff.

⁴ Dr. Sten Konow places the beginning of this era in A. D. 128-29 (C. I. I., Vol. II, pt. i, p. xc v).

⁵ Though this era is usually called the Chēdi era, it does not seem that it originated in the Chēdi country; for, its early dates come from the Bombay Presidency. The name *Chēdi-samvat* occurs for the first time in a record of the year 919 (A. D. 1167-68) from Chhattisgarh. It was then current in the Chēdi country. In an earlier record of the year 831 (A. D. 1079) the date is introduced with the words *Chēdīnaga samvat* evidently because it was used by the Kalachuris who were then ruling over the Chēdi country. The connection of the Kalachuris with this era does not go before the year 347 (A. D. 595).

⁶ It is conjectured from the discovery of the impression of a medal of Huvishka under the Vajrasana throne inside the temple of Bodhi Gayā that the Empire of Huvishka included Bihar (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 60).

wars and revolution.¹ If the kings of Kauśāmbi were at first feudatories of the Kushāpas, they must have asserted their independence in this period. No inscriptions of the reign of Vāsudēva have been found outside the Mathurā region. The kings of Kauśāmbi may therefore have been virtually independent during his time. After the death of Vāsudēva, there was no power in North India which could have held them in subjection till the rise of the Guptas.

The last known king of this line is Vijayamagha, but we need not suppose that the dynasty ended with him. His successors may have continued to rule at least over the territory round Kauśāmbi till the rise of the Guptas. Balavarman who is mentioned in the Allahābād *prāśasti* as one of the rulers of Āryāvarta (North India) exterminated by Samudragupta may have been ruling at Kauśāmbi. His name does not of course end in *magha*, but this presents no difficulty; for *magha* was not the invariable suffix of the names of these kings. R. D. Banerji proposed to identify this Balavarman with the homonymous ancestor of Bhāskaravarman of Assam.² But the identification does not appear to be correct for two reasons. Firstly, Balavarman was ninth in ascent from Bhāskaravarman. From the *Harshacharita* he seems to have come to the throne about A. D. 600. Taking 25 years as the average period of each reign, we find that this Balavarman of Assam must have ruled from circa A. D. 375 to 400. He was thus a contemporary of Chandragupta II, not of Samudragupta. Secondly, we find Kāmarūpa (Assam) included in the list of border kingdoms, the rulers of which paid homage and tribute to Samudragupta. Its ruler was not therefore exterminated by the Gupta Emperor.

Balavarman is therefore more likely to have been a ruler of Central India who was overthrown and whose territory was annexed by Samudragupta. He may have been ruling at Kauśāmbi. That Kauśāmbi was directly under the rule of the Guptas appears clear not only from the aforementioned statement in the *Purāṇas* about the extent of the Gupta kingdom, but also from the *prāśasti* on the stone pillar at Allahābād, which seems to have originally stood at Kauśāmbi.

Thus the theory that the dates of these Kings of Kauśāmbi refer to the Kushāpa (or Śaka) era presents no difficulties.³ It harmonises all data satisfactorily and squares with our present knowledge of the history of Central India in the pre-Gupta period.

No. 43.—ASOGE PLATES OF KADAMBA JAYAKESIN (II) ; SAKA 1055.

By G. H. KHARE, POONA.

The plates were originally edited by me from the reading, etc., supplied by Mr. Dāmūtātyā Bokāde of Hubli, Dharwar District.⁴ Afterwards I was able to acquire the plates in question for the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśōdhaka Maṇḍala, from their owner, Gaṇapatarao Ināmdār of Asoge, Khānāpur, Belgaum District and re-edited them from the originals with facsimiles.⁵ I again edit them here for the benefit of English-knowing scholars.

¹ R. D. Banerji, *Prehistoric Ancient and Hindu India*, p. 131.

² R. D. Banerji, *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 13. K. P. Jaysawal on the other hand, suggested that Balvarman was the second or *abhiśhēka* name of Kalyāṇavarman who is mentioned as the ruler of Pāṭaliputra in the *Kaumudīmahātāva*, see his *History of India*, etc., p. 142, but the historicity of the drama is not above suspicion.

³ The view that these kings flourished in the second and third centuries A. D. has also been supported by Mr. G. S. Chatterji (*Jha Commemoration Volume*, pp. 101 ff.), Dr. Motichandra (*J. N. S. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 95 ff.) and Dr. Sten Konow (above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 245 ff.).

⁴ G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Dekkan (Marāṭh)* Vol. I p. 26 et seq.

⁵ *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 9 et seq.

The record consists of three plates, measuring $8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{16}''$ in dimensions. The plates were, as informed by Mr. Bokāḍe, originally strung on a circular ring, the two ends of which were soldered into a seal bearing the figure of a boar in relief. I was, however, unable to acquire the seal. The inner sides of the first and the third and both the sides of the second plate are inscribed, containing 49 lines of writing in all. The sides contain 12, 13, 12 and 12 lines respectively. The rims of the plates being raised, the writing is perfectly preserved. The whole set weighs 170 tolas.

The charter is written in Dēvanāgarī characters of the 12th century of the Christian era, which closely resemble those found in the Kadamba inscriptions of the time and call for no special remarks. *Prishthamātrās* are invariably used. The form of *th* in *sthī* is peculiar and resembles that of *chh*. It occurs in ll. 1, 10, 21, 38. A *daṇḍa* appearing at the end of ll. 1, 17, 18, 23, 38, 43 and 44 stands to serve the purpose of a hyphen, showing that the word is continued in the next line.

About orthography three points deserve mention here. *B* is generally substituted by *v* as *vibharti* (l. 3), *Kādamva* (l. 10), *vicudhō* (l. 47), etc., and *ś* by *s* in some cases, as in *saurya* (l. 21) *Galagēsvara* (l. 28), *sākā* (l. 38). *Visarga* followed by *ś* and *s* is invariably changed to *ś* and *s* respectively. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and the composition is in verse throughout.

The following place-names occur in this grant: *Koṅkaṇa* (l. 8); the river *Malaprahāriṇī* (l. 25); *Palasī-dēśa* (l. 29); the *kampana* *Kālagiri* including the village *Kūpaṭṭōggarikā* (l. 33). *Koṅkaṇa* does not require any elucidation. *Malaprahāriṇī* is evidently the old name of the modern *Malaprabhā*. *Palasī* is the modern *Halsī* in the *Khānāpur taluqa* of the Belgaum District.¹ There is a shrine called *Galagēsvara* at the village of *Baloge*, which is evidently identical with the one mentioned in the record, as it is situated on the bank of the river *Malaprabhā*, the *Malaprahāriṇī* of the inscription. It is some $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the west of *Khānāpur*. The *kampana* *Kālagiri* is referred to in a similar inscription.² The *Postal Village Directory of the Bombay Circle* notes *Kālagiri* as a deserted village in *Khānāpur*.³ It may be the old *Kālagiri*. *Kūpaṭṭōggarikā* seems to be *Kopulgeree* of the *Indian Atlas*, sheet 41, shown some 3 miles due south-east of *Khānāpur*.

The details of the date, as given in ll. 33-40, are the Śaka year 1055, expressed by the words *śara* (=5), *śara* (=5) and *āśā* (=10), the cyclic year *Pramādin*, the first day of the bright fortnight of *Phālguna*, Saturday and the solar eclipse. According to the *Indian Chronology*⁴ by Pillai, the expired Śaka year 1055 coincides with the cyclic year *Pramādin* and there was a solar eclipse on the newmoon day of *Māgha* of that year which fell on Friday. But as the period after the occurrence of the eclipse is also reckoned as auspicious for making grants, Saturday, the first day of the bright fortnight of *Phālguna*, is cited here as the day of the grant.

¹ For other references to *Palasī* and its variants *Palāsīkā*, *Palasige*, etc., see *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part II, pp. 285, 288, 289, 298 note 2, 358 note 1, 451, 452, 456, 460, 476, 486, 565, 568-570.

² *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. IX, pp. 279 and 280.

³ But the *Indian Atlas* (published in 1852 A. D.), sheet no. 41, does not show this village.

⁴ *Tables*, page 87.

But it should also be borne in mind that Mr. Pillai has given the mean ending moment of the newmoon day there. The Christian equivalent of the date is 27th January A. D. 1134.¹

The object of the inscription is to record a grant, by Kādamba Jayakēśin II of Goa, of the village Kūpaṭṭōggarikā to one Śivaśakti, a 'store of penance', for the worship of the God Gala-gēśvara, for the repairs of his temple and for the accomplishment of *satras* on auspicious occasions such as *Chaitra*, *pavitra*, etc.

After the first two benedictory verses praying for the favour of Hari and Śiva, the record goes on to describe the origin and genealogy of the Kādambas of Goa. From the drops of sweat of Śiva fallen at the foot of a *kadamba* tree sprang Trilōchana-Kadamba, who resided in the Koṅkaṇa and from whom the family got the name Kādamba. In this family was born Jayakēśin (I), who received the title *Rāyapitāmaha* by his successfully reconciling the Chālukya and Chōla kings at Kāñchī who were hostile to each other. This fact has been also referred to in the Kiri-Halasige plates² thus :—

चालुक्यचोलभूपालौ काञ्च्या मित्रे विधाय यः ।

पेमद्विदुर्वनिर्घोषोप्यासीद्रायपितामहः ॥

From him was born Vijayāditya who begot Jayakēśin (II). The only fact recorded about him in this inscription is that a certain king gave his daughter in marriage to him. Unfortunately the name of either the king or his daughter is not mentioned here, but we know these names from other records. For instance, the same Kiri-Halasige plates have the following verse :—

भूभूत्त्राणपरायणः पृथुदत्ता गम्भीर्यरत्नाकरः

श्रीपेर्मादिनृपः पयोनिधिनिभः सोमानुजां कन्यकाम् ।

यस्मै विस्मयकारिभूरिविभवदंत्वं(स्वे)भकोशादिभिः

ख्यातः श्रीपतये स मल्लमहादेवी कृतार्थोभवत् ॥

This verse apparently states that the King Permādi (=Chālukya Vikramāditya VI) gave his daughter Mailalamahādēvi, the younger sister of Sōmēśvara III, to him.³ There is perhaps one more fact recorded about Jayakēśin (II). The 13th verse begins with the phrase *Kṛita-Bhōgapur-āśāsē* which means that he made Bhōgapura his residence. If we accept this meaning, we must try to identify Bhōgapura. But as it is mentioned singly, we are practically helpless in the matter.

¹ [What Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai has shown at the cited place evidently refers to the Christian equivalent of the *amāśāsyā* of the month of Māgha in the year concerned, which is Friday, 26th January A. D. 1134, without referring to the exact duration of that *tithi*. The solar eclipse, however, appears to have taken place in the early hours of the following day, namely Saturday, 27th January A. D. 1134, when the *amāśāsyā* ended about two hours and a half after the mean sun-rise, the rest, or the major part, of that day thus being counted as the first day of the bright fortnight of the month of Phālguna, the *tithi* mentioned in the inscription. This is made clear by referring to Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. III, p. 270. From this it follows that the donation was both actually made and recorded on the same day, though by a few hours' difference the recording fell on the following *tithi*. The date of the record may thus be regarded as perfectly regular.—B. C. C.]

² J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX, p. 242.

³ *Ibid.* The fact is also clearly mentioned in the Dēgāmve, Halst, and Gōlha[ī] inscriptions (*ibid.*, pp. 267, 270, 288, 296), Goa plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 289) and the first Narēndra inscription (above, Vol. XIII, p. 298) and inferred in the second Narēndra inscription (*ibid.*, p. 316).

This record extends the period of Jayakēśin's reign by 8 years ; for, the present charter is issued in Śaka 1055 and the last known date of Jayakēśin II, as recorded by the late Dr. Fleet and as found in inscriptions published since then, is Śaka 1047.¹

All the same I must confess that this record does not throw any light on his political relation to the successor of the Chālukya King Vikramāditya. This record has nothing to show whether he acknowledged the Chālukya supremacy.

After the 25th verse appear two usual imprecatory verses. The last two stanzas tell us that one Sōmadēva, son of Trailōkyadēva, of the Upamanyu *gōtra* drafted the grant, and an artisan named Rāmadēva engraved it.

TEXT²

[Metres : Vv. 1-8, 13-24, 27, 29 *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 9, 11, 12 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 10 *Āryā* ; v. 25 *Gāthā* ; v. 26 *Śālinī* ; v. 28 *Vasantatilakā*.]

First Plate.

- 1 श्रीः ॥* भूयाद्विभूत्यं भवतां स वराहवपुर्हृदिः [1*] पोत्रप्रातस्विता य-
- 2 स्य मुस्तास्तंवा(वा)पते महो ॥[१॥*] स वशिष्ठविश्वं दद्यान्मौलौ यस्य
- 3 हिमद्युतिः [1*] वि(वि)भर्ति नाकनलिनीमुणालशकलधियं(यम्) ॥[२॥*] पुरा पु-
- 4 रागं विजये शंभोः कतिचिदास्पदं(यम्) । चक्रुर्ललाटफलके श्रमस्वे-
- 5 दोदवि(वि)दयः³ ॥[३॥*] कदंब(व)तलमाप्तेभ्यस्तेभ्यो नेत्रत्रयार्चितः [1*] चतुर्भु-
- 6 जस्तमभव स्थौ(त्स्वै)यंयंयंबरो नरः ॥[४॥*] शक्तिमान्विबु(बु)धानंदक-
- 7 रः[*] स्कंद इवापरः [1*] त्रिलोचनकदंबा(वा)स्यां वि(वि)भ्रदद्भुतविक्रमः ॥[५॥*]
- 8 स नागवल्लीकलिते कदलीवंडमंडिते । चकार कौकजे वा-
- 9 सं विलासवसतिस्त्रि(त्रि)रं(रम्) ॥[६॥*] ततः प्रववृते वंशसुदृशशीतांशुनि-
- 10 र्मलः । अम्लानकमलोत्तासो महेस्व(स्व)रकृतस्वितिः ॥[७॥*] कादंब(व)प-
- 11 दविह्व्यतो राजहंसोपशोभितः । अभंग इव गंगायाः प्रवा-
- 12 हो हिमव[1⁴]दिगरेः ॥[८॥*] एतस्मि⁵जयकेशिभूपतिरभूदंभोधिगर्भो-

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part II, p. 568 and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, 298, 316. Prof. Moraes in his *Kadamba Kula* (p. 197), seems to extend this period to A. D. 1147 (Ś. 1070 current), because Jayakēśin II's son succeeded him in that year. But unless records of the intermediate period are found, that will not be the final conclusion. There may have been other causes, such as chaos, which may have prevented the son from succeeding his father before Ś. 1070 current. [Two inscriptions of the reign of Jayakēśin II bearing the date Śaka 1058, have been noticed in the *As. Rep. on S. I. E.* for 1925-26 (Nos. 453 and 461 of Appendix C). Another record of the same ruler (*ibid.*, No. 450) probably belongs to A. D. 1138 (Kālayukta).—N. L. R.]

² Prepared from the original plates.

³ The two circles representing the sign of *visarga* are separated, one appearing at the top and the other at the bottom of the letter *sa*. Evidently the engraver first omitted the *visarga* inadvertently and later on, discovering his mistake, inserted it in the manner described above for want of space.

⁴ The form of दिग् resembles very much that of हि.

⁵ Read एतस्मिञ्जयकेशि.

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 13 ऊवे रत्नैर्विहितैश्चकार सफलं यस्त्यार्णसहास्रं(नम्) । निश्च-
 14 कौकटं गृहीतसमरो चालुक्यचोलाविधौ कृत्वा रायपि-
 15 तामहेति महर्तमद्वा प्रतिदि गतः ॥[१६॥*] तस्माद्विजयादित्यस्त्यवता-
 16 मप्रणीर्गुणैः प्रगुणः [१*] जातस्त यस्य कीर्तिर्विलसति लोके पताकेव ॥[१०॥*]
 17 जातोस्माज्जयकेशिदेवनृपतिस्ती(स्ता)क्षादिबाधोज्ञः क्षोणीर-
 18 क्षणदक्षिणस्सुमनसामानंदसंदोहदः । यो बाल्यो(बाल्ये)पि यत्नोदयाप-
 19 रिगतस्सत्योत्तसन्मानसो दृष्टोदारपराक्रमो व(व)लिजये
 20 लक्ष्म्या समालिङ्गितः ॥[११॥*] अस्योसा(स्ता)हसलस्य साहसवतो निस्सं(यज्ञ)क-
 21 सौ(शौ)र्यस्थिते(ते)र्माहात्म्यं महनीयमानमहसः किं वर्णयामो वयम् ।
 22 यस्मै विस्मयवान्वितीयं विधिना सर्वस्वभूतां सुतां साढं वाजिगज-
 23 जेन पृथिवीनाथः कृतायोनवत् ॥[१२॥*] कृतभोगपुरावासो वि-
 24 तासवसतिर्नृपः । स पुष्पन्नर्विस्तार्यस्य विविधार्थैर्मनोरथान् ॥[१३॥*]
 25 सरित्सह्याद्रिसंभूता शर्वेलिं गैर्भ्रिरंतरा [१*] मलप्रहारिणीत्यस्ति ता-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 26 पपापापहारिणी ॥[१४॥*] क्षत्रक्षेत्रक्षयोद्धूतस्फूर्जद्भुजिनमाजंनान् । प्रा-
 27 प्ता परशुरामस्य स्वस्य नाम्नो यथार्थतान्(म्) ॥[१५॥*] तस्यास्तीरेस्ति भगवान्^१
 28 स्वयंभूर्भुक्तिमुक्तिदः । शंभुः प्रसिद्धस्थो(स्थी)स्येन गलगेस्व(स्व)रसंज्ञया ॥[१६॥*]
 29 दत्तभवतजनानन्दः पलसीदेशभूषणं(नम्) । प्रकटीकृतमाहात्म्यस्तत्त-
 30 द्दरसमर्पणात् ॥[१७॥*] तस्मै पूजोपचारार्थं जीर्णोद्धारणकर्मणे । त-
 31 [वा] चैत्रपवित्रादिपर्वणे सन्नसिद्धये ॥[१८॥*] तत्तद्भोगविभूत्यर्थं
 32 भक्तिनिर्वर्ध(र्ध)रमानसः । महामाहेस्व(स्व)रः प्रादाज्जयकेशिमही-
 33 पतिः ॥[१९॥*] कंषणे कालगिर्वाह्ये कूपटोगरिकानिधं(धम्) । यानं विभोग-
 34 संपन्नं सर्व्ववा(वा)धाविज्जितं(तम्) ॥[२०॥*] नमस्यं सर्व्वलोकस्य यावदत्वंदता-

^१ This appears more like *śā*.

१. दशैश्वर्यादिभूतिनवतां सवरादवपुर्दभिःणात्र प्रोतश्चितास्य
 २. स्यमुत्तासवासातमदी॥ सवशिवशिवदद्यान्मितास्य
 ३. दिमदातिःवित्तर्तिनाकुजलिनीमृणालुराकलरिप्रापुत्रा पु
 ४. राणाविकाराशानाःकृतिचिदास्यदावकुलेत्वारफलाकरमस्तु
 ५. दादविदवांकुदंवतलमाप्त्यास्त्यालनववसावितःवतुमु
 ६. रुस्तमनवह्यैर्दावेर्दधरोनरुःशक्तिमाधिवुधनंदक
 ७. नक्तदण्डवापरःत्रितावनकदवाग्नाविचदद्वतविक्रमः
 ८. सनागवल्लीकलितकुदली घंडमंडितावकाराकाकावा
 ९. संवित्तामवसतिस्त्रिंशतःप्रवृत्तवंशस्पृष्टशीतांशुनि
 १०. क्तमलश्रस्मानकमालास्त्रासाभादस्रकृतस्त्रुतिःकादवप
 ११. दीतरगाता राजदंसापणानितःश्रतंगल्लवगंगासाःप्रवा
 १२. दादिमवदितःपतस्मिदुत्तकशितूपतिरत्नदत्ताधिगता

ii.a.

१. द्रविरत्नैरविदितैरकारसफलैर्यथागमिदासनाजि
 २. क्तां कतादृष्टीतममनोवातुक्तावात्माधिपोकुत्वासापि
 ३. ताभादतिमदतीमदाप्रसिद्धिगतःतस्माद्विदुःसादित्यतवता
 ४. मयणीशुणैःपुणःजातस्यस्यकीर्तिर्विलसतिलाकपताकवा
 ५. जातास्मादुत्तकशिवदवृत्तिसीतादिवाविदुःकाणीर
 ६. द्वापदक्षिणस्सुमनसामानदसंवाहदःयोवात्मापिदसाददाप
 ७. विगतस्यात्याल्लसमानसाद्राष्ट्रादसपराकुमावलिजल
 ८. लक्ष्मीसमालिखितःश्रुत्यासाहसस्तस्यासाहसवातानि सक्त
 ९. सादस्युतःमोदाश्रमदनीलमानमदसःकिंवन्त्यामावदं
 १०. द्यत्मेविस्मयवाचितीर्त्तनिविनामर्वश्रुताश्रुतासादवाजिगज
 ११. क्तनेपुमिवीजावःकृतासांनवतांकृतासागपरावासावि
 १२. त्तामवसतिर्नृपःसपुष्पल्लविंसावस्यविविधैर्विष्मजानरा
 १३. यचित्तादिमंनूतानोवेर्लिणैर्ज्ञितंरामलपदाविणीताशित

26 विष्णोपपत्तिर्गोपि त्रैलोक्ये त्रैलोक्योद्भूतस्य कुरुदित्तमार्जुनोत्तमो
 28 स्वयं नृत्तं मुक्तिदः शत्रुः प्रसिद्धात्मा जगत्पण्डितः संप्रदा
 30 दत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं पत्नीदशमं पत्नीकृतमादात्यस्त
 32 दत्तं सप्तमं पत्नीताम्रं पूजापरां वैष्णवीं दत्तं कर्माणां त
 34 नृत्तं निर्वृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं
 36 नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं

38 वदन्तीति कथितं सा कर्माणां शरीराणां कर्माणां पद्मदिव्यं
 40 फलं नृत्तं पद्मदिव्यं पद्मदिव्यं पद्मदिव्यं पद्मदिव्यं पद्मदिव्यं
 42 सर्वपापानां नाशकं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं
 44 नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं
 46 नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं
 48 नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं

- 35 रकं । प्रसिद्धचतुराघाटं पूर्वसोमासमन्वितं(तम्) ।[1 २१॥*] तपोनिष्ठानरिष्ठस्य
 36 शिवशक्तेस्तपोनिधेः । वारिवारां समुत्सु(त्सु)ज्य षाणो तत्पिंडिकात-
 37 [टे] ।[1 २२॥*] सर्वप्रधानसंमत्या पुरोहितपुरस्सरो(रः) ।[*] विद्यावशात्तद्वनं

Third Plate.

- 38 विद्वद्भिर्गो(र्गो)न्तिकस्थिते ॥[२३॥*] सा(शा)के शरकराशांके प्रमादिपरिवत्सरे ।
 39 काल्पने शुद्धपक्षस्य प्रतिपदिवसे शुभे ।[1 २४॥*] सूर्योपराने सौर्ये(ह्नि)ह्नि
 40 सर्वपञ्चोत्तमोत्तमे । अत्रं चित्रचारित्र्यः प्राह श्रीकौकणेश्वरः ।[*]
 41 आणामिभूपानभ्यर्घ्यं धर्म्मोयं पाल्यतामिति ॥[२५॥*] सामान्योयं
 42 धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वनिता-
 43 न्माविनः पार्श्वेद्वान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामचंद्रः ॥[२६॥*] स्व-
 44 दत्तां परवत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुंधराम् । घट्टि वयंसहस्रा-
 45 नि विष्ठायां जायते किमिः ।[1 २७॥*] श्रीशारदापदसरोरुहलोल-
 46 भृगुः स्थाति गतो जगति जङ्गमभारतीति । श्रीसोमदेववि-
 47 बु(व)धो ह्यदधादिवं श्रीत्रैलोक्यदेवतनुभूषणमप्युगो[त्रः] ।[1 २८॥*]
 48 अनल्पशिल्पकुशलो रामदेवान्निधः शुचिः । अतिशक्ति-
 49 लार्थस्तदज्ञात(स)नं नृपज्ञातनात् ॥[२९॥*] मंगल(सं) महाधी[ः*]

No. 44.—BALSANE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KRISHNA ; SAKA 1106.

By MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT, B.A., BOMBAY.

The following inscription is carved on the lintel of the entrance door of a temple at **Balsāṇē**, in the Pimpalner *tāluka* of the West Khāndesh District of the Bombay Presidency, a place well known for its several temples in the Chalukyan style. It has been noticed several times previously : in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XII (Khāndesh), p. 433 ; by Burgess and Cousens in the *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, p. 55 ; by R. D. Banerji in the *Annual Progress Report, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the year 1918-19, p. 45 ; and again by Cousens¹ in his *Mediæval Temples of the Dakhan*, p. 26. Its

¹ This inscription, however, does not find a place in the *Progress Report, A. S. I., W. C.*, for 1891-92, where the Balsāṇē temples are described, for the first time, by Mr. Cousens.

text and facsimile have, however, not yet been published. The brief notices of its contents are both inadequate and inaccurate. I copied it in March 1941, when I accompanied Mr. R. G. Gyani, M.A., the Curator, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, on an archaeological tour in Khândesh. Its estampage, published here, I owe to the authorities of the P. W. Museum, Bombay. I am obliged to the Government Epigraphist for giving me an opportunity to edit it in this journal. I have also to thank Mr. G. H. Khare, of the Bhārata Itihāsa Śaṁsōdhaka Maṇḍala, Poona, and Mr. S. K. Dikshit, M.A., for some suggestions.

The inscribed piece of the lintel, which is smoothly dressed, measures about $4\frac{1}{2}' \times \frac{1}{2}''$. The inscription consists of five long lines and two very short ones added at the left end. The letters are deeply carved and are in an excellent state of preservation.

The **characters** are the usual type of the Nāgari alphabet and regular for the period in which the record was inscribed. While most of the letters exhibit the fully developed forms as they are found in the present day Nāgari, some of them, such as *ch*, *j*, *v*, *dh*, *b*, *bh*, *r*, *ś*, etc., appear in a transitory stage. The initial *i* (l. 3), *ī* (l. 5) and *ē* (l. 2) show their early forms.

The **language** is Sanskrit, but the composition of the record is very faulty, though most of the mistakes are due to the carelessness of the scribe. Except for the portions giving the particulars of the date and the name of the architect, the inscription is in verse. As regards **orthography**, *b* and *v*, *ś*, *sh* and *s* are generally differentiated, but sometimes confounded. The forms like *puṇya* for *puṇya* (l. 1), *samāhvaē* for *samāhvayē* (l. 2), *sthāi* for *sthāyī* (l. 5), etc., are mere phonetic variations. There are a number of other mistakes that are pointed out in giving the text.

The inscription opens with an invocatory stanza. The next verse describes that in the Gārgya family was born one **Sōmēśvara**-Paṇḍita, son of **Padmanābha**, a poet of great renown. His son was the illustrious **Mahalūka**-Paṇḍita, who became famous by his personal good qualities. He is stated to have helped a king named **Kṛishṇa** in obtaining the earth. From this we are perhaps to infer that Mahalūka-Paṇḍita served under that king either as a minister or as a priest. He is further described as a well-known mathematician and a knower of *dharma*. The **object** of the inscription is to record that the *Paṇḍita* repaired the Royal Maṭha (*Rāja-maṭha*), standing on the banks of a river, at **Balasāpaka**, for the inhabitance of Brahmins. In the last verse a hope is expressed that the *maṭha* should last through hundreds of *kalpas*. At the end it is stated that the engraving was done by the architect **Dāṇḍa**.

The **date** of the inscription is given three times, twice in the second line in words and numerical figures and once again at the termination of the record, as the **Śaka year 1106**, but without any specification of the month, fortnight, *tithi* or week-day. It does not therefore admit of verification. It corresponds to A. D. 1184.

Banerji¹ was the first to give an abstract of the contents of this inscription and to discuss its bearings. His rendering of it, however, is not all correct. In his account we do not find any mention of the name of Mahalūka-Paṇḍita, who repaired the *maṭha*. He takes the epithets of Mahalūka as those of Sōmēśvara whom he treats as the minister of Kṛishṇa. Evidently his decipherment of the record was imperfect. To the same defect is to be attributed his statement that Sōmēśvara "held the king Kṛishṇarāja in the palm of his hands". The passage in question, as already shown, refers to Mahalūka and may literally be rendered as "one who quickly does or makes over the earth in the palm of the hand of the king Kṛishṇa".

¹ Loc. cit.

As regards the identification of this king Kṛishṇa, Banerji has rightly pointed out that he cannot be the Rāshtrakūṭa or the Paramāra prince of that name, as their known dates are far remote from the period of the present inscription.

Mr. Sachindra Chandra Majumdar,¹ who has further discussed this inscription, follows Banerji's account. According to him, Kṛishṇa belongs to the Nikumbha-varṇśa. Two inscriptions² of this family have been found at Pāṭaṇ, near Chāligāon, in the East Khāndesh District. According to them there were two kings of that name in the Nikumbha family. Mr. Majumdar identifies the Kṛishṇa of the present inscription with Kṛishṇarāja II of the Nikumbha family, who was alive in Śaka 1070. He seems to suggest that the Balsāṇē inscription is a posthumous record of Kṛishṇarāja II. His arguments in favour of the above identification appear to be far-fetched and based on several suppositions. He takes it for granted that the *maṭha* was not repaired *during* the reign of Kṛishṇa. He also suggests the possibility of Sōmēśvara (actually Mahalūka) having outlived Kṛishṇarāja II by over 36 years, which is improbable, if not impossible. In Khāndesh, the Nikumbha-varṇśa, the dynasty with which he has tried to connect the Kṛishṇa of our inscription, ruled in the vicinity of Pāṭaṇ, which is about 64 miles, south by west of Balsāṇē, where the present record is found. It seems hardly possible that petty chieftains like the Nikumbhas should have wielded their power over such a great distance.

Taking these things into consideration, it is clear that the king Kṛishṇa of our inscription could not have been the Nikumbha prince of that name, as held by Mr. Majumdar, and should therefore be located somewhere else.

It is well known to the students of history that there were several minor feudatory families ruling in Khāndesh (*Seunadēśa*, of those times) during the Yādava³ period. Many of these go under the general name of Ābhīras or Ahīrs, of whom Khāndesh has still a very large population.

Gauḷi rājās, or the Cowherd kings, as they are sometimes called, have several traditions current about them. According to one, the structures in the so-called *Hemādṇpanti* or the late Chalukyan style of architecture are said to be the works of these rulers.⁴ Siṅghaṇa, the great Yādava king, is stated to have won several victories over the Cowherd Kings, which are referred to in his inscriptions.⁵

Of the many Ābhīra-kulas,⁶ we know of one family from Bhambhāgiri. Siṅghaṇa's victory over one Lakshmīdēva, the lord of Bhambhāgiri, is mentioned in the Āmbē Inscription No. 2

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. L (1921), pp. 58 f.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 39 ff.; above, Vol. I, p. 338 ff. Besides these two inscriptions, another fragmentary inscription, belonging probably to the same family and containing the names of Kṛishṇarāja (II), Indra and Gōvanna (III), was discovered by the late Mr. V. K. Rajwade, the well-known Marāṭhī historian, in the river-bed at Pāṭaṇ. He published his account of this inscription in the first volume of the Marāṭhī magazine *Prabhāta* of Dhulia. This inscription, which he reports to have been removed to Chāligāon, cannot be traced now.

³ The earliest Yādava inscription in Khāndesh is the Vāghḷi inscription of Maurya Gōvindarāja, Śaka 991, referring to the reign of Seupa (Seunachandra II) of the Early Yādava dynasty (above, Vol. II, p. 225 ff.); and the latest, so far known, is the Mēthi inscription of Kṛishṇa, Śaka 1176, belonging to the Later Yādava dynasty. See *Samśādhana* (Quarterly Journal of the Rājwade Sanshodhana Mandira, Dhulia), Vol. VI, Nos. 3-4, p. 213 ff. Mēthi, situated about 30 miles to the north of Dhulia, the headquarters of the West Khāndesh District, on the Dhulia-Dopdālekhā road, has several temples of the Yādava period.

⁴ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XII, p. 450.

⁵ See his Mārḷi inscription (line 40). G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan* (in Marāṭhī), Vol. I, p. 43.

⁶ For later Ābhīras or Cowherds (Gōpaka-Pālakas) during the reign of Yādava Kṛishṇa, see *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 14.

of his general Khōlśvara.¹ Hēmālri, in his *Vratakhanda*,² mentions the name of this prince as Lakshmidhara. The defeat of the lord of Bhambhāgiri is also mentioned in the Paithan³ and Purshōttampurī⁴ plates of Rāmachandra. Prof. Mirashi, who has edited the Purshōttampurī plates, has suggested that Bhambhāgiri may possibly be Bhāmēr, four miles to the south of Nizāmpur, in the Pimpalnēr tālukā of the West Khāndesh District.⁵

Balsāpē, where the present inscription is found, is situated within a radius of ten miles from Bhāmēr, being only seven miles north by east of the latter place. If Prof. Mirashi's identification of this place is accepted as correct, the king Kṛishṇa of our inscription, may possibly belong to the Ābhira family of Bhambhāgiri. He may have therefore been an ancestor of Lakshmidōva above referred to.

No other details regarding the king Kṛishṇa having been given in the inscription, our suggestion is only tentative and provisional. Further research in the matter may prove its correctness or otherwise.

As regards the geographical names the only place referred to here is Balasāpaka, which is obviously modern Balsāpē, where the inscription is found. The river mentioned in it, not by name, refers to the modern Bōrāi (Burray, of the maps), by the side of which the *maṭha* is situated. Cousens' statement⁶ to the effect that Kōsara was the old name of it, is obviously due to the confusion in the reading.

TEXT:

[Metres:—v. 1. *Vaṁśastha*; v. v. 2-3. *Śārdūlavikṛīḍita*; v. 4. *Upajāti*.]

- 1 अवंतु वो बहूपदाञ्ज(ञ्ज)रेणवः स्वपारसंसारसमुद्रसेतवः । अघोषकलक्षयधूमकेतवः सर्वं
पुं(पु)ष्पोपचर्यकहेतवः⁸ । [1१॥*]
- 2 गोत्रे गार्ग्यसमाह्वय(यै) समभवत्प्रोपयनाभात्मजः [1*] श्रीसोमेश्वरपंडितः कविसभालंकारवाचस्पतिः ।
शाके¹⁰ षट्श¹¹चंद्रभिः ११०६ प्र[ति]¹² [1*]
- 3 यद्वाचः प्रचुरोपचारचतुराः ध्रुत्वा बुवाः सांप्रतं प्रस्थाताद्यकवींद्रवाग्विलसिते जाताः
सुमंदादराः । [1२॥*] सज(तज्ज)श्रीमहलूकपंडित इह स्वीये[1*] प्रसिधो(द्धो) गुणैर्य[1*]

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 64.

² Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Deccan*, Appendix, p. 171.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 314 ff.

⁴ *Above*, Vol. XXV, p. 199 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

⁶ *Medieval Temples of the Dakhan*, p. 27.

⁷ From the original stone.

⁸ The letter *saḥ* is written separately from the rest of the inscription on account of some flaw in the stone.

⁹ [The reading seems to be *ś=śrī* which may be corrected into *śh=śhrī*.—B. C. C.]

¹⁰ The word *Sākē* was first written, and subsequently restored to *Śākē* by erasing the horizontal stroke, which has come out faintly in the estampage.

¹¹ Read *ṣaṣṭ-śaṣṭ*.

¹² Flaw in the stone. Only faint traces of the *akṣara* in the brackets are visible. [Excluding the numerals the rest of this date portion reads as if it were a part of the verse, in the *Śārdūlavikṛīḍita* metre, but is obviously not so. The form *chandraśāṣṭ* is incorrect for *chandraśṣ*.—B. C. C.]

[illegible]

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

Bright xylem.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ २ ॥
 श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ ३ ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ४ ॥
 श्रीविष्णवे नमः ॥ ५ ॥
 श्रीशिवाय नमः ॥ ६ ॥
 श्रीब्रह्माय नमः ॥ ७ ॥
 श्रीमहादेवाय नमः ॥ ८ ॥
 श्रीनारायणाय नमः ॥ ९ ॥
 श्रीरामाय नमः ॥ १० ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ ११ ॥
 श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ १२ ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ १३ ॥
 श्रीविष्णवे नमः ॥ १४ ॥
 श्रीशिवाय नमः ॥ १५ ॥
 श्रीब्रह्माय नमः ॥ १६ ॥
 श्रीमहादेवाय नमः ॥ १७ ॥
 श्रीनारायणाय नमः ॥ १८ ॥
 श्रीरामाय नमः ॥ १९ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ २० ॥

4 क्रे(कु)णस्य महीपतेः करतले कर्तासु पिच्छा(च्छा)चलं(ताम्) । गां(गा)नित्यांबुहद्वप्रबोचतरनि-
धर्मज्जितानि[ः*] स्वाने स्त्री(श्री)बलसाणके स(सु)रसरिद्रं(द्र)म्यानदीसद्वने ।[1311*]
आ(अ)कारयद्वा-

5 जमठं च भग्नं निरंतरं ब्रह्मनिवासहेतोः । स्वाई(यी) च यः कल्पशतेषु भूयान्महोदयः
पुण्यविब्रेवि(वृद्धि)हेतुः ।[1411*] शक ११०६

6 डांडं सूत्रधारे-

7 ण घटितः ।

TRANSLATION.

(V. 1). May the particles of pollen on the lotuses (*in the form*) of the feet of Brahman protect you!—the particles, every one of which is a very bridge across the endless ocean of *samsāra* (a succession of births and deaths), a veritable fire for consuming the straw (*in the shape*) of a multitude of sins, (*and*) the unique source of ever increasing religious merit.

(V. 2). In the family called Gārgya was born the illustrious Sōmēśvara-Paṇḍita,—son of the illustrious Padmanābha,—who (Sōmēśvara) was an ornament of the assembly of poets, a very Vāchaspati, having listened to whose elegant and lively utterances the wise men have now become lukewarm in their appreciation of the literary achievements even of the most celebrated and outstanding poets.

(Vv. 3-4). His son is the illustrious Mahalūka-Paṇḍita, who has become famous in this world by dint of his own merits, who is a very sun in unfolding the lotus (*in the form*) of the science of mathematics, who is, as it were, a desire-fulfilling gem amongst the exponents of the *dharma*, (*and*) who in no time made over the earth (*picchhāchālā*)¹ to the possession of the king Kṛishṇa.

At the holy place of **Balasāpaka**, in a fine grove, where there is a river beautiful as the Ganges (*flowing by*), he caused to be repaired, for the perpetual inhabitation of Brahmins, the dilapidated Royal monastery (*Rāja-maṭha*), which is highly auspicious, enhancing the religious merit as it does. May this last through hundreds of *kalpas*!

(Ll. 2 and 5-7). In the **Śaka** (*year denoted*) by six, ten and moon (*-one*), 1106, (*this*) has been constructed (*i.e.*, reconstructed) by the architect Dāṇḍam (or Dāṇḍama).

No. 45.—CHITTAGONG COPPER-PLATE OF KANTIDEVA.

By Lt. COLONEL R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., Ph.D., Dacca.

This is a **single copper-plate**, inscribed on one side only, measuring 10·4 inches high by 7·6 inches broad. The **seal**, soldered to the top of the plate above the written part, is oval in shape, and has a raised rim with pointed ends. It is divided into two panels. The upper one bears in relief the figure of a **seated lion** inside a temple. The temple is indicated, as in many

¹ I am obliged to Mr. S. K. Dikshit, M.A., for the meaning of the word *picchhāchālā*.

sculptures in Bengal, by a trefoil arch with flagstaffs on both sides. The seated lion is represented with mouth open and all the four paws in front. Across the lower panel of the seal is the legend *Śrī-Kāntidēvaḥ*. The letters are engraved in bold relief on a raised space. The seal is supported, at its lower end, by two figures of serpents, with raised hoods, whose interlaced tails and parts of the bodies are soldered both to the raised rim of the seal and the plate. On the body of the plate, at about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the bottom and 5 inches from the proper right side, there is an oval hole which has partly cut through its whole depth. As there are writings on both sides of it, and not a single letter is lost, the hole must have existed before the plate was engraved. The plate contains seventeen lines of writing, which cover a space $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. The remaining part of the front and the whole of the back side are blank.

The plate was discovered, some time about 1920, by Prof. J. N. Sikdar, in an old temple at Chittagong, locally known as *Bara-ākharā*. According to the *Mohunt* (Chief priest) of the temple, the plate was lying there since its foundation. The plate is now preserved in the Dacca Museum.

The inscription which the plate bears was edited by Prof. D. C. Bhattacharya, M.A., and Prof. J. N. Sikdar, M.A., in the *Modern Review* for November, 1922, pp. 612-14. As this number of the Journal is not easily available and some important historical points were not dealt with properly there, I re-edit the record from the original plate. For the sake of brevity I shall refer to the joint-editors as DJ.

The record is incomplete. It contains only the formal portion of the grant, and ends abruptly just where we should expect a detailed account of the land granted. It is, therefore, not exactly a land-grant, but one that was intended to be used as such. An apt parallel is furnished by the Kedārpur plate of Śrichandra (above, Vol. XVII, pp. 188-92). The present plate supports the view of the editor of the Kedārpur plate, that such unfinished plates were kept ready in office and filled in with the remaining portion at the time of the actual grant.

The characters are neatly engraved and the plate is in such a good state of preservation that not a single letter presents any difficulty in reading.

The alphabet closely resembles that used in the Pāla records of the ninth century A. D. It is, however, difficult to accept DJ's contention that the inscription is to be placed earlier than the Ghosrāwa inscription¹ of Dēvapāla's time. They are of opinion that though "the characters mainly resemble those in the Ghosrāwa inscription the letters *bh* and *th* are in ancient forms". A comparison of *bh* in *va(ba)bhūpur-* in l. 2 of Ghosrāwa inscription with that in *bhāshita-Bhārata* in l. 6 of the present record does not show any material difference. As regards *th*, the letter read as such by DJ in line 6 is really *rt* and hence shows a different form. On the other hand DJ have failed to note that the Ghosrāwa inscription preserves distinctly older forms of *kh*, *ṇ*, and *ś* which are not to be found in the present record. It is true that the later forms of these letters are also to be met with in the records of Dēvapāla. But this only proves that the present record is perhaps slightly later, rather than earlier, than the time of Dēvapāla. On the whole, it would be more reasonable to assign the record on palaeographic grounds to the ninth century A. D., rather than to 750-850 A. D. as suggested by DJ. In view of the advanced forms of some letters it may be even somewhat later.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of line I containing the name of the locality whence the charter was issued and the preamble of the grant beginning with *sa khalu* (l. 13), the rest of the record is in verse. The composition shows that the author was proficient in Sanskrit.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 307-12.

As regards orthography, the following points may be noted. Final consonants like *m* and *t* are represented by distinct symbols (cf. *m* in *lōkam*, l. 3; *kshayam*, l. 12; *t* in °*vārāt* and *vāsakāt*, l. 1; *bhūt*, l. 7), while a slanting stroke is added below *n* (*mahān* in l. 10). The sign for *v* denotes *ḥ* as well. Consonants are not doubled after *r*, the only exceptions being *Varddhāmāna* in l. 1 and *kirtti*, in l. 11.

The inscription refers to three generations of a **Buddhist family**. The first name is Bhadradata, obviously an error for **Bhadradatta**. He was devoted to the Buddha and defeated his enemies. His son **Dhanadatta** married **Vindurati** (Bindurati), a devotee of Śiva and a daughter of a great king. The issue of this marriage was king **Kāntidēva** who is styled *Paramasaugata*, *Paramēśvara* and *Mahārājādhirāja*. It is obvious that neither the father nor the grandfather of Kāntidēva was a king, and he must either have inherited his throne from his maternal grandfather or carved out an independent kingdom for himself.

As to the locality of the kingdom, the record furnishes us two clues. The reference to future kings of the **Harikēlā-maṇḍala** in l. 16 leaves no doubt that it was included within his kingdom. It is just possible also that Harikēlā constituted his entire dominion, though this is by no means certain. For, the future kings of Harikēlā might have been selected for admonition only on the ground that the land to be granted was situated there.

The lexicographer Hāmachandra explains Harikēlā as a synonym of Vaṅga,¹ while Vaṅga, Samatapa and Harikēlā are mentioned in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*² as distinct localities. According to two manuscripts preserved in the Dacca University Library,³ Harikōla, which may be taken as a variant of Harikēlā, is synonymous with Sylhet. I-tsing also describes Harikēlā as the eastern limit of E. India.⁴ It is thus clear that like many other geographical terms, Harikēlā was used both in a broader sense, as a synonym of Vaṅga, and in a narrower sense to denote various parts of it. Harikēlā of this inscription is obviously a variant of the usual form Harikēlā.

The kingdom over which Kāntidēva ruled must, therefore, be located in Vaṅga, though its exact position is difficult to determine. The only other clue in this respect is furnished by the mention of **Vardhamāna-pura** as the city from which the plate was issued. Vardhamāna is the name of a well-known city in West Bengal which gave the name *Vardhamāna-bhukti* to a territorial division in ancient Bengal. As no other city of this name is known in ancient or modern Bengal, the *Vardhamāna-pura* of our plate should be identified with the city of Burdwan, if there is no insuperable objection against it.

The expression **Harikēlā-maṇḍala** led DJ to infer that Kāntidēva "was only a local chieftain of a comparatively small territory (*maṇḍala*) which subsequently (during the supremacy of the Chandra kings) developed and lent its name to the whole of East Bengal". DJ were wrong in thinking that a *maṇḍala* denotes only a small territorial unit. For, this term is also used along with big kingdoms and territorial units as is evidenced by the expressions "*Gauḍa-maṇḍala*"⁵ and "*Varāndri maṇḍala*"⁶. **Harikēlā-maṇḍala** may, therefore, well denote the whole of Vaṅga

¹ *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, v. 957. [Monier Williams gives 'Harikēliya' and explains it as the country of Bengal.—C. R. K.]

² Ed. by Gaṇapati Śāstrī, pp. 232-33.

³ *Rūpachintāmaṇḍikā* (No. 1451) and *Rudrākṣamāhātmya* (No. 21415).

⁴ Takakusu, *I-tsing*, p. xlv.

⁵ *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, IV, 148.

⁶ *Hāmacharīṇa* by Sandhyākaranandin, *Kaviprasasti*, v. 1.

proper, i.e., S. and E. Bengal, and the conquest, temporary or permanent, of Vardhamāna by a king of Vaṅga cannot be regarded as improbable. It may be noted in this connection, that according to a Chinese map Harikēla comprises the coastal region between Samatapa and Orissa.¹ Further, we know that king Gōvindachandra, who flourished early in the eleventh century A. D., and possibly also other Chandra kings before him, ruled over the whole of E. and S. Bengal right up to the Bhāgirathī river, and their original kingdom is said to be that of Harikēla.² The two geographical names, Vardhamāna and Harikēla-maṇḍala, therefore, justify the assumption that Kāntidēva was the ruler of Vaṅga, i.e., S. and E. Bengal, and had conquered a portion of W. Bengal, right up to Burdwan, when the present plate was issued. Of course this must be regarded as a tentative theory only, based on the very insufficient data that are available at present.

There can hardly be any doubt that the collapse of the Pāla power in the second half of the ninth century A. D., caused by the Pratihāra invasions, gave opportunity to Kāntidēva (or his maternal grandfather who is described in l. 7 as a great king) to carve out an independent kingdom in E. and S. Bengal. It is also likely that Kāntidēva ruled over both his own territory, Harikēla, and the kingdom of his maternal grandfather which probably included Vardhamāna. It is to be noted that Rādhā (W. Bengal) and Vaṅga (S. and E. Bengal) constituted separate independent states almost throughout the Pāla period after the death of Dēvapāla, though they were occasionally brought into subjection by powerful rulers like Mahāpāla I and Rāmapāla.

Kāntidēva was undoubtedly a Buddhist as the title *Saugata* is applied to him (l. 14). The seal of the plate is, however, somewhat unique. The figure of the lion enshrined in a temple evidently stands for the Buddha, and we meet with lions in exactly the same pose, carved under Buddha images.³ But the figures of two serpents are not, so far as I know, found along with the lion in Buddhist images. If we remember that the serpent and the lion are the symbols of the two last Jaina *Tīrthamkaras*, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra, the seal might be regarded as a Jaina symbol.⁴ The invocation to Jinendra which means both Mahāvīra and the Buddha, might also lend support to the view that the king was Jaina. But the expression *Saugata*, applied to Kāntidēva, definitely precludes this view, as it can only mean a Buddhist, and not a Jaina. It is also possible that the serpents are used here as symbols of Śiva, for we know that

¹ The map is printed at the end of Vol. II of the French Translation of Hsien Tsang's Records by S. Julien. It is entitled "Map of Central Asia and India published in Japan in 1710 on the basis of (or in accordance with) the accounts of Fa-Hien and Hsien Tsang".

² Rāmpāl plate of Śrīchandra, v. 5 (*Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, by N. G. Majumdar, pp. 4, 7). The verse, as interpreted by Dr. R. G. Basak (above, Vol. XII, p. 141) means that the founder of the Chandra royal family was the chief support of the king of Harikēla, which he ultimately occupied. In any case there is no doubt that the Chandras came into the possession of the kingdom of Harikēla. It may be noted that the Chandra kings, like Kāntidēva, were Buddhists. It is very probable that the Chandras succeeded Kāntidēva's family in the kingdom of Harikēla.

³ Cf. e.g., the image of Bōdhisattva (Buddha) in the Mathurā Museum (Coomaraswamy, *Hist. Ind. Indonesian Art* fig. 84).

⁴ Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, informs me that a motif "almost similar" to that on the seal "occurs on a Digambara Jaina Nava-Dēvatā (metallic) plate now in the Tiruparuttikunram temple, Kāschipuram" (Cf. *Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples* by T. N. Ramachandran, Pl. XXXVI, fig. 2).

TRANSLATION.

(L. 1) Om ! Hail ! From his residence, the royal camp of victory (or capital) at the city of Vardhamāna :—

(V. 1) Victorious is Jinēndra (Buddha) who triumphed over the vast, irresistible forces of Māra and brought all the three worlds into the domain of light by having dispelled the dense mass of darkness (caused by) passion (*māha*) by means of the ray of the jewel (which was) religion (*dharma*).

(V. 2) Victorious is he who is known as Śrī-Bhadrādatta and solely devoted to religion ; (who) humbled the pride of enemies by conquering (them) by means of the strength of his pair of arms, and whose prowess was increased through devotion to the Buddha.

(V. 3) He had a son named Śrī-Dhanādatta who was well-versed in the meaning of witty sayings, the *Bhārata* (i.e., the *Mahābhārata*), the *Purāṇas* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and whose glory was always manifest.

(V. 4) His wife, named Vindurati, was fair in complexion, the daughter of a great king, praised by the learned and the elderly persons, and a favourite of Śiva.¹

(V. 5) Her son, who acquired great splendour by victory in battles gained by the strength of thunder (or thunder-like destructive weapon) shining from his hands rendered vigorous by being moistened with the water (poured on the occasion of making) gifts which were the causes of his enjoyment ; who was noble, charming, truthful and pleasant in speech, and cause of the terror of the enemies ; whose glory was well known, and who was possessed of fame, as white as moonlight, necklace (of pearls), snow and *kunda* (flower).

(V. 6) Who, the lord, spent gold, food and clothing for the satisfaction of the world, and had always water for gifts, but never took resort to fraud.²

L. 13. Now, he, who was decorated (endowed) with many jewels of virtues, and inviting and agreeable to the hearts of all the people ; the great devotee of Sugata (Buddha), who meditated on the feet of his parents ; *Paramēśvara Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious *Kāntidēva*, being in good health, informs as follows the future kings of *Harikēlā-maṇḍala*, for the sake of their own welfare : " Be it known to you ".

✓ No. 46.—A NOTE ON THE BAJAUR CASKET OF THE REIGN OF MENANDER.

BY DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A., Ph.D., CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

Some Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions on a damaged steatite casket, found at Shinkot in the Bajaur tribal territory, have been published in this journal³ by the late Mr. Nani Gopal Majumdar. There are two dates in the record. The first of them is a year of the reign of the *Mahārāja Minedra* (Minēndra)⁴ who has been identified with the Indo-Greek king Menander.

¹ The epithets given to Vindurati also apply to Durgā who was *Gaurī* (by name), *mahābhāhārī-sutā* (the daughter of the great mountain, i.e., the *Himālaya*), *Budhaguru-sutā* (praised by the preceptor of Gods) and *Śiva-ṛigā* (spouse of Śiva).

² The poet means to convey that although the king resembled Viṣṇu, he did not, like the latter, take resort to fraud. The resemblance is based on the applicability to Viṣṇu of the expressions *Hiraṇyakuṣipu-kṣaya* (destruction of *Hiraṇyakuṣipu*) and *Dānec-ārī* (enemy of demons).

³ Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 1 ff.

⁴ Mr. Majumdar ignores the *e-sign* of *ne* in *Minedra*. I am inclined to take *Minēndra* as a perfectly Sanskritized form of the Greek name. Other Indian forms are *Mēandara* of the coins and *Mūinda* and *Mūindra* of literature.

Unfortunately, however, the portion of the casket that contained the date, is broken and lost. The second date is *Year 5*; but there is no reference to the reign of any king. Mr. Majumdar, chiefly on palaeographic grounds, divided the inscribed passages of the record into two groups and pointed out that the two dates referred to above belong to the two different groups. It was also suggested by him that "the difference in age between the two sets of inscriptions was probably a little more than fifty years". He assigned the first date referring to the reign of Menander to the second century B. C. but the second date, i.e., *Year 5* of an unspecified reign, to the first century B. C.¹ I am, however, inclined to believe that both the dates belong to Menander's reign and that the first date is a year falling between the accession and the fifth regnal year of the king.

According to Mr. Majumdar, the first group of the inscribed passages consisting of sections A, A-1, A-2 and B has letters formed by bold and deeply incised strokes, while in the second group containing sections C, D and E, the writing is shallow and the letters are smaller in size. Group I again has the cerebral *ṇ* with a rounded head; but in group II, it shows an acute angle in its head. Further, in the former group, dental *n* has a long sweep in the top curve, while in the latter it has taken the angular or hook-like appearance. The dental *s* is of the closed type in group I; but in group II, it is open-mouthed, that is to say, it shows a gap at the upper left side of the crowning loop. Mainly on these grounds, the two groups have been placed by Mr. Majumdar more than half a century apart from each other. His theory was also influenced by the use of the word *śakamuni* in group I and of *śakimuni* in group II, and also by the passage *sa śariatri kaladre* occurring in the latter group. Mr. Majumdar seems to have further considered the fact that Menander's reign is usually assigned by numismatists to the second century B. C., while Vijayamitra's coins are said to bear the legend in Brāhmi characters of the first century B. C. Let us examine these points one by one.

Deeply incised strokes are a peculiarity only of section A. The size of letters in E is at least as big as that of the letters of any section of group I. The size of letters, moreover, is of little importance when passages of a particular record are incised in different sections.² The head of the cerebral *ṇ* in *praṇa-samedā* of A-2 (as also in *praṇa-samedā* of A) is angular and not round. In C, line 1, Mr. Majumdar reads *vijayamitra*; but there is a *ṇ* with the lower part of two following letters quite clear after that passage. It is interesting to note that the head of this *ṇ*, though a little damaged, appears to be the only instance of the round-headed cerebral *ṇ* in the whole inscription.³ It may be noticed in this connection that the head of *a* is usually round; but sometimes it is angular,⁴ and sometimes *a* is hardly distinguishable from *v*.⁵ As regards the dental *n*, we have three types slightly differing from one another. *N* in *śakamunisa* of A-2 (which is practically of the same type as *n* in *minedrasa* of A) shows a little less curved neck than the *n*-s of all the sections excepting E. In E, *n* has an angle about the middle of the upper curve. Closed dental *s* is peculiar to A; but the mouth of *s* in *praṇa-samedā* of A-2 is only half-closed (=half open). It is usually half closed in D; but in a few cases the open-mouthed type is also noticed. In *veśrakhrasa masasa divasa*, only the third *s* is fully open-mouthed. But the most interesting point is that none of the two *s*-signs in B (which belongs to group I according

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 2.

² Compare, e.g., the Bhattiprōlu Casket Inscriptions (above, Vol. II, ff. 323 ff. and plates) and the Mathurā Lion Capital Inscriptions (*O. I. I.*, Vol. II, part I, pp. 30 ff. and plates).

³ Round-headed *ṇ* cannot be an indication of early date. It is found in the inscriptions of the Seytho-Kushāṇas and in the Central Asian documents.

⁴ Cf. *śakudra* in section D, line 1.

⁵ Cf. *apomua* in section D, line 2.

to Mr. Majumdar) is of the closed type. The above observations would show that the grouping of the inscribed passages into two broad groups with a difference of more than fifty years between them is rather difficult to justify. There are of course reasons to believe that more than one man were responsible for the engraving of the passages. If, however, B is to be grouped with A, it is not even impossible to suggest that one man incised the two groups in different periods. As regards the form *śakimuṇi*, it may be noted that in Central Asian Kharoṣṭhī documents both *arōgi* and *arōgiya* for *ārōgya* are sometimes found in the same inscription.¹

We now come to section D which contains the passage *sa śariatri kaladre*. The section reads : *ime śarira paluga-bhūdrao na sakare atrita [| *] sa śariatri kaladre [| *] no² śadhro na piṇḍoyakeyi pitri griṇayatri [| *] tasa ye patre apomua³ vashaye pañchamaye 4 I Veśākhrasa masasa divasa⁴ pañchaviśraye iyo prātrihavire Vijayamitrena apracharajena bhagravatu Śakimuṇisa Sama-sambudhasa śarira [| *]*. Mr. Majumdar translates : " This corporeal relic having been broken is not held in worship with zeal. It is decaying in course of time, (and) is not honoured ; (and here) by the offering of alms and water ancestors are no longer propitiated : (and) the receptacle of that (relic) has been cast aside. (Now) in the fifth year and on the twenty-fifth day of the month of Vaiśākha, this has been established by Vijayamitra, ' who has no king as his adversary ',—(namely) the corporeal relic of the lord Śakimuṇi (i.e., Śākyamuni), the one who is truly enlightened."⁵

I am inclined to suggest some modifications in Mr. Majumdar's translation. *Na sakare atrita* = Sanskrit *na satkāreṇa* (or, *satkāraiḥ*) *ādr̥itam*, " has not been honoured by homages ". This seems to refer to the fact that the relic established by Vijayamitra (Viryakamitra⁶) which was broken, had never been worshipped. It should also be remembered that if homages are once begun to be paid, they are never easily discontinued. As regards *na griṇayatri*, I would prefer " is not propitiated " instead of Mr. Majumdar's " no longer propitiated ". *Sa śariatri kaladre* = Sanskrit *tat śiryatē kālataḥ*, " it is decaying in course of time ". By " time " Mr. Majumdar means a period of more than fifty years. But a relic well preserved in a stone casket would not literally decay even in by far longer a period. The verb *śiryatē* is therefore used in a broader sense to mean " is wasting away without being cared for ", just like the Bengali verb *naśta-hawā*, literally " to decay ", but actually " to be without (proper) use ". *Śiryatē* seems to be used to emphasize the absence of worship and the want of persons devoted to the relic established by Viryakamitra and to justify Vijayamitra's action in taking away the casket. *No śadhro* = Sanskrit *no (=na) śraddhaḥ* " nobody is respectful (towards the relic) ". The word *śraddha* usually means the person having respect and not the thing respected. According to Mr. Majumdar, *apomua* corresponds to Sanskrit *apamukta*, ' cast aside ' ; but in that case the *o*-sign cannot be explained. I prefer *avamukta*, ' taken away ', or better *avamuktvā-avamuchya* ' having taken away '. *Tasa ye patre apomua* may then be translated : " after having taken away the receptacle of (or, from) that

¹ See, e.g., Boyer-Rapson-Senart, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 288 ; Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 242.

² Mr. Majumdar reads *no* : but the *o*-sign seems to be clear both in his plate and in the original now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Mr. Majumdar does not prefer a full stop after *kaladre*.

³ Mr. Majumdar prefers a full stop after *apomua*. His plate suggests *piṇḍoyakeyi* for *piṇḍoyakeyi* which, however, seems to be the reading of the original.

⁴ Read *divase*. Mr. Majumdar reads *divasa*. *pañchaviśraye*.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

⁶ [Why not Viśākhamitra ?—C. R. K.]

(relic)". The word *īya* corresponds to Sankrit *īha*, "at this place" and not to *īdam*, "this, namely, the relic" as suggested by Mr. Majumdar. The last sentence of Section D of the Bajaur inscription may therefore be translated: "after having taken away the receptacle from that (broken relic previously established by Viryakamitra), a (new) relic of the lord Śākyamuni, the perfectly enlightened one, has been established here by the *apratyakrāja* Vijayamitra on the twenty-fifth day of the month of Vaiśākha in Year 5". *apratyakrāja* means a king having no equal, i.e., an unrivalled king.² This title is applied both to Viryakamitra and to Vijayamitra. As Viryakamitra, who used the year of Menander's reign, was very probably a feudatory of the Indo-Greek king, *apratyakrāja* appears to be a feudatory title. Like the first date of the inscription, Year 5 thus seems to refer to the reign of the overlord and not to that of Vijayamitra as taken by Mr. Majumdar.³ The overlord was apparently Menander whose name has already been mentioned once in the record and has therefore not been repeated.

What seems to me to be the fact is that Viryakamitra died soon after he had established the casket. He may have had a wish to replace the broken relic by a fresh one; but death seems to have stood in his way. A fresh relic for that casket was secured by his immediate successor (probably his son), Vijayamitra who took away the casket, put a fresh relic into it and established it with the usual ceremony. The difference between the two events need not have been more than four or five years, and I am inclined to assign both of them to the period covered by the first five years of Menander's reign. Viryakamitra in his later years and Vijayamitra in his earlier years were probably feudatories of the Indo-Greek king.

As regards the date of Menander, it must be admitted that no definite assertion is possible in the present state of our knowledge. Indian tradition ascribes him to a period five hundred years after the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha.⁴ But no date can be calculated from this tradition, as "five hundred" is a round number and as there is a large number of traditional dates for the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*. If we accept the Ceylonese date of 544 B. C., we arrive at about the middle of the first century B. C.⁵ Numismatists usually assign Menander to about the middle of the second century B. C. It must, however, be remembered that no less an authority than Gardner placed him in *circa* 110 B. C.⁶ Elsewhere⁷ I have tentatively assigned Menander's reign to the period *circa* 115-90 B.C. If this date is accepted the Bajaur inscriptions may be ascribed to about the end of the second century B.C. There is then no difficulty in assigning the coins of Vijayamitra, who may have had a long reign extending beyond Menander's death, to the first quarter of the first century B.C.

¹ Cf. *garuḍa-dhvaṇe ayam kṛite ia heliodoreṣa*, lines 1-2 of the Beṇaḡar pillar inscription (Rapeon, *Ancient India*, p. 157).

² Elsewhere I have suggested "a king who is not equal to the Mahārāja", i.e., a feudatory ruler. See Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilisation* (in the press). p. 104.

³ *Op. Cit.*, p. 5, 4-5.

⁴ Cf. *mama parinirvāṇato pañca-vassa-sate alikkante ete upajjissanti* (Trenkner, *Milindapañho*, p. 3).

⁵ Prof. H. C. Raychandhuri (*Political History of Ancient India*, 4th ed., p. 323) prefers this date. He is inclined to place Menander later than Heliokles, Strato I and Strato II.

⁶ Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 258.

⁷ *Select Inscriptions* (in the press), p. 102. The letter *s* in the Bajaur record seems to indicate a transitional stage which is possibly to be placed a little later than the early Indo-Greek period.

No. 47.—A COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA ; SAKA 632.

By H. D. SANKALIA, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., POONA.

The copper-plate grant which is edited here for the first time belonged originally to the Satara Museum. It was presented to that Museum by Rao Saheb S. K. Duduskar of Satara. Since this Museum was closed down by the Government of Bombay in 1938-39 and its collection transferred to the newly opened Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute at Poona, the plates are now exhibited in the Museum of this Institute. For a long time the writer was under the impression that the grant had been published before and so no attempt was made to edit it. Subsequent inquiry, however, showed that it had not been published in any of the known research journals. Hence it is now edited.

The grant is engraved on three copper-plates. Of these the first and the third plates are engraved on the inner side only. The plates seem to have been cleaned, subsequent to the presentation, because at present there are no signs of rust except at a few places. They are broken and effaced at several places. Each plate measures about 9½ inches by 4½ inches. The ring, which originally fastened the plates, is almost round, having a diameter of 3 inches. The seal attached to it is oval, 1·7 inches in length and 1½ inches in breadth with a figure of *varāha* in relief, facing left. The plates weigh 77½ *tolas* and the ring with the seal 48½ *tolas*. Plate I has 12 lines of writing of which large portions of lines 1, 2, 10, 11 and 12 are obliterated. Plate II (a) has 10 lines of writing. This is inscribed clearly in a bold hand, but a few letters, particularly of lines 1 and 2 are filled with verdigris. Plate II (b) has also 10 lines of writing and is the best preserved part of this grant. Plate III has 12 lines of writing. The letters in the first 8 lines are small and crowded together, making the reading difficult, whereas a few letters have become indistinct in the last line.

So far fourteen inscriptions of *Vijayāditya* are published. Of these seven are copper-plates.¹ In these, except for the grant portion, the text of the inscription is almost identical with that of our plate.

As usual the entire grant is in Sanskrit and in prose but for the benedictory and imprecatory verses.

The script is of the South-Indian variety, identical in almost all respects with that noticed in other records of the Chālukya family. Attention is, however, drawn to different types of *la*, cf. *sakala*, l. 2, *sakalōtta*, lines 7 and 17, *nikkila*, line 21, *ḍala*, line 16, *sakala*, line 30, *vilasita*, line 38, *Gaudu...*, line 35, *chañchala*, line 38, *phala*, line 41 and *pāla*, line 41, *kulam-alam*, line 4, *Pulakēśi*, line 5 and *maṇḍala*, line 6, *lāñchhana*, line 4, and *Chalikyānām*, line 4, *samunmūlita*, line 21, and several times in *vallabha*, lines 5, 7, 9, 14, 19, 31. Dravidian *la* is met with in *pālidhvaja*, lines 18, 25, and *paḷāyamānair-*, line 26. Initial *i* is found in *iva*, line 23, and the sign for *upadh-māniya* in "*rasikaḥ-parāśmukhi*" in l. 24, *paraiḥ-paḷāyamānair-*, lines 25-26 and in *vīśvambharaḥ-prabhur*² in l. 28. The final *m* is usually changed to *anusvāra*, and the consonant reduplicated after *r*.

The grant is dated on the *Kārttika paurnimā* of Śaka 632, in the 14th year of the rule of the Chalukya king *Vijayāditya*, *Satyākṛaya Śrī-Prithivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Paramāśvara Bhaṭṭāraka*. It records the donation of a village, named *Kāruva*, near *Karahāṭanagara*, on the bank of the *Kṛishṇa[-Veṇṇā]*, and a field called.....-*paṭṭikā*³ measuring

¹ Six of these are published as under:—*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 125, 130, 132; above, Vol. X, p. 14; *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IV, p. 425; *Bhārata Itihāsa Sanshodhaka Mandala Quarterly*, Vol. IX, li, p. 1.

² [See foot-note 1 on p. 326—Ed.].

25 *niṣartanas* at Karahāṭanagara, to Bhānudēva(?)śarmman, son of Bhaviśarmma-Gaulusada (?)¹ and grandson of Dāmōdaraśarmman, made by Vijayāditya from his camp of victory at Karahāṭanagara at the request of (prince) Vikramāditya. The grant is written by *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* Niravadya Puṇyavallabha. It was this very person who also wrote the Rāyagaḍ plates of Śaka 625, the Nerūr grant of Śaka 627, the Elāpur plates of Śaka 626 and possibly the Naravan plates of Śaka 664, where the name preceding Puṇyavallabha is read as Śri-Ativāti.² Thus this writer lived almost contemporaneously with his master Vijayāditya and also during some part of the reign of his son Vikramāditya II. [He was probably the son of Rāma Puṇyavallabha, the composer of Vinayāditya's grants : see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 85 and above, Vol. XXII, p. 24. Puṇyavallabha was perhaps their family name.—C. R. K.]

Historically the grant is not very important because it is neither the earliest, nor the latest grant of Vijayāditya. Nor does it give any new information about the political events of that time. Geographically this would be the second grant of Vijayāditya from the Satara District³ and the first grant actually granting a village in that district. Karahāṭanagara, which is also mentioned as Karahāṭa,⁴ is the ancient Karahakṣa of the early Brāhmī inscriptions from Bharahut,⁵ and the modern Karāj.⁶

Kāruva-grāma⁷ is either Koregaon or Karva⁸ about 6 and 4 miles respectively from Karāj. Both are on the right bank of the Kṛishṇā. My colleague, Dr. S. M. Katre, tells me that linguistically Karva would be a more probable derivation from Kāruva, but in the case of proper names, he added, one might not expect a very accurate derivation, and Koregaon would not be improbable. Personally I am inclined to identify Koregaon with the Kāruva of the plate, because the map shows some ruins of ancient temples at the place.

Perhaps an earlier reference in Chālukya inscriptions to the river Kṛishṇa-Vēṇṇā is in a grant of Vinayāditya.⁹ It refers to, as has been already pointed out,¹⁰ not to the single stream of the Kṛishṇā which rises at Mahābaleshwar but to the combined streams of the Kṛishṇā and Vēṇṇā which, after meeting at Sangam-Māhulī, flow as one stream.

TEXT.¹¹

First Plate.

1 [स्वस्ति जयत्याचि]कृतं विष्णोर्वाराहं शोभि[ताण्वं । दक्षिणोत्तरद]्वारा[विष्णो]भुवनं
वपुः [॥*] [श्री-

2 मतां स]कृतभुवनसंस्तुयमानमानव्यस[गोत्राणां हारितो]पुत्राणां सप्तलोकमातृभिस्त-

¹ [See foot-notes 3 and 4 on p. 325 below.—Ed.]

² *Bhārata Itihāsa Sanshodhaka Mandala Quarterly*, March-June 1929, Vol. X, i, p. 14.

³ The first is the Rāyagaḍ plates, above, Vol. X, p. 14.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 16, probably as a district.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Appendix, Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, Nos. 705, 703, 767, 809.

⁶ Survey Sheet, No. 47 K/3 and 7.

⁷ [See foot-note 5 on p. 325.—Ed.]

⁸ Survey Sheet, No. 47, K/3 and 7.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 88. There the name of the river is spelt as Kṛishṇa-Vēṇṇā.

¹⁰ *Bombay Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 334, n. 2.

¹¹ From the original plates and photographs. Letters broken away or effaced have been restored with the help of the published plates.

- 3 [प्तमातृ]भिरभिर्बद्धितानां कार्त्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकस्या[णपरं]पराणां भगवाप्पारा[यण]प्र-
- 4 [सादस]मासादितवरहृताञ्जनेक्ष[ण]वशीकृताक्षे[ष]मही[भूतां] चालिकयानां कुलमलं-
- 5 क[रि]ण्णोरश्वमेधावभूयस्ना[नप]वित्रीकृतगात्रस्य श्रीपुल[के]शिवल्लभमहाराजस्य
- 6 [सु]नुः पराक्रमाक्रान्तवनवास्यादिपरनुपतिमण्डलप्रणिबद्धविशुद्ध[कीर्तिः]
- 7 [की]र्तिवर्मपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजस्तस्यात्मजस्तमरसं[स]क्तसकलोत्त-
- 8 [राप]वेश्वरश्रीहृव्यवर्द्धनपराजयोपात्तपरमेश्वरशब्द[स्त*]स्य स[त्या]क्षयश्री-
- 9 [पृथिवी]वल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपर[मेश्व]र[स्य] प्रियतनयस्य प्र[ज्ञा]तनय-
- 10 [स्य सङ्ग]मात्रसहायस्य चित्रकण्ठाभिधा[नप्र]वरतुरंगमेर्णकेर्णवोत्सारि[ता]-
- 11 [शेषविजिगीषोरवनिपतिव्रितयान्तरितां स्व]गुरो[ः*] श्रियमात्मसात्कृत्य
- 12 [प्रभावकुलिशदलितपा]ण्ड्यचोळ[केरळक]ळभ्रप्रभृतिभू[भू]-

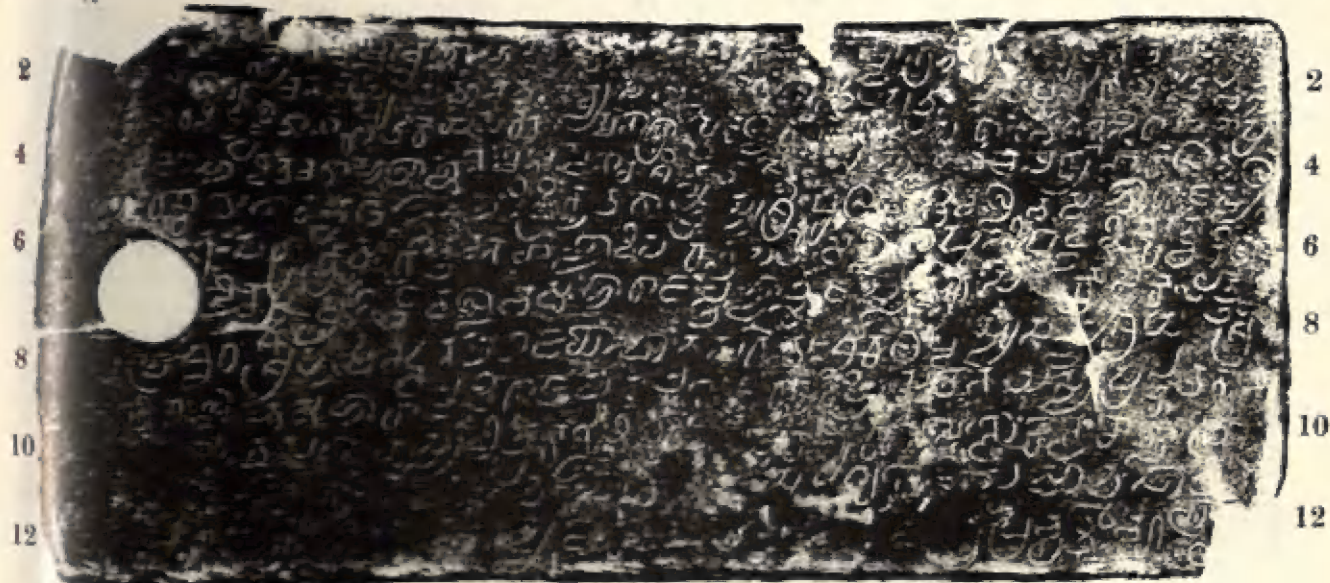
Second Plate ; First Side.

- 13 [दवभ्रविभ्रमस्यानन्या]वनत[काञ्चीपतिमुकु]टचुंबितपादांबुजस्य वि-
- 14 कमादित्यसत्पाश्र्व[यश्रीपृथिवी]वल्लभ[म]हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्व-
- 15 रभट्टारकस्य प्रियसू[नो]पि[तु]राजया वा]लेन्दुशेखरस्य तारकारा[ति]रि-
- 16 व दैत्यबलमलितमुद्धतं [त्रैराज्यकाञ्ची]पतिवल्लभवष्टभ्य कर-
- 17 दीकृतकमे[वे]रपारसीकसि[हृतादि]द्वीपाधिपस्य सकलोत्तरा-
- 18 पयनाथमयनोपार्जितोर्जितपाळिङ्गादिसमस्तपारमेश्वर्य-
- 19 चिह्नस्य विनयादित्यसत्पाश्र्वयश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराज-
- 20 परमेश्वरभट्टारकस्य प्रियात्मजदर्शशव एवाधिगताशेषास्त्र[ज्ञा]-
- 21 [स्त्रो] दक्षिणाशाविजयिनि पितामहे समुन्मूलितनिखिलकण्टक-
- 22 [सं]हतिवत्तरापयविजिगीषो[र्गुरोर]प्रत एवाह[व्यापा]-

* There is a crack in the plate here.

* [Reading seems to be *Chēra*.—N. L. R.]

i.



ii.a.



ii.b.

24
26
28
30
32

24
26
28
30
32

Handwritten text in Tamil script on a palm leaf manuscript. The text is arranged in horizontal lines across the leaf. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the leaf, approximately between lines 26 and 28.

iii.

34
36
38
40
42
44

34
36
38
40
42
44

Handwritten text in Tamil script on a palm leaf manuscript. The text is arranged in horizontal lines across the leaf. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the leaf, approximately between lines 36 and 38.

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 23 रमाचरन्नरातिगजघटापाटनविशीव्यंमाणकृपा[णधारस्तमस]विप्र-
 24 हाप्रेसरस्तस्ताहसरसिक)पराङ्मुखीकृतशत्रुमण्डलो [गंगा]यमुनापा-
 25 छिध्वजपड(पटह)डका(कका)महाशब्दचिह्नकमानिष्यमतंगजादीन्पितृसात्कुर्वन्प-
 26 रे)पठायमानंरासाद्य कथमपि विधिवशादपनीतोपि प्रताप(पा)देव वि[ष].
 27 यप्रकोपमराजकमुत्सारयन्वत्सराज इवानपेक्षितापरसहायक-
 28 स्तदवग्रहान्निर्गत्य स्वभुजावष्टम्भप्रसाधिताशेषविश्वभर)प्रभुर-
 29 खण्डितशक्तित्रयत्वात्शत्रुमदभञ्जनत्वावुदारत्वाग्निरवद्यत्वाद्यस्स[म]स्तभु-
 30 वनाश्रयस्तकलपारमेश्वर्य्यव्यक्तिहेतुपाछिध्वजाद्युज्ज्वलप्राज्यराज्यो
 31 विजयादित्यसत्याश्रयभोपुषिवीवल्तभमहाराजाधिराज[प]रमे[श्वरभ]-
 32 द्वारकस्तर्ज्ज्वानेवमाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु वोस्माभिः द्वात्रिंशदुत्तरव]-

Third Plate.

- 33 दशतेषु शकवर्षेष्वतीतेषु प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यसंवत्सरे चतुर्दं(र्दं)[शे] वर्तमाने करहा[टन]ग-
 34 रमधिवसति जयस्कन्धावारे कार्ति(त्ति)कपौर्णमास्यां विक्रमादित्य¹विज्ञापन[या] — — —
 त्पु[स*] गोत्राय²
 35 दामोदरशर्मणः पौत्रः(दाय) गोलुसदभवि³शर्मणः पुत्राय भानुदेवशर्मणे⁴ कृष्णवे[ष्णान]दी-
 36 पूर्वतटस्थः करहाटनगरसमीपस्थः काद्व⁵नामग्रामो दत्तः [1*] — —⁶ करहाटनगरे —

¹ This reading seems to be certain. The following word is probably *vijāpanayā* as suggested here, the whole expression referring to a common Chālukya practice of making a grant at the request of the crown-prince. It must be noted, however, that the word for the 'crown-prince' is omitted here. [Grants were also made at the request of a feudatory or a high officer.—C. R. K.]

² All the letters are much worn out here, but from the traces of a few of them, they probably refer to the name of the Brāhmaṇa's *gōtra*. [Reading is *Ātrēya-gōtrāya*—N. L. R.]

³ This name appears strange, through the reading is certain. [Reading is *Golla-(Sh)adagavi-sharmṇa*. *Shadagavi* here apparently stands for *shadagavid*.—N. L. R.]

⁴ [Reading seems to be *Nāgullasharmṇa*.—N. L. R.]

⁵ [Reading is *Śāruṣ-nāma*.—N. L. R.]

⁶ [Reading is *punah*.—N. L. R.]

- 37 —¹ पट्टिकानाम पञ्चविंशतिनिवर्तनं क्षेत्रं वत्तः(त्तं) [1*] तदागामिभिरस्मद्वंद्वैर्(न्यै)दच
रा[जभि]रापुरंदव[र्या]-
- 38 दीनां विलसितमचिरांशुचञ्चलमवगच्छद्भिराचन्द्राकर्णधारणव[स्थिति]समका[लं] यशदिच-
- 39 चीनु(यु)भि[:*] स्वदत्तिनिव्विशेषपरिपालनीयमुक्तञ्च भगवता [वे]द[व्या]सेन व्यासेन [11*] व-
- 40 हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभि[र्य]स्य (भिः । यस्य) यस्य यदा [भूमि]स्तस्य तस्य
- 41 तदा फलं [11*] स्वन्दातुं सुमहच्छक्यं दुःसमन्यस्य पाल[नं] [1*]रा[नं] वा पाल-
- 42 नं वेत्ति(ति) दानाच्छेयोनुपालनं [11*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरे-
- 43 त वसुधरां [1*] षष्टि(ष्टि)वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टा(ष्ठा)यां जाय[ते] कृमिः [11*] म-
- 44 हा[सा]न्निविप्रहिकथीनिरवद्युष्यवस्तनेन लिखित[मिदं शासनं] . . .

No. 43.—EPOCH OF THE GANGA ERA.

By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., NAGPUR.

The question of the epoch of the Gāṅga era has been discussed by several scholars during the last sixty years and various dates ranging from A. D. 349-50 to A. D. 877-78 have been proposed as marking the foundation of the era.² The palaeography of early Gāṅga grants dated in that era shows that it must have been founded some time about the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century A. D. Mr. R. Subba Rao, who for the first time worked on some positive data, fixed A. D. 494-95 as the initial year of the Gāṅga era.³ Subsequently, Mr. J. C. Ghosh, working on the dates of some Gāṅga and Kadamba grants came to the conclusion that the Gāṅga era started in A. D. 496.⁴ This conclusion was accepted by Mr. Subba Rao in the paper which he read before the Seventh Oriental Conference in 1933.⁵ But the epoch does not

² These letters seem to mention the name of the field, ending in *paṭṭikā*. [Reading seems to be *Amra-(Amra)paṭṭikā*.—N. L. R.]

³ For the commencement of the era Mr. G. Ramdas has proposed A. D. 349-50 (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 291), Mr. Subba Rao, A. D. 494 (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. V, pp. 267 ff.), Mr. J. C. Ghosh, A. D. 496 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, pp. 237 ff.), Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, A. D. 497-98 (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 19 ff.), Dr. R. C. Majumdar some date between A. D. 550 and 557 (*Ind. Cul.*, Vol. IV, p. 179 ff.), Mr. R. D. Banerji, A. D. 741 (*History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 239), Mr. Majumdar, A. D. 772 (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 361-62) and Mr. R. Sewell and D. B. S. K. Aiyangar, A. D. 877-78 (*Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 58.). [See also *A. R. S. I. E.*, 1931-32, p. 45.—C. R. K.]

⁴ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. V, pp. 272 ff.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, pp. 237 ff.

⁶ *Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference*, p. 519. In his latest article on the subject (*Proceedings and Transactions of the Tenth All-India Oriental Conference*, pp. 472 ff.), Mr. Subba Rao shifts the initial year of the era to A. D. 509.

suit all cases.¹ Besides, Mr. Subba Rao has not given any further details about the Gāṅga era, viz., whether the years of the era cited in epigraphic records were current or expired and the months *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta* and what were the initial month and *tithi* of the Gāṅga year.² These questions are indeed difficult to settle; for Gāṅga records do not generally give sufficient details for the verification of their dates. They mention, for instance, that certain grants were made on the occasion of lunar or solar eclipses, or *ayanas*, but they do not generally state in what particular months and years these eclipses³ and *ayanas*⁴ occurred. Nor do they mention any week-day, *nakshatra*, etc., in connection with the dates on which the grants were recorded.⁵ The absence of such details has led to a great divergence of opinion. Mr. G. Ramdas, for instance, rejects the Śaka year 419 as the initial year of the Gāṅga era, because a certain solar eclipse did not occur in a particular year calculated according to that epoch,⁶ while Mr. J. C. Ghosh justifies his epoch of the era on the ground that though in certain cases the solar eclipses did not occur in the particular years, they occurred in the preceding years.⁷

¹ See, for instance, the dates of the Santa-Bommāli plates of Nandavarman, the Pondūru plates of Vajrahasta II and the Indian Museum plates of Dēvēndravarmān, discussed below. All these would appear irregular according to this epoch.

² In his article on the Gāṅga era in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, pp. 508 ff., Mr. J. C. Ghosh has attempted to prove that the era commenced on the *pūrṇimānta* Śrāvaṇa va. di. 1 in A. D. 496. But the only definite evidence which he cites in favour of his view is the date of the Siddāntam plates (above, Vol. XIII, pp. 213 ff.). Other dates can as well be explained according to the epoch fixed in the present article, and one date definitely goes against Mr. Ghosh's epoch as admitted by him. As regards the date of the Siddāntam plates, the grant recorded in them was made on the occasion of the Dakṣiṇāyana and the plates were issued on Śrāvaṇa va. di. 5. Mr. Ghosh says that the date of the grant and that of the issue of the plates were identical, viz., the 21st June, A. D. 691, which, according to him, proves his epoch. According to my calculations, however, the dates were not identical. In A. D. 691-92, which, according to Mr. Ghosh, corresponds to the Gāṅga year 195, the *tithi pūrṇimānta* Śrāvaṇa va. di. 5 no doubt fell on the 21st June A. D. 691 as it ended 20 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise that day, but the Karkātaka *saṅkrānti* occurred next day (the 22nd June, A. D. 691) 16 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise. As the plates could not have been issued before the *saṅkrānti*, Mr. Ghosh's epoch is impossible. As regards the date of the Urlām plates, (above, Vol. XVII, pp. 332 ff.) on which he relies for proving that the months of the Gāṅga era were *pūrṇimānta*, it may be pointed out that it conflicts with the date of the Pondūru plates (discussed below, p. 329) which mentions a week-day and is therefore quite definite. We must therefore suppose that in L.23 of the Urlām plates the mention of the fortnight was inadvertently omitted.

³ The only exceptions so far known are the dates of the Chicacole plates of Indravarmān III (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 120 ff.) and the Indian Museum plates of Dēvēndravarmān (above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 73 ff.). For the reading of the latter, see below p. 329.

⁴ The Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarmān mention the lunar month and *tithi* in connection with *Udagayana*, but if *Udagayana* means *Uttarāyana-saṅkrānti*, the date is impossible, see above, Vol. IV, p. 131, n. 2.

⁵ The only exception so far known is the Pondūru grant of Vajrahasta II (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 7 ff.)

⁶ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 280.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 238.

The latest attempt to fix the epoch of the era is that of Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao.¹ From the scanty material available Mr. Krishna Rao has tried to prove that—

- (1) the Gāṅga era commenced in the Śaka year 419 (A. D. 497-98)
and (2) the Gāṅga year began on the *amānta* Bhādrapada bahula 13.

According to Mr. Krishna Rao therefore the era commenced on Bhādrapada va. di. 13 in the Śaka year 419 (Monday, the 11th August, A. D. 497). He has examined the dates of 10 Gāṅga records² and claimed that they can be satisfactorily explained according to his epoch of the era. He has shown that in most cases the solar eclipses occurred in the particular years of the Gāṅga era, while in one case only,³ the eclipse occurred a few months before the commencement of the particular Gāṅga year. As the Chicacole plates of Indravarman III dated Gn. 128 show, these grants were sometimes recorded some months after they were actually made. So the result may be held to be satisfactory.

There are, however, certain difficulties presented by this epoch, which Mr. Krishna Rao has not noticed. In this article on this subject in *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 19 ff., Mr. Krishna Rao has stated in several places that the Gāṅga era commenced in the expired Śaka year 419. He has also conjectured that the Gāṅga year commenced on *amānta* Bhādrapada va. di. 13. So in order to convert a Gāṅga year into an expired Śaka year, we must add 418 when the date falls on any *tithi* from the *amānta* Bhādrapada va. di. 13 to Phālguna *amāvāsya* and 419 when it falls on any *tithi* from Chaitra śu. di. 1 to Bhādrapada va. di. 12. The epoch of the Gāṅga era, i.e., the year immediately before the commencement of the era, should thus be Śaka 418-19. But Mr. Rao has almost throughout applied the epoch Śaka 419-20 to get the equivalent of the Gāṅga dates. See for instance the following—

- (1) Gn. 127 (Mārgaśīrsha full moon)=Ś. 546.
- (2) Gn. 154 (Mārgaśīrsha new moon)=Ś. 573.
- (3) Gn. 221 (Āshāḍha śu. di. 5)=Ś. 641.
- (4) Gn. 251 (Chaitra new moon)=Ś. 671.
- (5) Gn. 304 (Jyēṣṭha „ „)=Ś. 724.
- (6) Gn. 397 (Mārgaśīrsha „ „)=Ś. 816.

One would therefore suppose that he is in favour of applying the epoch Śaka 419-20. But see the following equivalent of the Gāṅga date 500 given by him,⁴ which is possible only with the epoch of Śaka 418-19:—

- (7) Gn. 500, *Ashāḍha-māsa dina 5, Adityavāra*=Ś. 919 (Sunday, the 13th June, A. D. 997).
Mr. Krishna Rao has not shown how to reconcile this date with the preceding ones. Again

¹ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 19 ff.

² Nine of these he calculated in his article (*loc. cit.*) and one later on (*ibid.*, Vol. XI, pp. 147 ff.).

³ *Viz.*, the date of the Chicacole plates of Satyavarman, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 11 ff.

⁴ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XI, p. 148.

his equivalents of the Santa-Boimmāli plates of Indravarman II¹ and the Chicacole plates of Indravarman III² do not appear to be correct even according to his epoch. The question of the commencement of the Gāṅga era must therefore be examined afresh and an epoch proposed which would satisfactorily explain all the published verifiable dates of the era.

Among the dates of the Gāṅga era published so far, that of the Pondūru plates³ is most important as it contains the mention of a week-day. The date, Gn. 500 Āshāḍha-māsa dina 5, Ādityavāra, regularly corresponds to Śaka 919, Sunday, the 13th June, A. D. 997. On that day the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha ended 3 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise.⁴ This date shows Gn. 500=Ś. 919 and therefore Gn. 0=Ś. 419. It also shows that the month Āshāḍha had begun only four days before, on the first *tithi* of its bright fortnight. This proves that the months of the Gāṅga year were *amānta*.

Let us next take the date of the Indian Museum plates of Dēvēndravarman.⁵ These plates are dated in the Gāṅga year 308. No further details of the date are given, but we learn from line 20 that the plates were intended to record a grant made on the occasion of a solar eclipse in the month of Māgha.⁶ Supposing that the solar eclipse occurred in the same Gāṅga year in which the grant was recorded, we find that the only year which would correspond to Gn. 308 is Śaka 728. In this year there was a solar eclipse in *amānta* Māgha on the 11th February, A. D. 807. It is noteworthy that this is the only solar eclipse in *amānta* Māgha in the period Śaka 711-728. This proves the untenability of the epochs proposed by Messrs. Subba Rao and Krishna Rao. It further corroborates the conclusion we have already drawn, namely, that the months of the Gāṅga year were *amānta*. Now according to this date Gn. 308=Ś. 728 and therefore Gn. 0=Ś. 420.

¹ For the calculation of this date, Mr. Krishna Rao has relied on the reading [Gāṅga] Year 87, Jyēshtha divasa 10, given by Raja Bahadur L. H. Jagadeva in *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 23. Mr. Krishna Rao has supposed that the grant was made on the very day on which it was recorded and that the *tithi* fell on a Wednesday coupled with the *nakṣatra* Hasta and the *yōga* Vyatipāta (of which there is no mention at all in the grant). By an elaborate calculation he has shown that this combination of the *tithi*, week-day, *nakṣatra* and *yōga* took place on the 24th May, A. D. 584. But according to his epoch mentioned above, this *tithi* in Jyēshtha should fall in A. D. 585, not 584. It is noteworthy that the combination of the *tithi*, etc., does not occur in A. D. 585. Again, the correct reading of the date is *Jyēshtha divasa 30* as recently given by Mr. R. K. Ghoshal (above, Vol. XXV, pp. 194 ff.). The *akṣara* ३, which together with 0 here denotes the *tithi*, signifies 3 in other records also. See, e.g., the Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarman II (*ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 133).

² If the Gāṅga year began in Bhādrapada, there is no reason why the lunar eclipse in Mārgaśīrṣa, mentioned in the Chicacole plates dated [Gn.] 128, Chaitra di. 15, should be referred to Gn. 127, for Gn. 128 was current at the time of the eclipse.

³ The date of this grant was read as 100 by Mr. M. Narasimham (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IX, part iii, pp. 23 ff.) and as 700 by Mr. G. Ramdas (*ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 12). The correct date given above was first pointed out by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao (*ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 147).

⁴ For the verification of the dates, etc., I have used throughout Diwan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 73 ff.

⁶ The editor of these plates has not read the *akṣaras* after Māgha-māsē in l. 20. There appear clear traces of five *akṣaras* after that word, the first two of which are certainly *sūrya* and the last, ३[२]. The omitted expression accords therefore to be *sūrya-grahagṛh*.

The third important date is that of the Santa-Bommāli plates of Nandavarman, the son of Anantavarman I.¹ These plates record a grant which was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse in some unspecified month. The plates are dated on *Āshāḍha dina pañchamī* in the [Gāṅga] year 221. On the analogy of the dates of the aforementioned Pondūru and Indian Museum plates, this date may be taken to be the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the *amānta* Āshāḍha. From the evidence of the Pondūru plates one would expect that the Gāṅga year 221 would correspond to the Śaka year 640. But there was no solar eclipse in that year, nor even in the preceding year. There was, however, one in the *amānta* Jyēṣṭha of Śaka 641. The proximity of this eclipse to the date Āshāḍha śu. di. 5 (on which day the grant was recorded) indicates that the equivalent is probably correct. This date shows Gn. 221-Ś. 641 and therefore Gn. O-Ś. 420.

The only way in which we can reconcile the date of the Pondūru plates with those of the Santa-Bommāli and the Indian Museum plates is to suppose that the former date is stated in the current year and the latter two in expired years. Mr. Krishna Rao, who did not notice the possibility of some Gāṅga dates being in current years and others in expired ones, took the aforementioned date of the Santa-Bommāli plates as showing that the Gāṅga and Śaka years were not concurrent and that the Gāṅga year commenced in some month after Jyēṣṭha. Such a supposition does not appear to be necessary. In fact the aforementioned dates of the Santa-Bommāli and Indian Museum plates show that the Gāṅga year began in some month before Āshāḍha śu. di. 5 and ended in some month after Māgha. It appears probable therefore that, like the Śaka year, the Gāṅga year also began on *amānta* Chaitra śu. di. 1.

The fourth important date is that of the Chicacole plates² of Indravarman III, viz., *Chaitra di 15* in the [Gāṅga] year 128. In the absence of further details this date does not admit of verification, but in lines 10-11 the plates mention a lunar eclipse which occurred in the month of Mārgaśīrsha. We have seen above that the Gāṅga and Śaka years were probably concurrent. The lunar eclipse must therefore have occurred in Gn. 127. This year, if current, would correspond to Ś. 546 and, if expired, to Ś. 547. In both these years there was a lunar eclipse in the month of Mārgaśīrsha. This date also may therefore be said to corroborate the epoch of the Gāṅga era fixed above.

The foregoing examination of these four Gāṅga dates which contain details for verification has shown that the Gāṅga era began in the expired Śaka year 420 (A. D. 498-99), probably on the first *tithi* of the bright half of the *amānta* Chaitra. To convert a date of the Gāṅga era into that of the Śaka era we have therefore to add 419 if the Gāṅga year was current, and 420 if it was expired. Let us now state in a tabular form all the Gāṅga dates which contain some details for verification to see what was the proportion of current and expired years. It must be remembered in this connection that many Gāṅga records mention a solar eclipse, but give no particulars about the year and month in which it occurred. In such cases the identification of the corresponding Śaka year is likely to be doubtful.

¹ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 185 ff.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 120 ff.

Dates of the Gāṅga Era with their equivalents in the Śaka era.

Serial No.	Name of record.	Name of King.	Particulars of the date in the Gāṅga era.	Corresponding Śaka year. ¹	Whether Gāṅga year was current or expired.	Remarks. ²
1	Santa-Bommali Plates (above, Vol. XXV, pp. 194 ff.)	Indravarman II ³ alias Rājashattha.	[Gn.] year 87, Jyēṣṭha dīna 30.	Ś. 507.	Expired.	In Ś. 507, Jyēṣṭha had 30 days (from the 5th May to the 3rd June A.D. 585).
2	Parākīmedī Plates (<i>Ind. Ant.</i> , Vol. XVI, pp. 131 ff.)	Indravarman II alias Rājashattha.	[Gn.] year 91, Māgha dīna trīṇ-śatima, 30.	Ś. 510 or Ś. 511.	Current or expired.	In both these years Ś. 510 and 511 Māgha had thirty days (from the 24th December A. D. 588 to the 22nd January A.D. 589 and from the 12th January to the 10th February A.D. 590 respectively).
3	Chicecole Plates (<i>Ind. Ant.</i> , Vol. XIII, pp. 120 ff.)	Indravarman III ⁴ .	[Gn.] year 128, Chaitra dī. 15 and a lunar eclipse in the previous Mārgaśīrṣa.	Ś. 547 or Ś. 548.	Current or expired.	There was a lunar eclipse in Mārgaśīrṣa in both Ś. 546 and Ś. 547.
4	Takkali Plates (above Vol. XVIII, pp. 306 ff.)	Indravarman III, son of Dānārṣa.	[Gn.] year 154, and a solar eclipse in an unspecified month.	Ś. 573.	Current.	There was a solar eclipse in Mārgaśīrṣa in Ś. 573 only, none in Ś. 574.
5	Tekkali Plates (<i>Ind. Hist. Quart.</i> , Vol. XI, pp. 30 ff.)	Dēvēndravarman I, son of Guṇārṣa I.	[Gn.] year 192, and a lunar eclipse in an unspecified month.	Ś. 611 or Ś. 612.	Current or expired.	There was a lunar eclipse in Mārgaśīrṣa in both Ś. 611 and 612.
6	Santa-Bommali Plates (<i>J. A. H. R. S.</i> , Vol. II, p. 187.)	Nandavarman, son of Anantavarman I.	[Gn.] year 221, Aślāḍha dīna pañcama and a solar eclipse in an unspecified month.	Ś. 641.	Expired.	There was a solar eclipse in Jyēṣṭha in Ś. 641, none in Ś. 639 and Ś. 640.

¹ The years of the Śaka era given above are all expired.² The months mentioned in the Remarks column are all *ananta*.³ In his Genealogical Table of Early Gāṅga Kings (*Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 386) Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar does not number this Indravarman.⁴ Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar calls him Indravarman II. having omitted to number Indravarman II as stated in the foregoing note.

Dates of the Gāṅga Era with their equivalents in the Śaka era—*contd.*

Serial No.	Name of record.	Name of King.	Particulars of the date in the Gāṅga era.	Corresponding Śaka year.	Whether Gāṅga year was current or expired.	Remarks.
7	Chioscole Plates (<i>Jad. Asl.</i> , Vol. XIII, pp. 273 ff.)	Dāvēndravarmān II, son of Anantavarman I.	[Gn.] year 291 and a solar eclipse in an unspecified month.	Ś. 671.	Expired.	There was a solar eclipse in Chaitra in Ś. 671, none in Ś. 670.
8	Alamanda Plate (above, Vol. III, p. 17 ff.)	Anantavarman II, son of Rājēndravarmān.	[Gn.] year 304, and a solar eclipse in an unspecified month.	Ś. 723 or Ś. 724.	Current or expired.	There was one solar eclipse in Jyēṣṭha in Ś. 723 and two in Jyēṣṭha and Mārgaśīrṣa in Ś. 724.
9	Indian Museum Plates (<i>Ibid.</i> , Vol. XXIII, pp. 73 ff.)	Dāvēndravarmān II, son of Rājēndravarmān.	[Gn.] year 308, Māgha-māsē surya-grahāṇ[ē].	Ś. 728.	Expired.	There was a solar eclipse in Māgha in Ś. 728 but there was no such solar eclipse in Māgha in the period from Ś. 711 to Ś. 727.
10	Chioscole Plates (<i>Jad. Asl.</i> , Vol. XIV, pp. 10 ff.)	Satyavarman, son of Dāvēndravarmān III.	[Gn.] year 351, and a solar eclipse in an unspecified month.	Ś. 770.	Current.	There was a solar eclipse in Jyēṣṭha in Ś. 770, none in Ś. 771.
11	Chhīvalasa Plates (<i>J. A. H. R. S.</i> , Vol. II, pp. 145 ff.)	Dāvēndravarmān IV, son of Bhūpēndravarmān.	[Gn.] year 397 with a solar eclipse in an unspecified month.	Ś. 816 or Ś. 817.	Current or expired.	There were two solar eclipses in Jyēṣṭha and Mārgaśīrṣa in Ś. 816 and also two more in Jyēṣṭha and Kārtika in Ś. 817.
12	Pondāru Plates (<i>J. A. H. R. S.</i> , Vol. XI, pp. 7 ff.)	Vajrahaṣṭa (II).	[Gn.] year 500, Āṣāḍha māsa dina 5, Ādityavāra(ē).	Ś. 919 (Sunday, the 13th June, A.D. 997).	Current.	In Ś. 920, the <i>tithi</i> fell on a Thursday.

¹ The symbol for hundreds is omitted here, but as shown by Mr. Krishna Rao (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 27 ff.), it must have been one for 200.

The above examination of the twelve dates of the Gāṅga era which contain some details for verification has shown that the view that the Gāṅga era was started on Chaitra śu. di. 1 in the expired Śaka year 420 explains all the dates satisfactorily. We found that according to this epoch the eclipses occurred in the respective Gāṅga years (current or expired) mentioned in the records and in two cases even in the specified months, and where the week-day or the number of solar days in a month was given they could be completely verified. Of the twelve dates examined above, three are in current years, four in expired years and the remaining five doubtful, being in either current or expired years. Of the doubtful dates also, a majority is likely to be in expired years; for, as Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has pointed out, "the Hindu's usual, not invariable, way of expressing a date is not 'in the year so and so', but 'after so many years had elapsed since such and such an event took place.'"¹ Even if we leave these doubtful dates out of account, the expired years of the Gāṅga era are more in number than the current ones, which is in accordance with the practice observed in the case of the dates of the Vikrama,² Śaka,³ Kalachuri⁴ and other eras.

We can therefore conclude that the Gāṅga era commenced on Chaitra śu. di. 1 in the expired Śaka year 420 (the 14th March, A. D. 498).

Let us next see if this epoch of the Gāṅga era conflicts with any known data. Certain synchronisms of Gāṅga kings with princes of other dynasties are either known definitely or are conjectured by scholars. We have to see if they can be satisfactorily explained with the present epoch.

1. From the Gōdāvari plates of Prithivīmūla⁵ we learn that the Adhirāja Indra fought in company with other chiefs who united to overthrow a certain Indrabhaṭṭāraka. These plates are dated in the twenty-fifth year of the increasingly victorious reign, apparently of Prithivīmūla.⁶ The date does not contain any details for verification. Dr. Fleet who edited the plates conjectured at first⁷ that the Adhirāja Indra was the king Indrarvarman of the Gāṅga dynasty who made the Chicacole grant dated [Gn.] year 128. He further identified Indrabhaṭṭāraka defeated by the Adhirāja Indra with Indrarāja, the younger brother of Jayasīṃha of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty. The name of this Indrarāja is omitted in most Chālukyan records, because, according to Dr. Fleet, he, being slain in this battle, did not ascend the throne.⁸

If this identification is correct, it does not conflict with our epoch of the Gāṅga era; for according to it, the Adhirāja Indra was ruling in Ś. 548 (128+420) and the Eastern Chālukya prince Indrarāja also flourished in the same period as he must have fought the battle during the reign of his elder brother Jayasīṃha (Ś. 549 to 579 or 582).

¹ *Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar*, Vol. III, pp. 288 f.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 398.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 266 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 120 ff.

⁵ *J. Bom. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 114 ff.

⁶ The expression *pravarḍhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samantara* which introduces the date in these plates occurs in all the early grants of the Gāṅga kings (with an expression like *Gāṅgīya-rachā* prefixed to it in the case of some later ones), but this is no sure index of the Gāṅga era, for the expression occurs in the records of other dynasties also. See e.g., ll. 25-6 of the Chikkula plates of the Viṣṇukunḍin Vikramēndravarmān (above, Vol. IV, p. 197; l. 14 of the Ipūr plates of the Viṣṇukunḍin Mādhavavarmān, (*ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 337; and ll. 21-2 of the Tāpḍi-vāḍa grant of Prithivī-Mahārāja, *ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 98).

⁷ Later on he identified him with the Gāṅga king Indrarvarman (II) who issued the Parāḷakimeḍi grant dated Gn. 91. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 131.

⁸ Since then, his Koṇḍanagūru grant has been discovered and published (above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 1 ff.).

The identification of Indrabhaṭṭāraka with Indrarāja, the younger brother of Jayasinha, has, however, been called in question, and that perhaps rightly, for, the characters of Prithivimūla's grant appear to be earlier than those of Jayasinha's grants. Prof. Kielhorn suggested that Indrabhaṭṭāraka was identical with the Vishṇukundin Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman mentioned in the Chikkulla plates and his view has since then been generally accepted.¹ The identification of the Adhirāja Indra is however more difficult; for though there seems little doubt that he belonged to the Gāṅga dynasty, there were as many as three kings in that dynasty who bore the name Indrarvarman.² Some scholars identify the Adhirāja Indra with the Gāṅga king Indrarvarman I who issued the Jirjingi plates in Gn. 39, because like the Vishṇukundin Indrabhaṭṭāraka, he also is said to have won many battles with four-tusked elephants. The description, however, appears to be conventional; for it occurs in some grants of other dynasties also.³ If we identify the Adhirāja Indra with Indrarvarman II of the Gāṅga dynasty, he becomes a contemporary of the Vishṇukundin Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman; for the former was ruling at least from Gn. 87 to Gn. 91 (i.e., from A. D. 585 to 598) and the latter probably flourished from circa A. D. 570 to 600 as shown by me elsewhere.⁴ This synchronism also may therefore be said to be in agreement with the epoch.

2. The Kadamba chief Rāṇaka Dharmakhēḍi, the son of Bhimakhēḍi, was a feudatory of two Gāṅga kings, Anantavarman and his son Dēvēndrarvarman. His Mandasa plates which were issued during the reign of his suzerain Anantavarman are supposed to be dated Ś. 976 (or 967).⁵ Another grant of his, recorded in the Siṁhāpura (also called Santa-Bommāli) plates⁶ during the reign of Anantavarman's son Dēvēndrarvarman, is dated in the Gāṅga-Kadamba era 520.⁷ According to the epoch fixed above, the latter date would correspond to Ś. 940. This date is earlier by 36 (or 27) years than the date of the Mandasa plates, instead of being later as it should be, since it belongs to the succeeding reign. This is the main reason which has led Dr. R. C. Majumdar to bring down the epoch of the Gāṅga era to some date between A. D. 550 and 557.⁸

This discrepancy, I submit, is solely due to a wrong interpretation of the aforementioned date of the Mandasa plates. This date has been read as *Śak-ābda-nava-śataka-sapta-rasa-mata* which has been taken to denote Ś. 913 by Mr. G. Ramdas and Ś. 976 (or 967) by Dr. R. C. Majumdar. I have no doubt that the intended date is *Śak-ābda-nava-śataka-saptadaśa-mitā*, i.e., Ś. 917. It may be noted that the record has been very carelessly written and engraved. The scribe has confused *śa* and *sa* in several places in it. The facsimile shows that the reading here is *saptaraśa* (not *sapta-rasa*) which is evidently a mistake for *saptadaśa*.⁹ Perhaps the scribe was unconsciously influenced by the Prakrit of his time which had corrupted Sanskrit

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 195. See also Jouveau-Dubreuil's *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 91.

² Indrarvarman I was ruling in Gn. 39, Indrarvarman II in Gn. 87-91 and Indrarvarman III in Gn. 128-54.

³ See e.g., the Khāmkhēḍ plates of Pratāpāṣṭa (above, Vol. XXII, p. 95); Bagumrā plates of Nikumbhalla-śakti (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 267) and the Ellorā plates of Dantidurga (above, Vol. XXV, p. 30).

⁴ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 21.

⁵ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 175 ff. The expression denoting the date used in this grant is read *Śak-ābda-nava-śataka-sapta-rasa* by the editor Mr. G. Ramdas, who took *sapta-rasa* as denoting 7 plus 6 (*rasa* signifying the number six, because there are six flavours). So according to him the plates are dated Ś. 913. Dr. R. C. Majumdar on the other hand took the same expression to mean 76 (or rather 67 according to the saying *aṅkaśya ramā gaṭiḥ*). According to him therefore the date of the grant is Ś. 976 (or rather, Ś. 967). See *Ind. Cul.*, Vol. IV, pp. 174 ff.

⁶ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 171 ff.

⁷ The Gāṅga-Kadamba era has been admitted by all scholars to be identical with the Gāṅga era.

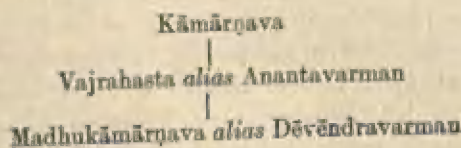
⁸ *Ind. Cul.*, Vol. IV, pp. 174 ff.

⁹ It may be noted that the system of word-numerals is not met with in other Gāṅga records of the period. The numerals were then written and read as we do them now.

saptadaśa into *saptarasa*.¹ The date of the Mandasa plates is thus Ś. 917 which agrees admirably with the date Gn. 520 (Ś. 940) of the same chief Dharmakhēḍi's Sindhīpura grant. The difference between the dates of the two grants is only 23 years which perfectly squares with the fact that the former grant was made by the aforementioned Kadamba chief during the reign of his Gāṅga suzerain Anantavarman and the latter during that of Anantavarman's son Dēvēndravarman.

3. We have seen above that the Gāṅga king Anantavarman's son Dēvēndravarman was ruling in Gn. 520. Another grant recorded in his Chicacole plates² mentions the Gāṅga king Anantavarman's son *Mahārājādhirāja* Madhukāmārṇava as ruling in Gn. 526.³ The proximity of these two dates suggests that Dēvēndravarman was another name of Madhukāmārṇava. Messrs. G. Ramdas and Subba Rao have identified this Gāṅga king Anantavarman with Vajrahasta II *alias* Aniyāṅkabhrma, who had a son named Madhukāmārṇava, on the assumption that all the rulers of the Gāṅga family were called alternately Anantavarman and Dēvēndravarman.⁴ Dr. R. C. Majumdar has, however, objected to this assumption. 'The assumption', he says, 'rests on the fact that for some generations, the Gāṅga kings were named in succession Anantavarman and Dēvēndravarman. But it would be unreasonable to conclude from this that their predecessors were also so named, so long at least as we do not get any satisfactory evidence for the same.'⁵

The necessary evidence is now supplied by the Pondūrṇ grant of Vajrahasta (II). As already stated this grant is dated Gn. 500. It was made by Vajrahasta, the son of Kāmārṇava. As this grant was made 20 years earlier than Dharmakhēḍi's Sindhīpura grant of Gn. 520 which belongs to the reign of Anantavarman's son Dēvēndravarman, it appears quite plausible that Anantavarman was another name of Vajrahasta (II). From these three grants then we get the following genealogy of these Gāṅga kings:—



This genealogy is perfectly possible if we identify these princes with Kāmārṇava I, Vajrahasta II and Madhukāmārṇava III mentioned in the Naḍagām, Ganjām and other records of Vajrahasta III.⁶

Here I may anticipate an objection. I have identified above Madhukāmārṇava who was ruling in Gn. 526 with Dēvēndravarman who was on the Gāṅga throne in Gn. 520. But it may

¹ Sanskrit numerals change their *ḍ* into *r* in the Prakrits and modern North-Indian languages.

² *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 272 ff.

³ Dr. C. Narayan Rao and Mr. Subba Rao read this date as 528. *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 170.

⁴ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 180-81.

⁵ *Ind. Cul.*, Vol. IV, pp. 175 ff.

⁶ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 183 ff. : XXIII, pp. 67 ff. In fairness to Dr. R. C. Majumdar I must state that this genealogy is also possible according to the epoch (some date between A. D. 550 and 557) proposed by him, if we assume that Madhukāmārṇava was another name of Rājārāja (I)-Dēvēndravarman. The overwhelming evidence of other dated records set forth above would, however, preclude that epoch altogether.

be objected that this goes against the evidence of the Naḍagām and other plates of Vajrahasta III; for according to them, Madhukāmārjaya III ascended the throne 19 years before his nephew Vajrahasta III. The latter's accession is known to have taken place in Ś. 960.¹ Deducting 19 years from this, we get Ś. 941 as the date of the accession of Madhukāmārjaya III. This conflicts with the statement in the Siṃhīpura plates that Dēvēndravarmān (with whom we have identified Madhukāmārjaya III) was ruling in Gn. 520, i.e., Ś. 940.

In connection with this I have to point out that the reign-periods of the several Gāṅga kings mentioned in the Naḍagām and other plates are not exact, but only approximate; for they do not mention any months and days in addition to the years of their reigns. If Madhukāmārjaya III reigned for 19 years and a few months, he might have been on the throne in Ś. 940 (perhaps towards the close of it), when the Siṃhīpura grant was made. I may add that the epoch of the Gāṅga era fixed above will not be affected in the least even if we identify Dēvēndravarmān of the Siṃhīpura plates with one of Madhukāmārjaya's elder brothers, Kāmārjaya II and Guṇḍama II who preceded him on the throne and ruled for six months and three years respectively.²

We have thus seen that the view that the Gāṅga era was started on Chaitra śu. di. 1 in the expired Śaka year 420 presents no difficulties and squares with all the known data. Before concluding this article it would not be out of place to discuss what political event it commemorates.

From a Vākāṭaka inscription in cave No. XVI at Ajaṇṭā,³ we learn that Harishēṇa, the last known Vākāṭaka king, had something to do with Āndhra and Kaliṅga. Unfortunately the inscription is very badly damaged in the portion where the names of these countries are mentioned together with a number of others such as Kuntala, Avanti, Kōsala and Lāṭa. Perhaps Harishēṇa raided these countries and made their kings acknowledge his suzerainty. That he did so in Āndhra appears quite probable from the marriage of the Vishnukuṇḍin prince Mādhavavarman I with a Vākāṭaka princess⁴ who was perhaps a daughter or some near relative of Harishēṇa. From several grants found in the Ganjām District, we know that in the fourth and fifth centuries A. D., Kaliṅga was held by some princes whose names ended in *varman*, such as Śaktivarman, Umavarman, Chaṇḍavarman, Anantavarman, etc.⁵ They must have been obliged to submit to the mighty Vākāṭaka king Harishēṇa. From recent researches in Vākāṭaka history it seems probable that Harishēṇa closed his reign about A. D. 500,⁶ and this, we find, is also approximately the time when the Gāṅga era was started. The conjecture may therefore be hazarded that it marks the establishment of a new kingdom in Kaliṅga when the power of the Vākāṭakas declined towards the close of the fifth century A. D.

¹ The exact date of the coronation of Vajrahasta III mentioned in the Naḍagām and other plates corresponds, according to Kielhorn, to Sunday, the 9th April, A. D. 1038.

² Messrs. J. C. Ghosh and Subba Rao identify him with Kāmārjaya II who ruled only for half a year (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXL, p. 237 and *Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference*, p. 519), while Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao takes him to be Guṇḍama II, who ruled for 3 years (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XI, p. 21).

³ *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 125.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV, p. 196.

⁵ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff., Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff., Vol. XXIV, pp. 47 ff., etc.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 148-9.

No. 49.—A NOTE ON SIRODA PLATES OF (BHOJA) DEVARAJA

BY N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, OOTACAMUND

The valuable inscription on these plates was edited in this journal¹ by the late Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamachari. In 1943, when I was studying the record in connection with the early history of Western India, I examined the text of the inscription as published by the learned editor and checked the reading with the excellent facsimile accompanying the article. As a result of this scrutiny I was convinced that the name of the dynasty of Dēvarāja had not been correctly deciphered. Mr. Charlu read the word, indicating the name of the family to which Dēvarāja belonged, as *Gōminām* and claimed that he had discovered a hitherto unknown dynasty on the West Coast of India, viz., that of Gōmins. His reading was accepted by many scholars, one of whom has even tried to identify this Dēvarāja with the Rāshtrakūṭa prince of the same name² figuring in the Paṇḍaraṅgapalli plates of Avidhēya³ and the Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant of Abhimanyu,⁴ though he has not been able to explain satisfactorily how the family name Gōmin could be connected with the Rāshtrakūṭas.

Let us examine the disputed reading with the help of the photographic reproduction of the plates. The syllable that first roused my suspicion about the incorrectness of the reading of the dynastic name is the one that has been read as *mi* in the given reading *Chandrapurād=Gōminām* (line 1). If we compare this letter with *mi* in *bhūmis*=(line 12) and *bhūmidah* (line 13) it becomes clear that its shape is altogether different. If it is not *mi*, what else can it be? The letter very closely resembles *ja* of *vijaya* in line 17 and the superscript of the conjunct letter *jya* in *rājya* in the same line. It is well known that the medial *ā* sign of *ja* is usually added to the horizontal stroke at the centre of the letter. Even in the present case it starts from the central stroke, goes up and turns to the left round the letter in a curl. Thus, it is obvious that the whole syllable should be read as *jā*. This led me to scrutinize the reading of the preceding letter, namely, *d-Gō* in *Chandrapurād=Gōminām*. On a careful examination of the subscript I came to the conclusion that it answers more to *bh* than to *g*. We may compare, for instance, *bha* in *bhaviśhyad*=(line 2), *bhu* in *prabhu* (line 4) and *bhyā* in *sāmibhyām* (line 6), etc. It may be noted that *ga* is more upright than *bha* which is a little slanting. With these two emendations, the word has to be read as *Bhōjānām* and not *Gōminām*. Further it appears to me that the syllable after *Chandra* is an initial *ū* and not *pu* (cf. initial *u* in *uktān=pha* in line 10); what is seen at the bottom of the letter obviously denotes length. It is to be observed that in this record the sign of *p* is open at the top (cf. *puṇy-ṣpachayāya* in line 5). If this correction also be accepted, the whole expression would read *Chandraūrād=Bhōjānām*. Accordingly, the name of the family of the donor-king Dēvarāja is *Bhōja* and not *Gōmin*, while the name of the capital of the territory of this line of rulers, viz., the Bhōjas, round about Goa on the West Coast, was *Chandraūra*.⁵ The

¹ Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 143 ff. with 1 plate.

² *An. Bhand. Ori. Res. Inst.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 43 ff.

³ *Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1929, pp. 197 ff. In this record the name of Dēvarāja's family is not given.

⁴ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 163 ff.

⁵ The termination *ūra* is the Sanskritized form of the Dravidian word *ūr* meaning village or town and corresponds to Sanskrit *pura*. Such village names, ending in *ūra*, are found in many Sanskrit inscriptions; the following are a few instances from records ranging from the 4th to the 9th century after Christ:—*Kottūra* (Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 13); *Kaṅgūra* (Maṭṭepāḍ plates of Dāmodaravarman, above, Vol. XVII, p. 329), *Chendalūra* (Chendalūr plates of Pallava Kumāra-Vishnu, above, Vol. VIII, p. 235), *Vaṭṭūra* (Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of the Western Chālukya King Maṅgalēśa, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 17), *Cherupūra* (Chīpurapalle plates of the Eastern Chālukya King Viśhnavardhana I, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 16) *Kumālūra* (Timmāpuram plates of the same king, above, Vol. IX, p. 318), *Alūraka* (Sūrat plates of Śrīśaṅkara Stādītya of the Gujarat Chālukya family referred to on p. 231, Vol. VIII, above) and *Lattalūra* (Nīlgund inscription of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I, above, Vol. VI, p. 103).

discovery of some copper plates of the Bhōja dynasty during the years 1948 and 1949 has confirmed the correctness of my reading of the family name. These are noticed in the sequel.

Now, it is known from the 13th rock edict of Aśoka that the Bhōjas and the Pitinikas (within his territory) were conforming to his instruction in morality.¹ Dr. Hultsch who regards them as tribes says that they have to be looked for in the west.² Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, however, explains the word *Petenika* (*Pitinika*) as 'one who enjoys hereditary property' and takes *Bhōja-Petenikas* as one word meaning 'the rulers called Bhōjas'. He also considers them to be the same as the Mahābhōjas who were minor rulers holding the present Thānā and Kolābā Districts of the Bombay State.³ Inscriptions mentioning them are found at Beḍṣā, Kanheri and Kuḍā. From these we learn that they were responsible for the excavation of many of the caves in these localities.⁴ The Bhōjakas are mentioned also in the Hāthigumphā inscription of the Kalinga king Khāravela, which says that he caused the Raṭhikas and the Bhojakas to bow down at his feet.⁵ According to Dr. Jayswal the expression *Bhōjas*, as opposed to *Petenikas*, means non-hereditary leaders who observed the Bhaujya form of constitution mentioned in the *Aśtarēya Brāhmaṇa*. To him, thus, the Bhōjas appear to be so called because they followed that special form of constitution. He also points out that the name still survives in the modern caste-name *Bhōjaka* found in the Indian State of Cutch in the Kathiawad Agency.⁶ Dr. B. C. Law who has collected almost all the references to the Bhōjas is of the view that the Bhōjas were a very ancient tribe whose princes held not only the Sātvats, near the Ganges, in subjection, but also ruled over the Vidarbha (Berar) and, according to a passage in Kauṭilya's *Arthasāstra*, even over the Daṇḍaka, the region round Nasik.⁷ It may be added that the *Dakṣmāracharita* of Daṇḍin also places the Bhōjas in Vidarbha.⁸ We have, however, no means of ascertaining whether, or in what way, the Bhōjas mentioned in the rock edict of Aśoka as well as in the cave inscriptions of Western and Eastern India noticed above were related to the ruling dynasty of the Bhōjas of Goa, one of whose scions was Dēvarāja of the Sirōḍa plates.

Recently a number of copper plates have been discovered in and near the Goa territory. A notice about them by Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi, Director of the Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar, is found on page 99 of the *Summary of Papers submitted to the 15th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference*. They comprise three charters. Two belong to the Bhōjas, while the third pertains to the Maurya dynasty (of Koṅkaṇ), though Mr. Panchamukhi has taken them all to be Bhōja grants.⁹

Both the Bhōja grants refer themselves to the reign of Prithivīmallavarman, one dated in the first (*prathamā*) regnal year and the other in the 25th regnal year.¹⁰ The earlier record, issued from

¹ *C. I. I.*, Vol. I (Inscriptions of Aśoka), pp. 46 and 48, text-line 9.

² *Ibid.*, p. 48, fn. 11.

³ *Asoka* (1932 : 2nd edition), pp. 34-35.

⁴ *Arch. Sur. of Western India*, Vol. IV, p. 90, (Beḍṣā ins. No. 3) ; p. 85 (Kuḍā ins. No. 6) ; *Lādern' List*, Nos. 1021, 1037, 1045, 1052, 1058.

⁵ Above, Vol. XX, p. 79.

⁶ K. P. Jayswal, *Hindu Polity* (1943 : 2nd edition) ; p. 80.

⁷ *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, p. 384. *Yathā Dāṇḍakyaś nāma Bhōjaś kāmād-brāhmaṇa-kanyām-abhimanyomānaś-sa-bandhu-rāshtrō vīṇanāśa*. (*Arthasāstra*, edited by Shama Sastri, 2nd edition, 1924, p. 11, ll. 13-14). This passage is also found in the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana who apparently copied it from Kauṭilya (*Kāmasūtra*, Banaras edition, *adhyāya* 1, *adhyaṅga* 2, *sūtra* 44). See also *Studies in Kāmasūtra* by H. C. Chakradhar, pp. 84 f.

⁸ *Vidarbha nāma janapadaś / tasmīn-Bhōjavāśa-bhūṣaṇa*.....*Paṇyavarmā nām-āsī* (*Uchchhedas* 8) ; *Early History of the Deccan* (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II), p. 143 and note 2 ; *As. Ind. Ori. Res. Inst.*, Vol. XXVI (1945), pp. 20, 22.

⁹ These are shortly to be published in this journal.

¹⁰ Mr. Panchamukhi gives the date of the former as the 13th year and of the latter as the 15th year. My reading of the dates is based on an examination of the original plates.

Vṛṣhibhīṣikhōṭa, registers the grant made by the king of a piece of land to a Brāhmaṇa, named Mā[*tvā*]rya, of the Agnivēśya *gōtra*. The land was situated in the village of Bhāgalapallikā in the Kupala[*pa*]kaṭa *āhāra*. The grant was made for the increase of merit of the king's mother Chētasādēvī at the request of his brother Śatrudamana on the 13th day of the bright half of the month of Jyēṣṭha in the first year of the king's reign. At the end of the inscription we are told that it was the gift of Chētasādēvī, described as Nēlikabālikā. The charter was written by Dēva-śarmāchārya of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. The later grant was issued from Prithivīparvata and states that the king made a gift of a plot of land in the village of Malāra in Kupalākāṭa to a Brāhmaṇa, named Dāmārya, of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. The gift was made for the merit of the king himself on the 10th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Śrāvaṇa in the 25th year of the king's reign. The *ājñapti* of the grant was Nidhivara and the writer was Buddhādāsa of the Kāmbōja *gōtra*. The inscriptions on both these sets of plates are written in the Sanskrit language and in the southern alphabet assignable to about the 7th century A. C.

Another copper-plate record of this dynasty was discovered early in 1950 by Mr. P. B. Desai, M.A., Epigraphical Assistant, at the village of Hire Gutti in the Kumta *taluk* of the North Kanara District which adjoins Goa. The document, issued by king Aśaṅkitarāja of the Bhōja lineage, registers the grant, made by him, of the village Sundarikā in the Dīpaka *vishaya* to a *vihāra* which had possibly been erected by himself (*sva-vihāra*). The invocation to the Buddha at the commencement of the inscription shows beyond doubt that the monastery (*vihāra*) to which the gift was made was Buddhist. It is also noteworthy that this set of plates bears a seal depicting the figure of an elephant which was evidently the emblem of this royal family. The language of this grant is likewise Sanskrit. Though the record is not dated its palaeography would place it in the same period, namely about the 7th century A. C.¹

Yet another copper-plate inscription of this dynasty, falling in that very period, has been discovered by Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi. I have not seen this record, but, according to Mr. Panchamukhi, it registers a gift of land made by *Dharmamahārāja* Kāpālīvarman of the Bhōja family to a certain Svāmīkarāja who, in his turn, granted it to a Brāhmaṇa, named Bhavārya. The land was situated at the village of Śivapuraka. The grant was issued from the king's camp at Pāmāsakbēṭaka.²

Thus we have, in all, five inscriptions of this dynasty, all on copper plates. Of these, the Siroda plates of Dēvarāja happen to be the earliest, as they are palaeographically referable to the 4th century A. C., while the rest belong to about the 7th century. They disclose the names of four ruling monarchs, namely, Dēvarāja, Prithivīmallavarman, Aśaṅkitarāja and Kāpālīvarman. Chētasādēvī, the queen of Prithivīmallavarman, and Śatrudamana, the latter's brother, are two others, brought to light from one of these documents. We have seen that these grants were issued from four different places, viz., Chandraūra, Vṛṣhibhīṣikhōṭa, Prithivīparvata and Pāmāsakbēṭaka. Chandraūra has been considered to be identical with Chandor in Goa.³ The other places may also have to be looked for around that region which appears to have been the dominion over which the Bhōjas held sway. The relationship in which the four rulers of the family stood to one another and the order of succession of the three last named kings, viz., Prithivīmalla, Aśaṅkita and Kāpālī, are points to be determined only by future discoveries.

Incidentally, I may also briefly notice the Maurya grant here, which is interesting in its own way. It records the order of the illustrious Anirjitavarman, the Maurya Mahārāja, issued

¹ This record is also being edited in this journal.

² Fifteenth All-India Oriental Conference (1949), *Summaries of Papers*, p. 99.

³ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 145.

from the victorious **Kumāradvīpa**, to the inhabitants and officials of twelve villages (*dvādaśa-grāmyāḥ*). The order announces that a gift of certain lands, tank, garden and house-site was made by the king to a Brāhmaṇa, named Hastyārya, of the Hārita *gōtra*. The gift was made with the object of securing the welfare or final beatitude (*nī[ḥ*]śrēyas-ārttham*) of Nāgapadda, Malladatta, Achala and the king himself. The inscription is dated the 10th day of the 7th fortnight of Hē[manta*] in the 29th year, apparently of the king's reign. This mode of recording dates in seasons and fortnights is not usually met with in inscriptions of a period later than the 6th century.¹ Consequently this record may be placed in the 6th century, and palaeography does not militate against this view. In the Aihole inscription of Pulikēśin II, his father Kirtivarman I is stated to have been 'the night of doom to the Nālas, Mauryas and Kadambas'.² Pulikēśin II himself claims a decisive victory over the Mauryas in the Koṅkaṇas.³ Evidently it is to this Maurya family that Anirjitavarman belonged.

¹ An Eastern Chālukya inscription of a later period (7th century) citing a season date (*Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 49) is the only one of its kind that I know of.

² Above, Vol. VI, p. 4, text-line 4.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 6, text-line 10.

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BY H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI AND S. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARI

[The figures refer to pages; n. after a figure to footnotes and add. to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used:—*au.* = author; *ca.* = capital; *ch.* = chief; *Chron.* = Chronicle; *ci.* = city; *co.* = country; *com.* = composer; *dt.* = district; *dn.* = division; *do.* = ditto; *dy.* = dynasty; *E.* = Eastern; *engr.* = engraver; *ep.* = epithet; *f.* = female; *feud.* = feudatory; *gen.* = general; *Hist.* = Historical; *k.* = king; *l.* = locality; *l.m.* = linear measure or land measure; *m.* = male; *min.* = minister; *mo.* = mountain; *myth.* = mythological; *n.* = name; *N.* = Northern; *off.* = office or officer; *pr.* = prince; *q.* = queen; *rel.* = religious; *ri.* = river; *S.* = Southern; *s.a.* = same as; *sur.* = surname; *te.* = temple; *Tel.* = Telugu; *t.d.* = territorial division; *tit.* = title; *tn.* = town; *tlq.* = taluq; *vi.* = village; *W.* = Western; *wk.* = work.]

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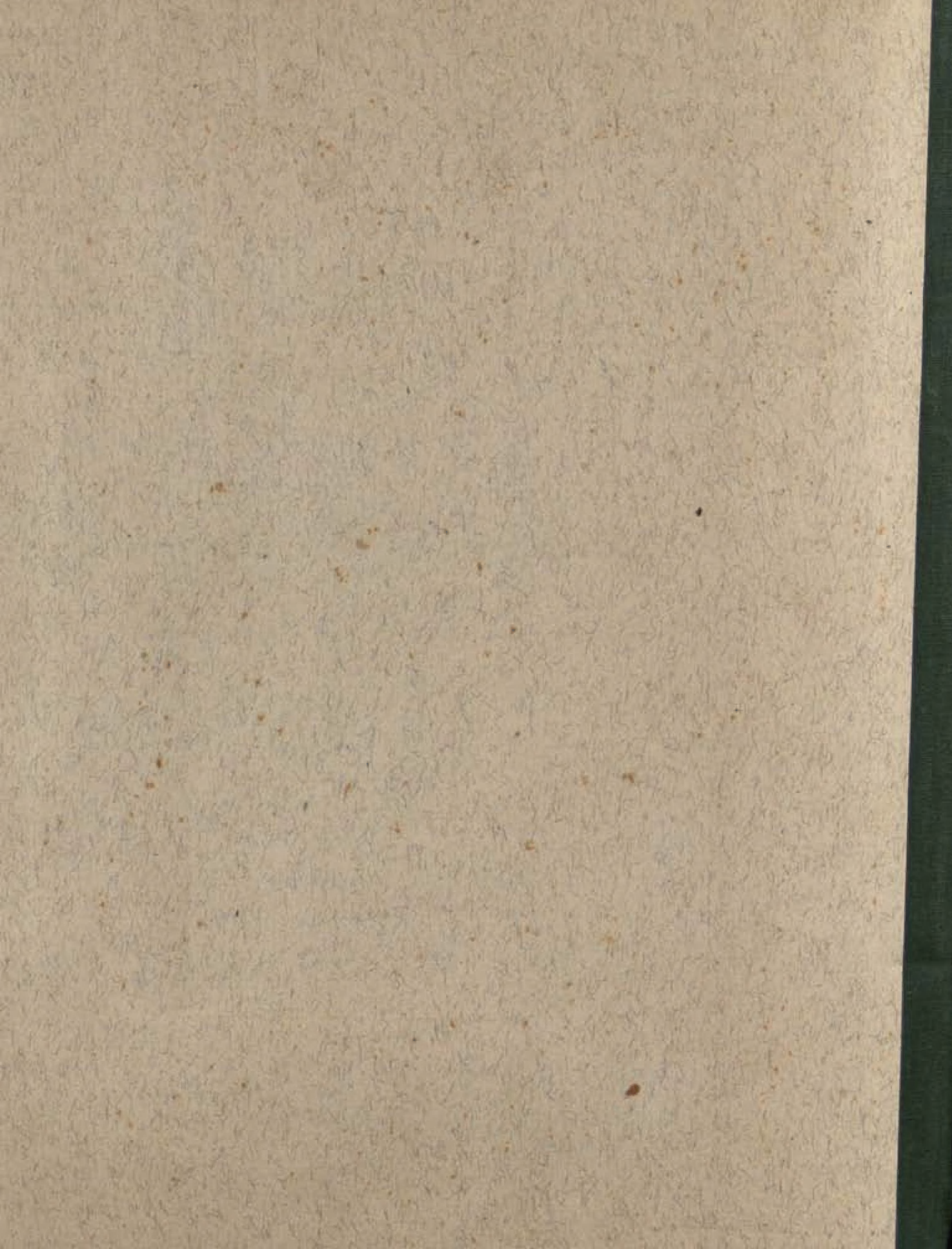
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